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ART. I. *De la Littérature considérée dans ses Rapports avec les Institutions Sociales.* Par Mad. de Staël-Holstein. Avec un Précis de la Vie et les Ecrits de l'Auteur. 2 tomes. 12mo. pp. 600. London, 1812.

THIS is not a new book—as seems to be imagined by most of its present readers in this country ;—but a book published at least ten years ago, with no very brilliant success,—and lately brought back into notice by the happier fortune of the Novels with which its distinguished author has since condescended to favour this frivolous generation. Its true date, indeed, is sufficiently marked by a great part of its contents ; since it is full of reflections on the effects of *ten years* of revolution—and of conjectures as to the changes which European literature is likely to undergo from the establishment of an august *Republic* in France. These proud anticipations, indeed, are now among the most curious and interesting parts of the work ; and when compared with the events that have already succeeded, cannot fail to excite in the mind of the thinking reader, a sentiment of mingled distrust and compassion for the bright and fleeting visions of human prosperity—a disposition to laugh at the miserable miscarriage of so many vast pretensions, and to mourn over the ruin of so many glorious hopes. All this, however, is nothing to the ingenious frequenters of circulating libraries, and the lively inquirers after new books in *duodecimo* ;—and Mad. de Staël's charming work upon Literature is devoured, we make no doubt, by the greater part of its readers, with the same discriminating relish as Miss Owenson's or Miss Porter's last new works upon sentimental Poles or ingenuous Irishwomen.

What such persons think in their hearts of the little volumes before us, we do not pretend of our own knowledge to deter-

mine; but we should be apt to suspect, that they find them very dull in comparison of their native favourites,—and that the bolder among them already venture to insinuate, that the author of *Delphine* and *Corinne* is falling fast into dotage and morality. For ourselves, we must say, that we are not exactly of that opinion. We look upon this as, upon the whole, the best and the least exceptionable of all Mad. de Staël's publications; and we look upon her as beyond all comparison the first female writer of her age. We are glad, therefore, that the book has been so generally taken for a new book, as to entitle us, without any great impropriety, to make it the subject of direct observation. Something may be gained, occasionally, both by the author, the critic, and the reader, from a work's falling out of notice for some years after its publication.

When we say, that Madame de Staël is decidedly the most eminent literary female of her age, we do not mean to deny that there may be others whose writings are of more direct and indisputable utility—who are distinguished by greater justness and sobriety of thinking, and may pretend to have conferred more practical benefits on the existing generation. But it is impossible, we think, to deny, that she has pursued a more lofty as well as a more dangerous career;—that she has treated of subjects of far greater difficulty, and far more extensive interest, and, even in her failures, has frequently given indication of greater powers, than have sufficed for the success of her more prudent contemporaries. While other female writers have contented themselves, for the most part, with embellishing or explaining the truths which the more robust intellect of the other sex had previously established,—in making knowledge more familiar, or virtue more engaging,—or, at most, in multiplying the finer distinctions which may be detected about the boundaries of taste or of morality,—and in illustrating the importance of the minor virtues to the general happiness of life,—this distinguished person has not only aimed at extending the boundaries of knowledge, and rectifying the errors of received opinions upon subjects of the greatest importance, but has uniformly applied herself to trace out the operation of general causes, and, by combining the past with the present, and pointing out the connexion and reciprocal action of all coexistent phenomena, to develop the harmonious system which actually prevails in the apparent chaos of human affairs; and to gain something like an assurance as to the complexion of that futurity towards which our thoughts are so anxiously driven, by the selfish as well as the generous principles of our nature.

We are not acquainted, indeed, with any writer who has made such bold and vigorous attempts to carry the general-

izing spirit of true philosophy into the history of literature and manners, or who has thrown so strong a light upon the capricious and apparently unaccountable diversity of national taste, genius, and morality, by connecting them with the political structure of society, the accidents of climate and external relation, and the variety of creeds and superstitions. In her lighter works, this spirit is indicated chiefly by the force and comprehensiveness of those general observations with which they abound; and which strike at once, by their justness and novelty, and by the great extent of their application. They prove also in how remarkable a degree she possesses the rare talent of embodying in one luminous position those sentiments and impressions which float unquestioned and undefined over many an understanding, and give a colour to the character, and a bias to the conduct, of multitudes, who are not so much as aware of their existence. Besides all this, her Novels bear testimony to the extraordinary accuracy and minuteness of her observation of human character, and to her thorough knowledge of those dark and secret workings of the heart, by which misery is so often elaborated from the pure elements of the affections. Her knowledge, however, we must say, seems to be more of evil than of good. The predominating sentiment in her fictions is, Despair of human happiness and human virtue; and their interest is founded almost entirely on the inherent and almost inevitable heartlessness of polished man. The impression which they leave upon the mind, therefore, though powerfully pathetic, is both painful and humiliating; at the same time that it proceeds, we are inclined to believe, upon the double error of supposing that the bulk of intelligent people are as selfish as those victims of fashion and philosophy from whom her characters are selected; and that a sensibility to unkindness can survive the extinction of all kindly emotions. The work before us, however, exhibits the fairest specimen which we have yet seen of the systematizing spirit of the author, as well as of the moral enthusiasm by which she seems to be possessed.

The professed object of this work is to show that all the peculiarities in the literature of different ages and countries, may be explained by a reference to the condition of society, and the political and religious institutions of each;—and at the same time, to point out in what way the progress of letters has in its turn modified and affected the government and religion of those nations among whom they have flourished. All this, however, is bottomed upon the more fundamental and favourite proposition, that *there is a progress*, to produce these effects—that letters and intelligence are in a state of constant, universal, and

irresistible advancement—in other words, that human nature is tending, by a slow and interminable progression, to a state of perfection. This fascinating idea seems to have been kept constantly in view by Mad. de Staël, from the beginning to the end of the work before us;—and though we conceive it to have been pursued with far too sanguine and assured a spirit, and to have led in this way to most of what is rash and questionable in her conclusions, it is impossible to doubt that it has also helped her to many explanations that are equally solid and ingenious, and thrown a light upon many phenomena that would otherwise have appeared very dark and unaccountable.

In the range which she here takes, indeed, she has need of all the lights and all the aids that can present themselves;—for her work contains a critique and a theory of all the literature and philosophy in the world, from the days of Homer to the tenth year of the French Revolution. She begins with the early learning and philosophy of Greece; and after characterizing the national taste and genius of that illustrious people, in all its departments, and in the different stages of their progress, she proceeds to a similar investigation of the literature and science of the Romans; and then, after a hasty sketch of the decline of arts and letters in the later days of the Empire, and of the actual progress of the human mind during the dark ages, when it is supposed to have slumbered in complete inactivity, she enters upon a more detailed examination of peculiarities, and the causes of the peculiarities of all the different aspects of national taste and genius that characterize the literature of Italy, Spain, England, Germany and France,—entering, as to each, into a pretty minute exposition of its general merits and defects,—and not only of the circumstances in the situation of the country that have produced those characteristics, but even of the authors and productions, in which they are chiefly exemplified. To go through all this with any tolerable success, and without committing any very gross and ridiculous blunders, evidently required, in the first place, a greater allowance of learning than has often fallen to the lot of persons of the learned gender, who lay a pretty bold claim to distinction, upon the ground of their learning alone; and, in the next place, an extent of general knowledge, and a power and comprehensiveness of thinking, that has still more rarely been the ornament of great scholars. Mad. de Staël may be surpassed, perhaps, in scholarship, (so far as relates to accuracy at least, if not extent); by some—and in sound philosophy by others. But there are few indeed who can boast of having so much of both; and no one, so far as we know, who has applied the one to the elucidation of the other with so much judg-

ment, boldness, and success. But it is time to give a little more particular account of her lucubrations.

There is a very eloquent and high-toned Introduction, illustrating, in a general way, the influence of literature on the morals, the glory, the freedom, and the enjoyments of the people among whom it flourishes. It is full of brilliant thoughts and profound observations;—but we are most struck with those sentiments of mingled triumph and mortification by which she connects these magnificent speculations with the tumultuous aspect of the times in which they were nourished.

‘Que ne puis-je rappeler tous les esprits éclairés à la jouissance des méditations philosophiques! Les contemporains d’une Révolution perdent souvent tout intérêt à la recherche de la vérité. Tant d’événemens décidés par la force, tant de crimes absous par le succès, tant de vertus flétries par le blâme, tant d’infortunes insultées par le pouvoir, tant de sentimens généreux devenus l’objet de la moquerie, tant de vils calculs philosophiquement commentés; tout lasse de l’espérance les hommes les plus fideles au culte de la raison. Néanmoins ils doivent se ranimer en observant, dans l’histoire de l’esprit humain, qu’il n’a existé ni une pensée utile, ni une vérité profonde qui n’ait trouvé son siècle et ses admirateurs. C’est sans doute un triste effort que de transporter son intérêt, de reposer son attente, à travers l’avenir, sur nos successeurs, sur les étrangers bien loin de nous, sur les inconnus, sur tous les hommes enfin dont le souvenir et l’image ne peuvent se retracer à notre esprit. Mais, hélas! si l’on en excepte quelques amis inaltérables, la plupart de ceux qu’on se rappelle après dix années de révolution, contristent votre cœur, étouffent vos mouvemens, en imposent à votre talent même, non par leur supériorité, mais par cette malveillance qui ne cause de la douleur qu’aux ames douces, et ne fait souffrir que ceux qui ne la méritent pas.’ Tom. 1. p. 27—28.

And a little after—

‘L’homme a besoin de s’appuyer sur l’opinion de l’homme; il craint de prendre son amour-propre pour sa conscience; il s’accuse de folie, s’il ne voit rien de semblable à lui; et telle est la faiblesse de la nature humaine, telle est sa dépendance de la société, que l’homme pourroit presque se repentir de ses qualités comme de défauts involontaires, si l’opinion générale s’accordoit à l’en blâmer: mais il a recours, dans son inquiétude, à ces livres, monumens des meilleurs et des plus nobles sentimens de tous les âges. S’il aime la liberté, si ce nom de république, si puissant sur les ames fières, se réunit dans sa pensée à l’image de toutes les vertus, quelques vies de Plutarque, une lettre de Brutus à Cicéron, des paroles de Caton d’Utique, des réflexions que la haine de la tyrannie inspiroit à Tacite, les sentimens recueillis ou supposés par les historiens et par les poëtes, relèvent l’ame, que flétrissoient les événemens contemporains. Un caractère élevé redevient content de lui-même, s’il se sent d’accord avec

ces nobles sentimens, avec les vertus que l'imagination même a choisies, lorsqu'elle a voulu tracer un modèle à tous les siècles. Que de consolations nous sont données par les écrits d'un certain ordre ! Les grands hommes de la première antiquité, s'ils étoient calomniés pendant leur vie, n'avoient de ressource qu'en eux-mêmes ; mais, pour nous, c'est le Phédon de Socrate, ce sont les plus beaux chefs-d'œuvre de l'éloquence qui soutiennent notre âme dans ses revers. Les philosophes de tous les pays nous exhortent et nous encouragent ; et cette langue pénétrante de la morale et de la connoissance intime du cœur humain, semble s'adresser personnellement à tous ceux qu'elle console.

‘ Dans les déserts de l'exil, au fond des prisons, à la veille de périr, telle page d'un auteur sensible a relevé peut-être une âme abattue : moi qui la lis, moi qu'elle touche, je crois y retrouver encore la trace de quelques larmes ; et par des émotions semblables, j'ai quelques rapports avec ceux dont je plains si profondément la destinée. Dans le calme, dans le bonheur, la vie est un travail facile ; mais on ne sait pas combien, dans l'infortune, de certaines pensées, de certains sentimens qui ont ébranlé votre cœur, font époque dans l'histoire de vos impressions solitaires. Ce qui peut seul soulager la douleur, c'est la possibilité de pleurer sur sa destinée, de prendre à soi cette sorte d'intérêt qui fait de nous deux êtres pour ainsi dire séparés, dont l'un a pitié de l'autre. ’— ‘ Qu'elles sont précieuses ces lignes toujours vivantes qui servent encore d'ami, d'opinion publique et de patrie ! Dans ce siècle où tant de malheurs ont pesé sur l'espèce humaine, puissions-nous posséder un écrivain qui recueille avec talent toutes les réflexions mélancoliques, tous les efforts raisonnés qui ont été de quelque secours aux infortunés dans leur carrière ! alors du moins nos larmes seroient fécondes.

‘ Le voyageur que la tempête a fait échouer sur des plages inhabitées, grave sur le roc le nom des alimens qu'il a découverts, indique où sont les ressources qu'il a employées contre la mort, afin d'être utile un jour à ceux qui subiroient la même destinée. Nous, que le hasard de la vie a jetés dans l'époque d'une révolution, nous devons aux générations futures la connoissance intime de ces secrets de l'âme, de ces consolations inattendues, dont la nature conservatrice s'est servie pour nous aider à traverser l'existence. ’ Tom. 1. p. 55—59.

The connexion between good morals and that improved state of intelligence which Mad. de Staël considers as synonymous with the cultivation of literature, is too obvious to require any great exertion of her talents for its elucidation. She observes, with great truth, that much of the guilt and the misery which are vulgarly imputed to great talents, really arise from not having talent enough,—and that the only certain cure for the errors which are produced by superficial thinking, is to be found in thinking more deeply:—At the same time it ought not to be forgotten, that all men have not the capacity of thinking deeply—and that

the most general cultivation of literature will not invest every one with talents of the first order. If there be a degree of intelligence, therefore, that is more unfavourable to the interests of morality and just opinion, than an utter want of intelligence, it may be presumed, that, in very enlightened times, this will be the portion of the greater multitude,—or at least that nations and individuals will have to pass through this troubled and dangerous sphere, in their way to the loftier and purer regions of perfect understanding. The better answer therefore probably is, that it is not intelligence that does the mischief in any case whatsoever, but the presumption that sometimes accompanies the lower degrees of it; and which is best disjoined from them, by making the higher degrees more attainable. It is quite true, as Mad. de Staël observes, that the power of public opinion, which is the only sure and ultimate guardian either of freedom or of virtue, is greater or less exactly as the public is more or less enlightened; and that this public never can be trained to the habit of just and commanding sentiments, except under the influence of a sound and progressive literature. The abuse of power, and the abuse of the means of enjoyment, are the great sources of misery and depravity in an advanced stage of society. Both originate with those who stand in the highest stages of human fortune; and the cure is to be found, in both cases, only in the enlightened opinion of those who stand a little lower.

Liberty, it will not be disputed, is still more clearly dependent on intelligence than morality itself. When the governors are ignorant, they are naturally tyrannical:—force is the obvious and unfailing resource of those who are incapable of convincing; and the more unworthy any one is of the power with which he is invested, the more rigorously will he exercise that power. But it is in the intelligence of the people themselves that the chief bulwark of their freedom will be found to consist, and all the principles of political amelioration to originate. This is true, however, as Madame de Staël observes, only of what she terms ‘*la haute littérature* ;’ or the progress of philosophy, eloquence, history, and those other departments of learning which refer chiefly to the heart and the understanding, and depend upon a knowledge of human nature, and an attentive study of all that contributes to its actual enjoyments. What is merely for delight, again, and addresses itself exclusively to the imagination, has neither so noble a genealogy, nor half so illustrious a progeny. Poetry and works of gayety and amusement, together with Music and the sister arts of Painting and Sculpture, have a much slighter connexion either with virtue or

with freedom. Though among their most graceful ornaments, they may flourish under tyrants, and be relished in the midst of the greatest and most debasing corruption of manners. It is a fine and a just remark of Mad. de Staël, that the pursuits which minister to delight, and give to life its charm and voluptuousness, generally produce a great indifference about dying. They supersede and displace the stronger passions and affections, by which alone we are bound very strongly to existence; and, while they habituate the mind to transitory and passive impressions, seem naturally connected with those images of indolence and intoxication and slumber, to which the idea of death is so readily assimilated in characters of this description. When life is considered as nothing more than an amusement, its termination is contemplated with far less emotion, and its course, upon the whole, is overshadowed with deeper clouds of *ennui*, than when it is presented as a scene of high duties and honourable labours, and holds out to us at every turn—not the perishable pastimes of every passing hour, but the fixed and distant objects of those serious and lofty aims which connect us with a long futurity.

The Introduction ends with an eloquent profession of the author's unshaken faith in the philosophical creed of Perfectibility:—upon which, as it does not happen to be our creed, and is very frequently brought into notice in the course of the work, we must here be indulged with a few preliminary observations.

This splendid illusion, which seems to have succeeded that of Optimism in the favour of philosophical enthusiasts, and rests, like it, upon the notion that the whole scheme of a beneficent Providence is to be developed *in this world*, is supported by Mad. de Staël upon a variety of grounds: and as, like other illusions, it has a considerable admixture of truth, it is supported, in many points, upon grounds that are both solid and ingenious. She relies chiefly, of course, upon the experience of the past; and, in particular, upon the marked and decided superiority of the moderns in respect of thought and reflection,—their more profound knowledge of human feelings, and more comprehensive views of human affairs. She ascribes less importance than is usually done to our attainments in mere science, and the arts that relate to matter; and augurs less confidently as to the future fortune of the species, from the exploits of Newton, Watt and Davy, than from those of Bacon, Bossuet, Locke, Hume and Voltaire. In eloquence, too, and in taste and fancy, she admits that there has been a less conspicuous advancement; because, in these things, there is a natural limit

or point of perfection, which has been already attained: But there are no boundaries to the increase of human knowledge, or to the discovery of the means of human happiness; and every step that is gained in those higher walks, is gained, she conceives, for posterity and for ever.

The great objection derived from the signal check which the arts and civility of life received from the inroads of the Northern barbarians on the decline of the Roman power, and the long period of darkness and degradation which ensued, she endeavours to obviate, by a very bold and ingenious speculation. It is her object here to show, that the invasion of the Northern tribes not only promoted their own civilization more effectually than any thing else could have done, but actually imparted to the genius of the vanquished, a character of energy, solidity and seriousness, which could never have sprung up of itself in the volatile regions of the South. The amalgamation of the two races, she thinks, has produced a mighty improvement on both; and the vivacity, the elegance and versatility of the warmer latitudes, been mingled, infinitely to their mutual advantage, with the majestic melancholy, the profound thought, and the sterner morality of the North. This combination, again, she conceives; could have been effected in no way so happily as by the successful invasion of the ruder people, and the conciliating influence of that common faith, which at once repressed the frivolous, and mollified the ferocious tendencies of our nature. The temporary disappearance therefore of literature and politeness, upon the first shock of this mighty collision, was but the subsidence of the sacred flame under the heaps of fuel which were thus profusely provided for its increase; and the seeming waste and sterility that ensued, was but the first aspect of the fertilizing flood and accumulated manure under which vegetation was buried for a while, that it might break out at last with a richer and more indestructible luxuriance. The human intellect was neither dead nor inactive, she contends, during that long slumber, in which it was collecting vigour for unprecedented exertions; and the occupations to which it was devoted, though not of the most brilliant or attractive description, were perhaps the best fitted for its ultimate and substantial improvement. The subtle distinctions, the refined casuistry, and ingenious logic of the School divines, were all favourable to habits of careful and accurate thinking; and led insensibly to a far more thorough and profound knowledge of human nature—the limits of its faculties and the grounds of its duties—than had been attained by the more careless inquirers of antiquity. When men, therefore, began again to reason upon human affairs, they were found to have

made an immense progress during the period when all appeared to be either retrograde or stationary ; and Shakespeare, Bacon, Machiavel, Montaigne, and Galileo, who appeared almost at the same time, in the most distant countries of Europe, each displayed a reach of thought and a power of reasoning which we should look for in vain in the eloquent dissertations of the classical ages. To them succeeded such men as Jeremy Taylor, Moliere, Pascal, Locke, and La Bruyere,—all of them observers of a character, to which there is nothing at all parallel in antiquity ; and yet only preparing the way, in the succeeding age, for Montesquieu, Hume, Voltaire, Smith, Burke, Malthus, and so many others, who have made the world familiar with truths, which, however important and demonstrable at all times, certainly never entered into the conception of the earlier inhabitants of the world. Those truths, and others still more important, of which they are destined to be the parents, have already, according to Mad. de Staël, produced a prodigious alteration, and an incalculable improvement on the condition of human nature. Through their influence, assisted no doubt by that of the Gospel, slavery has been abolished, trade and industry set free from restriction, and war disarmed of half its horrors ; while, in private life, women have been restored to their just rank in society ; sentiments of justice and humanity have been universally cultivated, and public opinion been armed with a power which renders every other both safe and salutary.

Many of these truths, which were once the derided discoveries of men of original genius, are now admitted as elementary principles in the reasonings of ordinary people ; and are every day extending their empire, and multiplying their progeny. Mad. de Staël sees no reason to doubt, therefore, that they will one day inherit the whole earth ; and, under their reign, she takes it to be clear, that war, and poverty, and all the misery that arises from vice and ignorance, will disappear from the face of society ; and that men, universally convinced that justice and benevolence are the true sources of enjoyment, will seek their own happiness in a constant endeavour to promote that of their neighbours.

It would be very agreeable to believe all this—in spite of the grudging which would necessarily arise, from the reflection that we were born so much too soon for virtue and enjoyment in this world. But it is really impossible to overlook the manifold imperfections of the reasoning on which this splendid anticipation is founded ;—though it may be worth while to ascertain, if possible, in what degree it is founded in truth.

The first thing that occurs to a sober-minded listener to this

dream of perfectibility, is the extreme narrowness of the induction from which these sweeping conclusions are so confidently deduced. A progress that is in its own nature infinite and irresistible, must necessarily have been both universal and unremitting; and yet the evidence of its existence is founded, if we do not deceive ourselves, upon the history of a very small portion of the human race, for a very small number of generations. The proposition is, that the human species is advancing, and has always advanced, to a state of perfection, by a law of their nature, of the existence of which their past history and present state leaves no room to doubt. But when we cast a glance upon this high destined species, we find this necessary and eternal progress scarcely begun, in the old inhabited continent of Africa—stationary, as far back as our information reaches, in China—and retrograde, for a period of at least twelve centuries, and up to this day, in Egypt, India, Persia, and Greece. Even in our own Europe, which contains probably less than one tenth part of our kind, it is admitted, that, for upwards of a thousand years, this great work of moral nature not only stood still, but went visibly backwards over its fairest regions; and though there has been a prodigious progress in England and France and Germany during the last two hundred years, it may be doubted whether any thing of this sort can be said of Spain or Italy, or various other portions of this favoured quarter of the world. It may be very natural for Mad. de Staël, or for us, looking only to what has happened in our own world, and in our own times, to indulge in those dazzling views of the unbounded and universal improvement of the whole human race; but such speculations would appear rather wild, we suspect, to those whose lot it is to philosophize among the unchanging nations of Asia; and would probably carry even something of ridicule with them, if propounded upon the ruins of Thebes or Babylon, or even among the profaned relics of Athens or Rome.

We are not inclined, however, to push this very far. The world is certainly something the wiser for its past experience;—and there is an accumulation of useful knowledge, which we think likely to increase. The invention of printing and fire arms, and the perfect communication that is established over all Europe, insures us, we think, against any considerable falling back in respect of the sciences, or the arts and attainments that minister to the conveniences of ordinary life. We have no idea that any of the important discoveries of modern times will ever again be lost or forgotten; or that any future generation will be put to the trouble of inventing, for a second time, the art of making gunpowder or telescopes—the astronomy of Newton, or the

mechanics of Watt. All knowledge which admits of demonstration will advance, we have no doubt, and extend itself; and all processes will be improved, that do not interfere with the passions of human nature, or the apparent interest of its ruling classes. But with regard to every thing depending on probable reasoning, or susceptible of debate, and especially with regard to every thing touching morality and enjoyment, we really are not sanguine enough to reckon on any considerable improvement; and suspect that men will go on blundering in speculation, and transgressing in practice, pretty nearly as they do at present, to the latest period of their history.

In the nature of things, indeed, there can be no end to disputes upon probable, or what is called moral evidence; nor to the contradictory conduct, and consequent hostility and oppression, which must result from the opposite views that are taken of such subjects;—and that, partly, because the elements that are to be taken into the calculation are so vast and numerous, that many of the most material must always be overlooked by persons of ordinary talent and information; and partly because there not only is no standard by which the value of those elements can be ascertained and made manifest, but that they actually have a different value to almost every different individual. With regard to all nice, and indeed all debateable questions of happiness or morals, therefore, there never can be any agreement among men; because, in reality, there is no truth in which they can agree. All questions of this kind turn upon a comparison of the opposite advantages and disadvantages of any particular course of conduct or habit of mind: But these are of very different magnitude and importance to different persons; and their decision, therefore, even if they all saw the whole consequences, or even the same set of consequences, must be irreconcilably diverse. If the matter in deliberation, for example, be, whether it is better to live without toil or exertion, but, at the same time, without wealth or glory, or to venture for both upon a scene of labour and hazard—it is easy to see, that the determination which would be wise and expedient for one individual, might be just the reverse for another. Ease and obscurity are the *summum bonum* of one description of men; while others have an irresistible vocation to strenuous enterprise, and a positive delight in contention and danger. Nor is the magnitude of our virtues and vices referable to a more invariable standard. Intemperance is less a vice in the robust, and dishonesty less foolish in those who care but little for the scorn of society. Some men find their chief happiness in relieving sorrow—some in sympathizing with mirth. Some, again, derive most

of their enjoyment from the exercise of their reasoning faculties—others from that of their imagination ;—while a third sort attend to little but the gratification of their senses, and a fourth to that of their vanity. One delights in crowds, and another in solitude ;—one thinks of nothing but glory, and another of comfort ;—and so on, through all the infinite variety of human tastes, temperaments, and habits. Now, it is plain, that each of those persons should pursue a different road to the common object of happiness ; and that they must necessarily clash and jostle with each other, even if each were fully aware of the peculiarity of his own notions, and of the consequences of all that he did in obedience to their impulses. It is altogether impossible, therefore, we humbly conceive, that men should ever settle the point as to what is the wisest course of conduct, or the best disposition of mind ; or consequently take even the first step towards that perfection of moral science, or that cordial concert and cooperation in their common pursuit of happiness, which is the only alternative to their fatal opposition.

This impossibility will become more apparent when it is considered, that the only instrument by which it is pretended that this moral perfection is to be attained, is such a general illumination of the intellect as to make all men fully aware of the consequences of their actions ; and that it is not, in general, through ignorance of their consequences, that actions producing misery are actually performed. When the misery is inflicted upon others, the actors most frequently disregard it, upon a fair comparison with the pain they should inflict on themselves by forbearance ; and even when it falls on their own heads, they will generally be found rather to have been unlucky in the game, than to have been unacquainted with its hazards ; and to have ventured with as full a knowledge of the risks, as the fortunes of others can ever impress on the enterprising. There are many men, it should always be recollected, to whom the happiness of others gives very little satisfaction, and their sufferings very little pain,—and who would rather eat a luxurious meal by themselves, than scatter plenty and gratitude over twenty famishing cottages. No enlightening of the understanding will make such men the instruments of general happiness ; and wherever there is a competition,—wherever the question is stirred as to whose claims shall be renounced or asserted, we are all such men, in a greater or a less degree. There are others, again, who presume upon their own good fortune, with a degree of confidence that no exposition of the chances of failure can ever repress ; and in all cases where failure is possible, there must be a risk of suffering from its occurrence, however prudent the venture might

have appeared. These, however, are the chief sources of all the unhappiness which results from the conduct of man ;—and they are sources which we do not see that the improved intellect, or added experience of the species, is likely to close or diminish.

Take the case, for example, of war,—by far the most prolific and extensive pest of the human race, whether we consider the sufferings it inflicts, or the happiness it prevents,—and see whether it is likely to be arrested by the progress of intelligence and civilization. In the first place, it is manifest, that instead of becoming less frequent or destructive, in proportion to the rapidity of that progress, our European wars have been incomparably more constant, and more sanguinary, since Europe became signally enlightened and humanized,—and that they have uniformly been most obstinate and most popular, in its most polished countries. The brutish Laplanders, and bigotted and profligate Italians, have had long intervals of repose ; but France and England are now pretty regularly at war, for about fourscore years out of every century. In the second place, the lovers and conductors of war are by no means the most ferocious or stupid of their species,—but for the most part the very contrary ;—and their delight in it, notwithstanding their compassion for human suffering, and their complete knowledge of its tendency to produce suffering, seems to us sufficient almost of itself to discredit the confident prediction of those who assure us, that when men have attained to a certain degree of intelligence, war must necessarily cease among all the nations of the earth. There can be no better illustration indeed, than this, of the utter futility of all those dreams of perfectibility, which are founded on a radical ignorance of what it is that constitutes the real enjoyment of human nature, and upon the play of how many principles and opposite *stimuli* that happiness depends, which, it is absurdly imagined, would be found in the mere negation of suffering, or in a state of Quakerish placidity, dulness, and uniformity. Men delight in war, in spite of the pains and miseries which it entails upon them and their fellows, because it exercises all the talents, and calls out all the energies of their nature—because it holds them out conspicuously as the objects of public sentiment and general sympathy—because it gratifies their pride of art, and gives them a lofty sentiment of their own power, worth, and courage,—but principally because it sets the game of existence upon a higher stake, and dispels, by its powerful interest, those feelings of *ennui* which steal upon every condition from which hazard and anxiety are excluded, and drive us into danger and suffering as a relief. While human nature con-

tinues to be distinguished by those attributes, we do not see any chance of war being superseded by the increase of wisdom and morality. We should be pretty well advanced in the career of perfectibility, if all the inhabitants of Europe were as intelligent, and upright, and considerate, as Sir John Moore, or Lord Nelson, or Lord Wellington,—but we should not have the less war, we take it, with all its attendant miseries. The more wealth and intelligence, and liberty, there is in a country indeed, the greater love there will be for war;—for a gentleman is uniformly a more pugnacious animal than a plebeian, and a free man than a slave. The case is the same with the minor contentions that agitate civil life, and shed abroad the bitter waters of political animosity, and grow up into the rancours and atrocities of faction and cabal. The actors in these scenes are not the lowest or most debased characters in the country,—but, almost without exception, of the very opposite description. It would be too romantic to suppose, that the whole population of any country, should ever be raised to the level of Fox and Pitt, Burke, Windham, or Grattan; and yet if that miraculous improvement were to take place, we know that they would be at least as far from agreeing, as they are at present; and may fairly conclude, that they would contend with far greater warmth and animosity.

For that great class of evils, therefore, which arise from contention, emulation, and diversity of opinion upon points which admit of no solution, it is evident that the general increase of intelligence would afford no remedy; and there even seems to be reason for thinking, that it would increase their amount. If we turn to the other great source of human suffering, the abuse of power and wealth, and the other means of enjoyment, we suspect we shall not find any ground for indulging in more sanguine expectations. Take the common case of youthful excess and imprudence, for example, in which the evil commonly rests on the head of the transgressor,—the injury done to fortune, by thoughtless expense—to health and character, by sensual indulgence, and to the whole felicity of after life, by rash and unsorted marriages. The whole mischief and hazard of such practices, we are persuaded, is just as thoroughly known and understood at present, as it will be when the world is five thousand years older; and as much pains are taken to impress the ardent spirits of youth with the belief of those hazards, as can well be taken by the monitors who may discharge that office in the most remote futurity. The truth is, that the offenders do not offend so much in ignorance, as in presumption. They know very well, that men are oftener ruined than enriched at

the gaming table; and that love marriages, clapt up under age, are frequently followed by divorces: But they know too, that this is not always the case; and they flatter themselves that their good luck, and good judgment, will class them among the exceptions, and not among the ordinary examples of the rule. They are told well enough, for the most part, of the excessive folly of acting upon such a presumption, in matters of serious importance:—But it is the nature of youth, to despise much of the wisdom that is pressed upon them, and to think well of their fortune and sagacity, till they have actually had experience of their slipperiness. We really have no idea that their future teachers will be able to change this nature; or to destroy the eternal distinction between the character of early and mature life; and therefore it is, that we despair of the cure of the manifold evils that spring from this source; and remain persuaded, that young men will be nearly as foolish, and as incapable of profiting by the experience of their seniors, ten thousand years hence, as they are at this moment.

With regard to the other glittering curses of life—the heartless dissipations—the cruel seductions—the selfish extravagance—the rejection of all interesting occupation or serious affection, which blast the splendid summit of human fortune with perpetual barrenness and discomfort—we can only say, that as they are miseries which exist almost exclusively among the most polished and intelligent of the species, we do not think it very probable, at least, that they will be eradicated by rendering the species more polished and intelligent. They are not occasioned, we think, by ignorance or improper education; but by that eagerness for strong emotion and engrossing occupation, which still proclaim it to be the genuine and irreversible destiny of man to earn his bread by the sweat of his brows. It is a fact indeed rather perplexing and humiliating to the advocates of perfectibility, that as soon as a man is delivered from the necessity of subsisting himself, and providing for his family, he generally falls into a state of considerable unhappiness; and, if some fortunate anxiety, or necessity for exertion, does not come to his relief, is generally obliged to seek for a slight and precarious distraction in vicious and unsatisfactory pursuits. It is not for want of knowing that they are unsatisfactory that he persists in them, nor for want of being told of their folly and criminality;—for moralists and divines have been occupied with little else for the best part of a century; and writers of all descriptions indeed, have charitably expended a good part of their own *ennui* in copious directions for the innocent and effectual reduction of that common enemy. In spite of all this, however,

the malady has increased with our wealth and refinement, and has brought along with it the increase of all those vices and follies in which its victims still find themselves constrained to seek a temporary relief. The truth is, that military and senatorial glory is neither within the reach, nor suited to the taste, of any very great proportion of the sufferers; and that the cultivation of waste lands, and the superintendence of tippling-houses and charity schools, have not always been found such effectual and delightful remedies as the inditers of godly romances have sometimes represented. So that those whom fortune has cruelly exempted from the necessity of doing any thing, have been led very generally to do evil of their own accord, and have fancied that they rather diminished than added to the sum of human misery, by engaging in intrigues and gaming-clubs, and establishing coteries for detraction or sensuality.

The real and radical difficulty is to find some pursuit that will permanently interest,—some object that will continue to captivate and engross the faculties: and this, instead of becoming easier in proportion as our intelligence increases, obviously becomes more difficult. It is knowledge that destroys enthusiasm, and dispels all those prejudices of admiration which people simpler minds with so many idols of enchantment. It is knowledge that distracts by its variety, and satiates by its abundance, and generates by its communication, that dark and cold spirit of fastidiousness and derision which revenges on those whom it possesses, the pangs which it inflicts on those on whom it is exerted. Yet it is to the increase of knowledge and talents alone, that the prophets of perfectibility look forward for the cure of all our vices and all our unhappiness!

Even as to intellect, and the pleasures that are to be derived from the exercise of a vigorous understanding, we doubt greatly whether we ought to look forward to posterity with any very lively feelings of envy or humiliation. More knowledge they probably will have,—as we have undoubtedly more knowledge than our ancestors had two hundred years ago; but for vigour of understanding, or pleasure in the exercise of it, we must beg leave to demur. The more there is already known, the less there remains to be discovered; and the more time a man is obliged to spend in ascertaining what his predecessors have already established, the less he will have to bestow in adding to its amount. The time, however, is of less consequence; but the habits of mind that are formed by walking patiently, humbly and passively in the paths that have been traced by others, are the very habits that disqualify us for vigorous and independent excursions of our own. There is a certain degree of

knowledge, to be sure, that is but wholesome aliment to the understanding—materials for it to work upon—or instruments to facilitate its labours:—But a larger quantity is apt to oppress and incumber it; and as industry, which is excited by the importation of the raw material, may be superseded and extinguished by the introduction of the finished manufacture, so the minds which are stimulated to activity by a certain measure of instruction may, unquestionably, be reduced to a state of passive and languid acquiescence, by a more profuse and redundant supply.

Mad. de Staël, and the other advocates of her system, talk a great deal of the prodigious advantage of having the results of the laborious discoveries of one generation made matters of familiar and elementary knowledge in another; and for practical utility, it may be so: But nothing, we conceive, can be so completely destructive of all intellectual enterprise, and all force and originality of thinking, as this very process of the reduction of knowledge to its results, or the multiplication of those summary and accessible pieces of information in which the student is saved the whole trouble of investigation, and put in possession of the prize, without either the toils or the excitement of the contest. This, in the first place, necessarily makes the prize much less a subject of exultation or delight to him; for the chief pleasure is in the chase itself, and not in the object which it pursues: and he who sits at home, and has the dead game brought to the side of his chair, will be very apt, we believe, to regard it as nothing better than an unfragrant vermin. But, in the next place, it does him no good; for he misses altogether the invigorating exercise, and the invaluable training to habits of emulation and sagacity and courage, for the sake of which alone the pursuit is deserving of applause. And, in the last place, he not only fails in this way to acquire the qualities that may enable him to run down knowledge for himself, but necessarily finds himself without taste or inducement for such exertions. He thinks, and in one sense he thinks justly, that if the proper object of study be to acquire knowledge, he can employ his time much more profitably in implicitly listening to the discoveries of others, than in a laborious attempt to discover something for himself. It is infinitely more fatiguing to think, than to remember; and incomparably shorter to be led to an object, than to explore our own way to it. It is inconceivable what an obstruction this furnishes to the original exercise of the understanding in a certain state of information; and how effectually the general diffusion of knowledge operates as a bounty upon indolence and mental imbeci-

lity. Where the quantity of approved and collected knowledge is already very great in any country, it is naturally required of all well educated persons to possess a considerable share of it; and where it has also been made very accessible, by being reduced to its summary and ultimate results, an astonishing variety of those abstracts may be stowed away in the memory, with scarcely any fatigue or exercise to the other faculties. The whole mass of attainable intelligence, however, must still be beyond the reach of any individual; and he may go on, therefore, to the end of a long and industrious life, constantly acquiring knowledge in this cheap and expeditious manner. But if, in the course of these passive and humble researches, he should be tempted to inquire a little for himself, he cannot fail to be struck with the prodigious waste of time, and of labour, that is necessary for the attainment of a very inconsiderable portion of original knowledge. His progress is as slow as that of a man who is making a road, compared with that of those who afterwards travel over it; and he feels, that in order to make a very small advancement in one department of study, he must consent to sacrifice very great attainments in others. He is disheartened, too, by the extreme insignificance of any thing that he can expect to contribute, when compared with the great store that is already in possession of the public; and is extremely apt to conclude, that it is not only safer, but more profitable, to follow, than to lead; and that it is fortunate for the lovers of wisdom, that our ancestors have accumulated enough of it for our use, as well as for their own.

But while the general diffusion of knowledge tends thus powerfully to repress all original and independent speculation in individuals, it operates still more powerfully in rendering the public indifferent and unjust to their exertions. The treasures they have inherited from their predecessors are so ample, as not only to take away all disposition to labour for their further increase, but to lead them to undervalue and overlook any little addition that may be made to them by the voluntary offerings of individuals. The works of the best models are perpetually before their eyes, and their accumulated glory in their remembrance; the very variety of the sorts of excellence which are constantly obtruded on their notice, renders excellence itself cheap and vulgar in their estimation. As the mere possessors or judges of such things, they are apt to ascribe to themselves a character of superiority, which renders any moderate performance unworthy of their regard; and their cold and languid familiarity with what is best, ultimately produces no other effect than to render them insensible to its beauties, and at the same time intolerant

of all that appears to fall short of it. This state of public feeling, which we think inseparable from the long and general diffusion of knowledge, is admirably described by Mad. de Staël, in a passage to which she has given a more limited application.

‘ Mais il ne faut jamais comparer l’ignorance à la dégradation ; un peuple qui a été civilisé par les lumières, s’il retombe dans l’indifférence pour le talent et la philosophie, devient incapable de toute espèce de sentiment vif ; il lui reste une sorte d’esprit de dénigrement, qui le porte à tout hasard à se refuser à l’admiration ; il craint de se tromper dans les louanges, et croit, comme les jeunes gens qui prétendent au bon air, qu’on se fait plus d’honneur en critiquant même avec injustice, qu’en approuvant trop facilement. Un tel peuple est alors dans une disposition presque toujours insouciant ; le froid de l’âge semble atteindre la nation toute entière : on en sait assez pour n’être pas étonné ; on n’a pas acquis assez de connoissances pour démêler avec certitude ce qui mérite l’estime ; beaucoup d’illusions sont détruites, sans qu’aucune vérité soit établie ; on est retombé dans l’enfance par la vieillesse, dans l’incertitude par le raisonnement ; l’intérêt mutuel n’existe plus : on est dans cet état que le Dante appeloit *l’enfer des tièdes*. Celui qui cherche à se distinguer inspire d’abord une prévention défavorable ; le public malade est fatigué d’avance par qui veut obtenir encore un signe de lui. ’

Tom. 1. p. 40, 41.

In such a condition of society, it is obvious that men must be peculiarly disinclined from indulging in these bold and original speculations, for which their whole training had previously disqualified them ; and we appeal to our readers, whether there are not, at this day, apparent symptoms of such a condition of society. A childish love of novelty may indeed give a transient popularity to works of mere amusement ; but the age of original genius, and of comprehensive and independent reasoning, seems to be over. Instead of such works as those of Bacon, and Shakespeare, and Taylor, and Hooker, we have Encyclopædias, and geographical compilations, and county histories, and new editions of black letter authors—and trashy biographies and posthumous letters—and disputations upon prosody—and ravings about orthodoxy and methodism. Men of general information and curiosity seldom think of adding to the knowledge that is already in the world ; and the inferior persons upon whom that task is consequently devolved, carry it on, for the most part, by means of that minute subdivision of labour which is the great secret of the mechanical arts, but can never be introduced into literature without depriving its higher branches of all force, dignity, or importance. One man spends his life in improving a method of dyeing cotton red ; another in adding a few insects to a catalogue which nobody reads ;—a third in set-

tling the metres of a few Greek Choruses;—a fourth in decyphering illegible romances, or old grants of farms;—a fifth in picking rotten bones out of the earth;—a sixth in describing all the old walls and hillocks in his parish;—and five hundred others in occupations equally liberal and important: each of them being, for the most part, profoundly ignorant of every thing out of his own narrow department, and very generally and deservedly despised by his competitors for the favour of that public which despises and supports them all.

Such, however, it appears to us, is the state of mind that is naturally produced by the great accumulation and general diffusion of various sorts of knowledge. Men learn, instead of reasoning. Instead of meditating, they remember; and, in place of the glow of inventive genius, or the warmth of a generous admiration, nothing is to be met with, in society, but timidity on the one hand, and fastidiousness on the other—a paltry accuracy, and a more paltry derision—a sensibility to small faults, and an incapacity of great merits—a disposition to exaggerate the value of knowledge that is not to be used, and to underrate the importance of powers which have ceased to exist. If these, however, are the consequences of accumulated and diffused knowledge, it may well be questioned whether the human intellect will gain in point of dignity and energy by the only certain acquisitions to which we are entitled to look forward. For our own part, we will confess we have no such expectations. There will be improvements, we make no doubt, in all the mechanical and domestic arts;—better methods of working metal, and preparing cloth;—more commodious vehicles, and more efficient implements of war. Geography will be made more complete, and astronomy more precise;—natural history will be enlarged and digested;—and perhaps some little improvement suggested in the forms of administering law. But as to any general enlargement of the understanding, or more prevailing vigour of judgment, we will own, that the tendency seems to be all the other way; and that we think strong sense, and extended views of human affairs, are more likely to be found, and to be listened to at this moment, than two or three hundred years hereafter. The truth is, we suspect, that the vast and enduring products of the virgin soil can no longer be reared in that factitious mould to which cultivation has since given existence; and that its forced and deciduous progeny will go on degenerating, till some new deluge shall restore the vigour of the glebe by a temporary destruction of all its generations.

Hitherto we have spoken only of the higher and more instructed classes of society,—to whom it is reasonable to suppose

that the perfection of wisdom and happiness will come first, in their progress through the whole race of men ; and we have seen what reason there is to doubt of their near approach. The lower orders however, we think, have still less good fortune to reckon on. In the whole history of the species, there has been nothing at all comparable to the improvement of England within the last century ; never anywhere was there such an increase of wealth and luxury—so many admirable inventions in the arts—so many works of learning and ingenuity—such a progress in cultivation—such an enlargement of commerce :—and yet, in that century, the number of paupers in England has increased fourfold, and is now rated at one-tenth of her whole population ; and, notwithstanding the enormous sums that are levied and given privately for their relief, and the multitudes that are drained off by the waste of war, the peace of the country is perpetually threatened by the outrages of famishing multitudes. This fact of itself is decisive, we think, as to the effect of general refinement and intelligence on the condition of the lower orders ; but it is not difficult to trace the steps of its operation. Increasing refinement and ingenuity lead naturally to the establishment of manufactures ; and not only enable society to spare a great proportion of its agricultural labourers for this purpose, but actually encourage the breeding of an additional population, to be maintained out of the profits of this new occupation. For a time, too, this answers ; and the artisan shares in the conveniences to which his labours have contributed to give birth : But it is in the very nature of the manufacturing system, to be liable to great fluctuation, occasional check, and possible destruction ; and at all events, it has a tendency to produce a greater population than it can permanently support in comfort or prosperity. The average rate of wages, for the last forty years, has been insufficient to maintain a labourer with a tolerably large family ;—and yet such have been the occasional fluctuations, and such the sanguine calculations of persons incapable of taking a comprehensive view of the whole, that the manufacturing population has been prodigiously increased in the same period. It is the interest of the manufacturer to keep this population in excess, as the only sure means of keeping wages low ; and wherever the means of subsistence are uncertain, and liable to variation, it seems to be the general law of our nature, that the population should be adapted to the highest, and not to the average rate of supply. In India, where a dry season used to produce a failure of the crop, once in every ten or twelve years, the population was always up to the measure of the greatest abundance ; and in manufacturing countries, the miscalculation is still more sanguine and erroneous.

Such countries, therefore, are always overpeopled; and it seems to be the necessary effect of increasing talent and refinement, to convert all countries into this denomination. China, the oldest manufacturing nation in the world, and by far the greatest that ever existed with the use of little machinery, has always suffered from a redundant population, and has always kept the largest part of its inhabitants in a state of the greatest poverty.

The effect then which is produced on the lower orders of society, by that increase of industry and refinement, and that multiplication of conveniences which are commonly looked upon as the surest tests of increasing prosperity, is to convert the peasants into manufacturers, and the manufacturers into paupers; while the chance of their ever emerging from this condition becomes constantly less, the more complete and mature the system is which had originally produced it. When manufactures are long established, and thoroughly understood, it will always be found, that persons possessed of a large capital, can carry them on upon lower profits, than persons of any other description; and the natural tendency of this system, therefore, is to throw the whole business into the hands of great capitalists; and thus not only to render it next to impossible for a common workman to advance himself into the condition of a master, but to drive from the competition the greater part of those moderate dealers, by whose prosperity alone the general happiness of the nation can be promoted. The state of the operative manufacturers, therefore, seems every day more hopelessly stationary; and that great body of the people, it appears to us, is likely to grow into a fixed and degraded *caste*, out of which no person can hope to escape, who has once been enrolled among its members. They cannot look up to the rank of master manufacturers; because, without capital, it will every day be more impossible to engage in that occupation,—and back they cannot go to the labours of agriculture, because there is no demand for their services. The improved system of farming, furnishes an increased produce with many fewer hands than were formerly employed in procuring a much smaller return; and besides all this, the lower population has actually increased to a far greater amount than ever was at any time employed in the cultivation of the ground.

To remedy all these evils, which are likely, as we conceive, to be aggravated, rather than relieved, by the general progress of refinement and intelligence, we have little to look to but the beneficial effects of this increasing intelligence upon the lower orders themselves;—and we are far from undervaluing this influence.

By the universal adoption of a good system of education, habits of foresight and self-control, and rigid economy, may in time no doubt be pretty generally introduced, instead of the improvidence and profligacy which too commonly characterize the larger assemblages of our manufacturing population; and if these lead, as they are likely to do, to the general institution of Friendly Societies among the workmen, a great palliative will have been provided for the disadvantages of a situation, which must always be considered as one of the least fortunate which Providence has assigned to any of the human race.

There is no end, however, we find, to these speculations; and we must here close our remarks on Perfectibility, without touching upon the *political* changes which are likely to be produced by a long course of progressive refinements and scientific improvement—though we are afraid that an enlightened anticipation would not be much more cheering in this view, than in any of those we have hitherto considered. Luxury and refinement have a tendency undoubtedly to make men sensual and selfish; and, in that state, increased talent and intelligence is apt only to render them more mercenary and servile. Among the prejudices which this kind of philosophy roots out, that of patriotism is among the first to be surmounted;—and then, a dangerous opposition to power, and a sacrifice of interest to affection, speedily come to be considered as romantic. Arts are discovered to palliate the encroachments of arbitrary power; and a luxurious, patronizing, and vicious monarchy is firmly established amidst the adulations of a corrupt nation. We proceed now to Mad. de Staël's History of Literature.

Not knowing any thing of the Egyptians and Phœnicians, she takes the Greeks for the first inventors of literature,—and explains many of their peculiarities by that supposition. The first development of talent, she says, is in poetry; and the first poetry consists in the rapturous description of striking objects in nature, or of the actions and exploits that are then thought of the greatest importance. There is little reflection—no nice development of feeling or character—and no sustained strain of tenderness or moral emotion in this primitive poetry; which charms almost entirely by the freshness and brilliancy of its colouring—the spirit and naturalness of its representations—and the air of freedom and facility with which every thing is executed. This was the age of Homer. After that, though at a long interval, came the age of Pericles:—When human nature was a little more studied and regarded, and poetry received accordingly a certain cast of thoughtfulness, and an air of labour—

eloquence began to be artful, and the rights and duties of men to be subjects of investigation. This, therefore, was the era of the tragedians, the orators, and the first ethical philosophers. Last came the age of Alexander, when science had superseded fancy, and all the talent of the country was turned to the pursuits of philosophy. This, Mad. de Staël thinks, is the natural progress of literature in all countries; and that of the Greeks is only distinguished by their having been the first that pursued it, and by the peculiarities of their mythology, and their political relations.

It is not quite clear indeed that they were the first; but Mad. de Staël is very eloquent upon that supposition.

‘Les anciens étoient animés par une imagination enthousiaste, dont la méditation n’avoit point analysé les impressions. Ils prenoient possession de la terre non encore parcourue, non encore décrite; étonnés de chaque jouissance, de chaque production de la nature, ils y plaçoient un dieu pour l’honorer, pour en assurer la durée. Ils écrivoient sans autre modèle que les objets mêmes qu’ils retraçoient; aucune littérature antécédente ne leur servoit de guide; l’exaltation poétique s’ignorant elle-même, & par cela seul un degré de force et de candeur que l’étude ne peut atteindre, c’est le charme du premier amour; dès qu’il existe une autre littérature, les écrivains ne peuvent méconnoître en eux-mêmes les sentimens que d’autres ont exprimés; ils ne sont plus étonnés par rien de ce qu’ils éprouvent; ils se savent en délire; ils se jugent enthousiastes; ils ne peuvent plus croire à une inspiration surnaturelle.’ p. 71.

The state of society too, in these early times, was such as to impress very strongly on the mind those objects and occurrences which formed the first materials of poetry. The intercourse with distant countries being difficult and dangerous, the legends of the traveller were naturally invested with more than the modern allowance of the marvellous. The smallness of the civilized states connected every individual with its leaders, and made him personally a debtor for the protection which their prowess afforded from the robbers and wild beasts which then infested the unsubdued earth. Gratitude and terror, therefore, combined to excite the spirit of enthusiasm; and the same ignorance which imputed to the direct agency of the gods, the more rare and dreadful phenomena of nature, gave a character of supernatural greatness to the reported exploits of their heroes. Philosophy, which has led to the exact investigation of causes, has robbed the world of much of its sublimity; and by preventing us from believing much, and from wondering at any thing, has taken away half our enthusiasm, and more than half our admiration.

The purity of taste which characterizes the very earliest poetry of the Greeks, seems to us more difficult to be accounted for.

Mad. de Staël ascribes it chiefly to the influence of their copious mythology; and the eternal presence of those Gods—which, though always about men, were always above them—and gave a tone of dignity or elegance to the whole scheme of their existence. Their tragedies were acted in temples—in the presence of the Gods, the fate of whose descendants they commemorated, and as a part of the religious solemnities instituted in their honour. Their legends, in like manner, related to the progeny of the immortals: And their feasts—their dwellings—their farming—their battles—and every incident and occupation of their daily life being under the immediate sanction of some presiding deity, it was scarcely possible to speak of them in a vulgar or inelegant manner; and the nobleness of their style therefore appeared to result naturally from the elegance of their mythology.

Now, even if we could pass over the obvious objection, that this mythology was itself a creature of the same poetical imagination which it is here supposed to have modified, it is impossible not to observe, that though the circumstances here alluded to may account for the raised and lofty tone of the Grecian poetry, and for the exclusion of low or familiar life from their dramatic representations, it will not explain the far more substantial indications of pure taste afforded by the absence of all that gross exaggeration, violent incongruity, and tedious and childish extravagance which are found to deform the primitive poetry of most other nations. The Hindoos, for example, have a mythology at least as copious and still more constantly interwoven with every action of their lives: But their legends are the very models of bad taste; and unite all the detestable attributes of obscurity, puerility, insufferable tediousness, and the most revolting and abominable absurdity. The poetry of the Northern bards is not more commendable: But the Greeks are wonderfully rational and moderate in all their works of imagination; and speak, for the most part, with a degree of justness and brevity, which is only the more marvellous, when it is considered how much religion had to do in the business. A better explanation, perhaps, of their superiority, may be derived from recollecting that the sins of affectation, and injudicious effort, really cannot be committed where there are no models to be at once copied and avoided. The first writers naturally took possession of what was most striking, and most capable of producing effect in nature and in incident. Their successors consequently found these occupied; and were obliged, for the credit of their originality, to produce something which should be different, at least, if not better, than their originals. They had not only to adhere to nature, therefore, but to avoid representing her exactly as she had been represented by the antients;

and when they could not accomplish both these objects, they contrived, at least, to make sure of the last. The Greeks had but one task to perform: They were in no danger of comparisons, or imputations of plagiarism; and wrote down whatever struck them as just and impressive, without fear of finding that they had been stealing from a predecessor. The wide world, in short, was before them, unappropriated and unmarked by any preceding footstep; and they took their way, without hesitation, by the most airy heights and sunny valleys; while those who came after, found it so seamed and crossed with tracks in which they were forbidden to tread, that they were frequently driven to make the most fantastic circuits and abrupt descents to avoid them.

The characteristic defects of the early Greek poetry, are all to be traced to the same general causes,—the peculiar state of society, and that newness to which they were indebted for its principal beauties. They describe every thing, because nothing had been previously described; and incumber their whole diction with epithets that convey no information. There is no reach of thought, or fineness of sensibility, because reflection had not yet awakened the deeper sympathies of their nature; and we are perpetually shocked with the imperfections of their morality, and the indelicacy of their affections, because society had not subsisted long enough in peace and security to develop those finer sources of emotion. Those defects are most conspicuous in every thing that relates to women. They had absolutely no idea of that mixture of friendship, veneration, and desire, which is indicated by the word Love, in the modern languages of Europe. The love of the Greek tragedians, is a species of insanity or frenzy,—a blind and ungovernable impulse inflicted by the Gods in their vengeance, and leading its humiliated victim to the commission of all sorts of enormities. Racine, in his *Phædre*, has ventured to exhibit a love of this description on a modern stage; but the softenings of delicate feeling—the tenderness and profound affliction which he has been forced to add to the fatal impulse of the original character, show, more strongly than any thing else, the radical difference between the ancient and the modern conception of the passion.

The political institutions of Greece, had also a remarkable effect on their literature; and nothing can show this so strongly as the striking contrast between Athens and Sparta—placed under the same sky—with the same language and religion—and yet so opposite in their government and in their literary pursuits. The ruling passion of the Athenians was that of amusement; for, though the emulation of glory was more lively a-

mong them than among any other people, it was still subordinate to their rapturous admiration of successful talent. Their law of ostracism is a proof, how much they were afraid of their own propensity to idolize. They could not trust themselves in the presence of one who had become too popular. This propensity also has had a sensible effect upon their poetry; and it should never be forgotten, that it was not composed to be read and studied, and criticized in the solitude of the closet, like the works that have been produced since the invention of printing; but to be recited to music before multitudes assembled at feasts and high solemnities, where every thing favoured the kindling and diffusion of that enthusiasm, of which the history now seems to us so incredible.

There is a separate chapter on the Greek drama—which is full of brilliant and original observations;—though we have already anticipated the substance of many of them. The great basis of its peculiarity, was the constant interposition of the Gods. Almost all the violent passions are represented as the irresistible inspirations of a superior power;—almost all their extraordinary actions as the fulfilment of an oracle—the accomplishment of an unrelenting destiny. This probably added to the awfulness and terror of the representation, in an audience which believed implicitly in the reality of those dispensations. But it has impaired their dramatic excellence, by dispensing them too much from the necessity of preparing their catastrophes by a gradation of natural events,—the exact delineation of character,—and the touching representation of those preparatory struggles which precede a resolution of horror. Orestes kills his mother, and Electra encourages him to the deed,—without the least indication, in either, of that poignant remorse which afterwards avenges the parricide. No modern dramatist could possibly have omitted so important and natural a part of the exhibition;—but the explanation of it is found at once in the ruling superstition of the age. Apollo had commanded the murder—and Orestes could not hesitate to obey. When it is committed, the Furies are commissioned to pursue him; and the audience shudders with reverential awe at the torments they inflict on the murderer. Human sentiments, and human motives, have but little to do in bringing about these catastrophes. They are sometimes suggested by the Chorus;—but the heroes themselves act always by the order of the Gods. Accordingly, the authors of the most atrocious actions are seldom represented in the Greek tragedies as guilty, but as piacular;—and their general moral is rather, that the Gods are omnipotent, than that crimes should give rise to punishment and detestation.

A great part of the effect of these representations, must have depended on the exclusive nationality of their subjects, and the extreme nationality of their auditors; though it is a striking remark of Mad. de Staël, that the Greeks, after all, were more national than republican,—and were never actuated with that profound hatred and scorn of tyranny which exalted the Roman character. Almost all their tragic subjects, accordingly, are taken from the misfortunes of kings;—of kings descended from the Gods, and upon whose genealogy the nation still continued to value itself. The fate of the Tarquins could never have been regarded at Rome as a worthy occasion either of pity or horror. Republican sentiments are occasionally introduced into the Greek Choruses;—though we cannot agree with Mad. de Staël in considering these musical bodies as intended to represent the people.

It is in their Comedy, that the defects of the Greek literature are most conspicuous. The world was then too young to supply its materials. Society had not existed long enough, either to develop the finer shades of character in real life, or to generate the talent of observing, generalizing, and representing them. The national genius, and the form of government, led them to delight in detraction and popular abuse; for though they admired and applauded their great men, they had not in their hearts any great respect for them; and the degradation or seclusion in which they kept their women, took away almost all interest or elegance from the intercourse of private life, and reduced its scenes of gaiety to those of coarse debauch, or broad and humorous derision. The extreme coarseness and vulgarity of Aristophanes, is apt to excite our wonder, when we first consider him as the contemporary of Euripides, and Socrates, and Plato;—but the truth is, that the Athenians, after all, were but a common populace as to moral delicacy and social refinement. Enthusiasm, and especially the enthusiasm of superstition and nationality, is as much the passion of the vulgar, as a delight in ribaldry and low buffoonery. The one was gratified by their tragedy;—and the comedy of Aristophanes was exactly calculated to give delight to the other. In the end, however, their love of buffoonery and detraction unfortunately proved too strong for their nationality. When Philip was at their gates, all the eloquence of Demosthenes could not rouse them from their theatrical dissipations. The great danger which they always apprehended to their liberties, was from the excessive power and popularity of one of their own great men; and, by a singular fatality, they perished, from a profligate indifference and insensibility to the charms of patriotism and greatness.

In philosophy, Mad. de Staël does not rank the Greeks very high. The greater part of them were orators and poets, rather than profound thinkers, or exact inquirers. They discoursed rhetorically upon vague and abstract ideas; and, up to the time of Aristotle, proceeded upon the radical error of substituting hypothesis for observation. That eminent person first showed the use and the necessity of analysis; and did infinitely more for posterity than all the mystics that went before him. As their states were small, and their domestic life inelegant, men seem to have been considered almost exclusively in their relation to the public. There is, accordingly, a noble air of patriotism and devotedness to the common weal in all the morality of the ancients; and though Socrates set the example of fixing the principles of virtue for private life, the ethics of Plato, and Xenophon, and Zeno, and most of the other philosophers, are little else than treatises of political duties. In modern times, from the prevalence of monarchical government, and the great extent of societies, men are very generally quite loosened from their relations with the public, and are but too much engrossed with their private interests and affections. This may be venial, when they merely forget the state, by which they are forgotten; but it is base and fatal, when they are guided by those interests in the few public functions they have still to perform. After all, the morality of the Greeks was very clumsy and imperfect. In political science, the variety of their governments, and the perpetual play of war and negotiation, had made them more expert. Their historians narrate with spirit and simplicity; and this is their merit. They make scarcely any reflections; and are marvellously indifferent as to vice or virtue. They record the most atrocious and most heroic actions—the most disgusting crimes and most exemplary generosity—with the same tranquil accuracy with which they would describe the succession of storms and sunshine. Thucydides is somewhat of a higher pitch; but the immense difference between him and Tacitus proves, better perhaps than any general reasoning, the progress which had been made in the interim in the powers of reflection and observation, and how near the Greeks, with all their boasted attainments, should be placed to the intellectual infancy of the species. In all their productions, indeed, the fewness of their ideas is remarkable; and their most impressive writings may be compared to the music of certain rude nations, which produces the most astonishing effects by the combination of not more than four or five simple notes.

Mad. de Staël now proceeds to the Romans—who will not detain us by any means so long. Their literature was confessedly

borrowed from that of Greece; for nothing is ever invented, where borrowing will serve the purpose; but it was marked with several distinctions, to which alone it is now necessary to attend. In the first place—and this is very remarkable—the Romans, contrary to the custom of all other nations, began their career of letters with philosophy; and the cause of this peculiarity is very characteristic of the nation. They had subsisted longer, and effected more without literature, than any other people on record. They had become a great state, wisely constituted and skilfully administered, long before any one of their citizens had ever appeared as an author. The love of their country was the passion of each individual—the greatness of the Roman name the object of their pride and enthusiasm. Studies which had no reference to political objects, therefore, could find no favour in their eyes; and it was from their subserviency to popular and senatorial oratory, and the aid which they promised to afford in the management of factions and national concerns, that they were first led to listen to the lessons of the Greek philosophers. Nothing else could have induced Cato to enter upon such a study at an advanced period of life. Though the Romans borrowed their philosophy from the Greeks, however, they made much more use of it than their masters. They carried into their practice much of what the others contented themselves with setting down in their books; and thus came to attain much more precise notions of practical duty, than could ever be invented by mere discoursers. The philosophical writings of Cicero, though occasionally incumbered with the subtleties of his Athenian preceptors, contain a much more complete code of morality than is to be found in all the volumes of the Greeks—though it may be doubted, whether his political information and acuteness can be compared with that of Aristotle. It was the philosophy of the Stoics that gained the hearts of the Romans; for it was that which fell in with their national habits and dispositions. Mad. de Staël has remarked upon this subject with great liveliness and sagacity.

‘Les opinions stoïciennes étoient le point d’honneur des Romains : une vertu dominante soutient toutes les associations politiques, indépendamment du principe de leur gouvernement; c’est-à-dire qu’entre toutes les qualités, on en préfère une, sans laquelle toutes les autres ne sont rien, et qui suffit seule à faire pardonner l’absence de toutes. Cette qualité est le lien de patrie, le caractère distinctif des citoyens d’un même pays. Chez les Lacédémoniens, c’étoit le mépris de la douleur physique; chez les Athéniens, la distinction des talens; chez les Romains, la puissance de l’ame sur elle-même; chez les Français, l’éclat de la valeur; et telle étoit l’importance qu’un Romain mettoit à l’exercice d’un empire absolu sur tout son

être, que, seul avec lui-même, le stoïcien s'avoit à peine les affections qu'il étoit ordonné de surmonter.

‘ Si un homme d'honneur étoit susceptible de quelque crainte, il la repousseroit avec tant d'énergie, qu'il n'auroit jamais l'occasion ni la volonté de l'observer dans son propre cœur. Il en étoit de même, parmi les philosophes Romains, des sentimens tumultueux de peine ou de colère, d'envie ou de regret : ils trouvoient efféminés tous les mouvemens involontaires ; et rougissant de les éprouver, ils ne s'attachoient point à les connoître ni dans eux-mêmes, ni dans les autres. L'étude du cœur humain n'étoit pour eux que celle de la force ou de la foiblesse. Toujours ambitieux de réputation, ils ne s'abandonnoient point à leur propre caractère ; ils ne montroient jamais qu'une nature commandée. — ‘ Les Romains n'étoient point hypocrites ; mais ils se formoient au-dedans d'eux-mêmes pour l'ostentation. Le caractère Romain étoit un modèle auquel tous les grands hommes adaptoient leur nature particulière ; et les écrivains moralistes présentoient toujours le même exemple. ’ p. 115, 146.

The same character and the same national institutions that led them to adopt the Greek philosophy instead of their poetry, restrained them from the imitation of their theatrical excesses. As the government was strictly aristocratical, it could never permit its legitimate chiefs to be held up to mockery on the stage, as the democratical license of the Athenians held up the pretenders to their favour. But, independently of this, the severer dignity of the Roman character, and the deeper respect and prouder affection they entertained for all that exalted the glory of their country, would at all events have interdicted such indecorous and humiliating exhibitions. The comedy of Aristophanes never could have been tolerated at Rome ; and though Plautus and Terence were allowed to imitate, or rather to translate, the more inoffensive dramas of a later age, it is remarkable, that they seldom ventured to subject even to that mitigated and more general ridicule any one invested with the dignity of a Roman citizen. The manners represented are almost entirely Greek manners ; and the ridiculous parts are almost without any exception assigned to foreigners, and to persons of a servile condition. Women were, from the beginning, of more account in the estimation of the Romans than of the Greeks—though their province was strictly domestic, and did not extend to what, in modern times, is denominated society. With all the severity of their character, the Romans had much more real tenderness than the Greeks,—though they repressed its external indications, as among those marks of weakness which were unbecoming men entrusted with the interests and the honour of their country. Mad. de Staël has drawn a pretty picture of the parting of Brutus and Portia ; and contrasted it, as a specimen of national

character, with the Grecian groupe of Pericles pleading for Aspasia. The general observation, we are persuaded, is just; but the examples are not quite fairly chosen. Brutus is a little too good for an average of Roman virtue. If she had chosen Mark Antony, or Lepidus, the contrast would have been less brilliant. The self-control which their principles required of them—the law which they had imposed on themselves, to feel no indulgence for suffering in themselves or in others, excluded tragedy from the range of their literature. Pity was never to be recognized by a Roman, but when it came in the shape of a noble clemency to a vanquished foe;—and wailings and complaints were never to disgust the ears of men, who knew how to act and to suffer in tranquillity. The very frequency of suicide in Rome, belonged to this characteristic. There was no other alternative, but to endure firmly, or to die;—nor were importunate lamentations to be endured from one who might quit life whenever he could not bear it without murmuring.

What has been said relates to the literature of Republican Rome. The usurpation of Augustus gave a quite different character to her genius, and brought it back to those poetical studies with which most other nations have begun. The cause of this, too, is obvious. While liberty survived, the study of philosophy and oratory and history was but as an instrument in the hands of a liberal and patriotic ambition, and naturally attracted the attention of all whose talents entitled them to aspire to the first dignities of the state. After an absolute government was established, those high prizes were taken out of the lottery of life; and the primitive uses of those noble instruments expired. There was no longer any safe or worthy end to be gained, by influencing the conduct, or fixing the principles of men. But it was still permitted to seek their applause by ministering to their delight; and talent and ambition, when excluded from the nobler career of political activity, naturally sought for a humbler harvest of glory in the cultivation of poetry, and the arts of imagination. The poetry of the Romans, however, derived this advantage from the lateness of its origin, that it was enriched by all that knowledge of the human heart, and those habits of reflection, which had been generated by the previous study of philosophy. There is uniformly more thought, therefore, and more development, both of reason and of moral feeling, in the poets of the Augustan age, than in any of their Greek predecessors; and though repressed in a good degree by the remains of their national austerity, there is also a great deal more tenderness of affection. In spite of the pathos of some scenes in Euripides, and the melancholy passion of some fragments of

Simonides and Sappho, there is nothing at all like the fourth book of Virgil, the Alcmena and Baucis and Philemon of Ovid, and some of the elegies of Tibullus, in the whole range of Greek literature. The memory of their departed freedom, too, co-inspired to give an air of sadness to much of the Roman poetry, and their feeling of the lateness of the age in which they were born. The Greeks thought only of the present and the future; but the Romans had begun already to live in the past, and to make pensive reflections on the faded glory of mankind. The historians of this classic age, though they have more of a moral character than those of Greece, are still but superficial teachers of wisdom. Their narration is more animated, and more pleasingly dramatised, by the orations with which it is interspersed;—but they have neither the profound reflection of Tacitus, nor the power of explaining great events by general causes, which distinguishes the writers of modern times.

The atrocious tyranny that darkened the earlier ages of the empire, gave rise to the third school of Roman literature. The sufferings to which men were subjected, turned their thoughts inward on their own hearts; and that philosophy which had first been courted as the handmaid of a generous ambition, was now sought as a shelter and consolation in misery. The maxims of the Stoics were again revived,—not, indeed, to stimulate to noble exertion, but to harden against misfortune. Their lofty lessons of virtue were again repeated—but with a bitter accent of despair and reproach; and that indulgence, or indifference towards vice, which had characterized the first philosophers, was now converted, by the terrible experience of its evils, into vehement and gloomy invective. Seneca, Tacitus, Epictetus, all fall under this description; and the same spirit is discernible in Juvenal and Lucan. Much more profound views of human nature, and a far greater moral sensibility characterize this age,—and show that even the unspeakable degradation to which the abuse of power had then sunk the mistress of the world, could not arrest altogether that intellectual progress which gathers its treasures from all the varieties of human fortune. Quintilian and the two Plinys afford further evidence of this progress;—for they are, in point of thought and accuracy, and profound sense, conspicuously superior to any writers upon similar subjects in the days of Augustus. Poetry and the fine arts languished, indeed, under the rigours of this blasting despotism;—and it is honourable, on the whole, to the memory of their former greatness, that so few Roman poets should have sullied their pens by any traces of adulation towards the monsters who then sat in the place of power.

We pass over Mad. de Staël's view of the middle ages, and of the manner in which the mixture of the northern and southern races ameliorated the intellect and the morality of both. One great cause of their mutual improvement, however, she states to have been the general prevalence of Christianity; which, by the abolition of domestic slavery, removed the chief cause, both of the corruption and the ferocity of antient manners. By investing the conjugal union, too, with a sacred character of equality, it at once redressed the long injustice to which the female sex had been subjected, and blessed and gladdened private life with a new progeny of joys, and a new fund of knowledge of the most interesting description. Upon a subject of this kind, we naturally expect a woman to express herself with peculiar animation; and Mad. de Staël has done it ample justice in the following, and in other passages.

‘C'est donc alors que les femmes commencèrent à être de moitié dans l'association humaine. C'est alors aussi que l'on connut véritablement le bonheur domestique. Trop de puissance déprave la bonté, altère toutes les jouissances de la délicatesse; les vertus et les sentimens ne peuvent résister d'une part à l'exercice du pouvoir, de l'autre à l'habitude de la crainte. La félicité de l'homme s'accrut de toute l'indépendance qu'obtint l'objet de sa tendresse; il put se croire aimé; un être libre le choisit; un être libre obéit à ses desirs. Les apperçus de l'esprit, les nuances senties par le cœur se multiplièrent avec les idées et les impressions de ces âmes nouvelles, qui s'essayaient à l'existence morale, après avoir long-temps languï dans la vie. Les femmes n'ont point composé d'ouvrages véritablement supérieurs; mais elles n'en ont pas moins éminemment servi les progrès de la littérature, par la foule de pensées qu'ont inspirées aux hommes les relations entretenues avec ces êtres mobiles et délicats. Tous les rapports se sont doublés, pour ainsi dire, depuis que les objets ont été considérés sous un point de vue tout-à-fait nouveau. La confiance d'un lien intime en a plus appris sur la nature morale, que tous les traités et tous les systèmes qui peignoient l'homme tel qu'il se montre à l'homme, et non tel qu'il est réellement.’ p. 197, 198.

‘Les femmes ont découvert dans les caractères une foule de nuances, que le besoin de dominer ou la crainte d'être asservies leur a fait appercevoir: elles ont fourni au talent dramatique de nouveaux secrets pour émouvoir. Tous les sentimens auxquels il leur est permis de se livrer, la crainte de la mort, le regret de la vie, le dévouement sans bornes, l'indignation sans mesure, enrichissent la littérature d'expressions nouvelles. De-là vient que les moralistes modernes ont en général beaucoup plus de finesse et de sagacité dans la connoissance des hommes, que les moralistes de l'antiquité. Quiconque, chez les anciens, ne pouvoit attendre à la renommée, n'avoit aucun motif de développement. Depuis qu'on est deux dans

la vie domestique, les communications de l'esprit et l'exercice de la morale existent toujours, au moins dans un petit cercle; les enfans sont devenus plus chers à leurs parens, par la tendresse réciproque qui forme le lien conjugal: et toutes les affections ont pris l'empreinte de cette divine alliance de l'amour et de l'amitié, de l'estime et de l'amour, de la confiance méritée et de la séduction involontaire.

Un âge aride, que la gloire et la vertu pouvoient honorer, mais qui ne devoit plus être ranimé par les émotions du cœur, la vieillesse s'est enrichie de toutes les pensées de la mélancolie; il lui a été donné de se ressouvenir, de regretter, d'aimer encore ce qu'elle avoit aimé. Les affections morales, unies, dès la jeunesse, aux passions brûlantes, peuvent se prolonger par de nobles traces jusqu'à la fin de l'existence, et laisser voir encore le même tableau sous le crêpe funèbre du temps.

Une sensibilité rêveuse et profonde est un des plus grands charmes de quelques ouvrages modernes; et ce sont les femmes qui, ne connoissant de la vie que la faculté d'aimer, ont fait passer la douceur de leurs impressions dans le style de quelques écrivains. En lisant les livres composés depuis la renaissance des lettres, l'on pourroit marquer à chaque page, qu'elles sont les idées qu'on n'avoit pas, avant qu'on eût accordé aux femmes une sorte d'égalité civile. La générosité, la valeur, l'humanité, ont pris à quelques égards une acception différente. Toutes les vertus des anciens étoient fondées sur l'amour de la patrie; les femmes exercent leurs qualités d'une manière indépendante. La pitié pour la faiblesse, la sympathie pour le malheur, une élévation d'âme, sans autre but que la jouissance même de cette élévation, sont beaucoup plus dans leur nature que les vertus politiques. Les modernes, influencés par les femmes, ont facilement cédé aux liens de la philanthropie; et l'esprit est devenu plus philosophiquement libre, en se livrant moins à l'empire des associations exclusives.' p. 212—15.

It is principally to this cause that she ascribes the improved morality of modern times. The improvement of their intellect she refers more generally to the accumulation of knowledge, and the experience of which they have had the benefit. Instead of the eager spirit of emulation, and the unweighed and rash enthusiasm which kindled the genius of antiquity into a sort of youthful or instinctive animation, we have a spirit of deep reflection, and a feeling of mingled melancholy and philanthropy, inspired by a more intimate knowledge of the sufferings, the affections, and the frailties of human nature. There is a certain touching and pathetic tone, therefore, diffused over almost all modern writings of the higher order; and in the art of agitating the soul, and moving the gentler affections of the heart, there is nothing in all antiquity that can be considered as belonging to the same class with the writings of Bossuet or Rousseau—many passages in the English poets—and some few in those of Ger-

many. The sciences, of course, have made prodigious advances ; for in these nothing once gained can be lost,—and the mere elapse of ages supposes a vast accumulation. In morals, the progress has been greatest in the private virtues—in the sacred regard for life—in compassion, sympathy, and beneficence. Nothing, indeed, can illustrate the difference of the two systems more strikingly, than the opposite views they take of the relation of parent and child. Filial obedience and submission was enjoined by the ancient code with a rigour from which reason and justice equally revolt. According to our present notions, parental love is a duty of at least mutual obligation ; and as nature has placed the power of showing kindness almost exclusively in the hands of the father, it seems but reasonable that the exercise of it should be enjoined as a duty.

Mad. de Staël begins her review of modern literature with that of Italy. It was there that the manuscripts—the monuments—the works of art of the imperial nation, were lost ;—and it was there, of course, that they were ultimately recovered. The researches necessary for this, required authority and money ; and they were begun, accordingly, under the patronage of princes and academies :—circumstances favourable to the accumulation of knowledge, and the formation of mere scholars—but adverse to the development of original genius. The Italians, accordingly, have been scholars, and have furnished the rest of Europe with the implements of liberal study ; but they have achieved little for themselves in the high philosophy of politics and morals—though they have to boast of Galileo, Cassini, and a long list of celebrated names in the physical sciences. In treating of subjects of a large and commanding interest, they are almost always bombastic and shallow. Nothing, indeed, can be more just or acute than the following delineation of this part of their character.

‘ Les Italiens, accoutumés souvent à ne rien croire et à tout professer, se sont bien plus exercés dans la plaisanterie que dans le raisonnement. Ils se moquent de leur propre manière d’être. Quand ils veulent renoncer à leur talent naturel, à l’esprit comique, pour essayer de l’éloquence oratoire, ils ont presque toujours de l’affectation. Les souvenirs d’une grandeur passée, sans aucun sentiment de grandeur présente, produisent le gigantesque. Les Italiens auroient de la dignité, si la plus sombre tristesse formoit leur caractère ; mais quand les successeurs des Romains, privés de tout éclat national, de toute liberté politique, sont encore un des peuples les plus gais de la terre, ils ne peuvent avoir aucun élévation naturelle.

‘ C’est peut-être par antipathie pour l’exagération Italienne que Machiavel a montré une si effrayante simplicité dans sa manière d’analyser la tyrannie ; il a voulu que l’horreur pour le crime naquit du

développement même de ses principes. et poussant trop loin le mépris pour l'apparence même de la déclamation, il a laissé tout faire au sentiment du lecteur. Les réflexions de Machiavel sur Tite-Live sont bien supérieures à son *Prince*. Ces réflexions sont un des ouvrages où l'esprit humain a montré le plus de profondeur. Un tel livre est dû tout entier au génie de l'auteur : il n'a point de rapports avec le caractère général de la littérature Italienne. Les troubles de Florence avoient énergiquement exercé la pensée de Machiavel ; mais il me semble qu'en étudiant ses ouvrages, on sent qu'ils appartiennent à un homme unique de sa nature au milieu des autres hommes. Il écrit comme pour lui seul ; l'effet qu'il doit produire ne l'a jamais occupé. On diroit qu'il ne sougeoit point à ses lecteurs, et que parlant de points convenus avec sa propre pensée, il croyoit inutile de se déclarer à lui-même ses opinions.' p. 229—30.

And again, a little after,

' Les Italiens, si l'on en excepte une certaine classe d'hommes éclairés, sont pour la religion, comme pour l'amour et la liberté ; ils aiment l'exagération de tout, et n'éprouvent le sentiment vrai de rien. Ils sont vindicatifs, et néanmoins serviles. Ils sont esclaves des femmes, et néanmoins étrangers aux sentimens profonds et durables du cœur. Ils sont misérablement superstitieux dans les pratiques du catholicisme ; mais ils ne croient point à l'indissoluble alliance de la morale et de la religion. Tel est l'effet que doivent produire sur un peuple des préjugés fanatiques, des gouvernemens divers que ne réunissent point la défense et l'amour d'une même patrie, un soleil brûlant qui ranime toutes les sensations, et doit entraîner à la volupté, lorsque cet effet n'est pas combattu, comme chez les Romains, par l'énergie des passions politiques,' p. 231, 232.

' Les Italiens se moquent dans leurs contes, et souvent même sur le théâtre, des prêtres, auxquels ils sont d'ailleurs entièrement asservis. Mais ce n'est point sous un point de vue philosophique qu'ils attaquent les abus de la religion ; ils n'ont pas, comme quelques-uns de nos écrivains, le but de réformer les défauts dont ils plaisantent ; ce qu'ils veulent seulement, c'est s'amuser d'autant plus que le sujet est plus sérieux. Leurs opinions sont, dans le fond, assez opposées à tous les genres d'autorité auxquels ils sont soumis ; mais cet esprit d'opposition n'a de force que ce qu'il faut pour pouvoir mépriser ceux qui les commandent. C'est la ruse des enfans envers leurs pédagogues ; ils leur obéissent, à condition qu'il leur soit permis de s'en moquer.' p. 248.

In poetry, however, the brilliant imagination of the South was sure to reassert its claims to admiration ; and the first great poets of modern Italy had the advantage of opening up a new career for their talents. Poetical fiction, as it is now known in Europe, seems to have had two distinct sources. Among the fierce and illiterate nations of the North, nothing had any

chance of being listened to, that did not relate to the feats of war in which it was their sole ambition to excel; and poetical invention was forced to display itself in those legends of chivalry, which contain merely an exaggerated picture of scenes that were familiar to all their auditors. In Asia, again, the terrors of a sanguinary despotism had driven men to express their emotions, and to insinuate their moral admonitions in the form of apoloques and fables; and as these necessarily took a very wild and improbable course, their fictions assumed a much more extravagant and varied form than those of the Northern romancers. The two styles however were brought together, partly by the effect of the crusades, and partly by the Moorish settlement in Spain; and Ariosto had the merit of first combining them into one, in that miraculous poem, which contains more painting, more variety, and more imagination, than any other poem in existence. The fictions of Boyardo are more purely in the taste of the Orientals; and Tasso is imbued far more deeply with the spirit and manner of the Augustan classics.

The false refinements, the *conceits*, the ingenious turns and misplaced subtlety, which has so long been the reproach of the Italian literature, Mad. de Staël ascribes to their early study of the Greek Theologians and later Platonists, who were so much in favour at the first revival of learning. The nice distinctions and sparkling sophistries which these gentlemen applied, with considerable success, in argument, were unluckily transferred, by Petrarch, to subjects of love and gallantry; and the fashion was set of a most unnatural alliance between wit and passion—ingenuity and profound emotion,—which has turned out, as might have been expected, to the incredible discountenance and discredit of both the contracting parties. We admit the fact, and its consequences: But we do not agree as to the causes which produced it. We really do not think that the polemics of Constantinople are answerable for this extravagance; and have little doubt that it originated in that desire to impress upon their productions the visible marks of labour and art, which is felt by almost all artists in the infancy of the study. As all men can speak, and set words together in a natural order, it was likely to occur to those who first made an art of composition, and challenged general admiration for an arrangement of words, that it was necessary to make a very strong and conspicuous distinction between their compositions and ordinary and casual discourse; and to proclaim to the most careless reader or hearer, that a great difficulty had been surmounted, and something effected which every one was not in a condition to accomplish. This feeling, we have no doubt, first gave occasion to

versification in all languages; and will serve to account, in a good degree, for the priority of metrical to prose compositions: But where versification was remarkably easy, or already familiar, some visible badge of artifice would also be required in the thought; and, accordingly, there seems to have been a certain stage in the progress of almost all literature, in which this excess has been committed. In Italy, it occurred so early as the time of Petrarch. In France, it became conspicuous in the writings of Voiture, Balsac, and all that coterie; and in England, in Cowley, Donne, and the whole tribe of metaphysical poets. Simplicity, in short, is the last attainment of progressive literature; and men are very long afraid of being natural, from the dread of being taken for ordinary. There is a simplicity, indeed, that is antecedent to the existence of any thing like literary ambition or critical taste in a nation,—the simplicity of the primitive ballads and legends of all rude nations; but after a certain degree of taste has been excited, and composition has become an object of pretty general attention, simplicity is sure to be despised for a considerable period; and, indeed, to be pretty uniformly violated in practice, even after it is restored to nominal honour and veneration.

We do not, however, agree the less cordially with Mad. de Staël in her remarks upon the irreparable injury which affectation does to taste and to character. The following is marked with all her spirit and sagacity.

‘L’affectation est de tous les défauts des caractères et des écrits, celui qui tarit de la manière la plus irréparable la source de tout bien; car elle blase sur la vérité même dont elle imite l’accent. Dans quelque genre que ce soit, tous les mots qui ont servi à des idées fausses, à de froides exagérations, sont pendant long-temps frappés d’aridité; et telle langue même peut perdre entièrement la puissance d’émouvoir sur tel sujet, si elle a été trop souvent prodiguée à ce sujet même. Ainsi peut-être l’Italien est-il de toutes les langues de l’Europe la moins propre à l’éloquence passionnée de l’amour, comme la nôtre est maintenant usée pour l’éloquence de la liberté.’ p. 241, 242.

Their superstition and tyranny—their Inquisition and arbitrary governments have arrested the progress of the Italians—as they have in a great degree prevented those of the Spaniards in the career of letters and philosophy. But for this, the Spanish genius would probably have gone far. Their early romances show a grandeur of conception, and a genuine enthusiasm; and their dramas, though irregular, are full of spirit and invention. Though bombastic and unnatural in most of their serious compositions, their extravagance is not so cold and artificial as that of the Italians; but seems rather to proceed from a natural exaggeration.

of the fancy, and an inconsiderate straining after a magnificence which they had not skill or patience to attain.

* We come now to the Literature of the North,—by which name Mad. de Staël designates the literature of England and Germany, and on which she passes an encomium which we scarcely expected from a native of the South. She startles us a little, indeed, when she sets off with a dashing parallel between Homer and Ossian; and proceeds to say, that the peculiar character of the Northern literature has all been derived from that Patriarch of the Celts, in the same way as that of the South of Europe may be ultimately traced back to the genius of Homer. It is certainly rather against this hypothesis, that the said Ossian has only been known to the readers and writers of the North for about forty years from the present day, and has not been held in especial reverence with those who have most distinguished themselves in that short period. However, we shall suppose that Mad. de Staël means only, that the style of Ossian reunites the peculiarities that distinguish the Northern school of letters, and may be supposed to exhibit them such as they were before the introduction of the classical and Southern models. We rather think she is right in saying, that there is a radical difference in the taste and genius of the two regions; and that there is more melancholy, more tenderness, more deep feeling and fixed and lofty passion, engendered among the clouds and mountains of the North, than upon the summer seas or beneath the perfumed groves of the South. The causes of the difference are not perhaps so satisfactorily stated.

Mad de Staël gives the first place to the climate.

‘ Les rêveries des poètes peuvent enfanter des objets extraordinaires; mais les impressions d’habitude se retrouvent nécessairement dans tout ce que l’on compose. Eviter le souvenir de ces impressions, ce seroit perdre le plus grand des avantages, celui de peindre ce qu’on a soi-même éprouvé. Les poètes du midi mêlent sans cesse l’image de la fraîcheur, des bois touffus, des ruisseaux limpides, à tous les sentimens de la vie. Ils ne se retracent pas même les jouissances du cœur, sans y mêler l’idée de l’ombre bienfaisante, qui doit les préserver des brûlantes ardeurs du soleil. Cette nature si vive qui les environne, excite en eux plus de mouvemens que de pensées. C’est à tort, ce me semble, qu’on a dit que les passions étoient plus violentes dans le midi que dans le nord. On y voit plus d’intérêts divers, mais moins d’intensité dans une même pensée; or c’est la fixité qui produit les miracles de la passion et de la volonté. Les peuples du nord sont moins occupés des plaisirs que de la douleur; et leur imagination n’en est que plus féconde. Le spectacle de la nature agit fortement sur eux; et elle agit, comme elle se montre dans leurs climats, toujours sombre et nébuleuse.’ p. 254, 255.

Another characteristic is the hereditary independence of the Northern tribes—arising partly from their scattered population and inaccessible retreats, and partly from the physical force and hardihood which their way of life, and the exertions requisite to procure subsistence in those regions, necessarily produced. Their religious creed, too, even before their conversion to Christianity, was less fantastic, and more capable of leading to heroic emotions than that of the Southern nations. The respect and tenderness with which they always regarded their women, is another cause (or effect) of the peculiarity of their national character; and, lastly, their general adoption of the Protestant faith has tended to confirm that character. For our own part, we are inclined to ascribe more weight to the last circumstance, than to all the others that have been mentioned; and that not merely from the better education which it is the genius of Protestantism to bestow on the lower orders, but from the necessary effect of the universal study of the Scriptures which it enjoins. A very great proportion of the Protestant population of Europe is familiarly acquainted with the Bible; and there are many who are acquainted with scarcely any other book. Now, the Bible is not only full of lessons of patience, and humility and compassion, but abounds with a gloomy and awful poetry, which cannot fail to make a powerful impression on minds that are not exposed to any other, and receive this under the persuasion of its divine origin. The peculiar character, therefore, which Mad. de Staël has ascribed to the people of the North in general, will now be found, we believe, to belong only to such of them as profess the reformed religion; and to be discernible in all the communities that maintain that profession, without much regard to the degree of latitude which they inhabit—though at the same time it is undeniable, that its general adoption in the North must be explained by some of the more general causes which we have shortly indicated above.

The great fault which the French impute to the writers of the North, is want of taste and politeness. They generally admit that they have genius; but contend that they do not know how to use it; while their partisans maintain, that what is called want of taste is merely excess of genius, and independence of pedantic rules and authorities. Mad. de Staël, though admitting the transcendent merits of some of the English writers, takes part, upon the whole, against them in this controversy; and, after professing her unqualified preference of a piece compounded of great blemishes and great beauties, compared with one free of faults, but distinguished by little excellence, proceeds very wisely to remark, that it would be still

better if the great faults were corrected—and that it is but a *bad* species of independéce which manifests itself by being occasionally offensive: and then she attacks Shakespeare, as usual, for interspersing so many puerilities and absurdities and *grossièretés* with his sublime and pathetic passages.

Now, there is no denying, that a poem would be better without faults; and that judicious painters use shades only to set off their pictures, and not blots. But there are two little remarks to be made. In the *first* place, if it be true that an extreme horror at faults is usually found to exclude a variety of beauties, and that a poet can scarcely ever attain the higher excellencies of his art, without some degree of that rash and headlong confidence which naturally gives rise to blemishes and excesses, it may not be quite so absurd to hold, that this temperament and disposition, with all its hazards, deserves encouragement, and to speak with indulgence of faults that are symptomatic of great beauties. There is a primitive fertility of soil that naturally throws out weeds along with the matchless crops which it alone can bear; and we might reasonably grudge to reduce its vigour for the sake of purifying its produce. There are certain savage virtues that can scarcely exist in perfection in a state of complete civilization; and, as specimens at least, we may wish to preserve, and be allowed to admire them, with all their exceptionable accomplishments. It is easy to say, that there is no necessary connexion between the faults and the beauties of our great dramatist; but *the fact* is, that since men have become afraid of falling into his faults, no one has approached to his beauties; and we have already endeavoured, on more than one occasion, * to explain the grounds of this connexion. But our *second* remark is, that it is not quite fair to represent the controversy as arising altogether from the excessive and undue indulgence of the English for the admitted faults of their favourite authors, and their persisting to idolize Shakespeare in spite of his buffooneries, extravagancies, and bombast. We admit that he has those faults; and, as they are faults, that he would be better without them: But there are many things which the French call faults, which we consider as beauties. And here, we suspect, the dispute does not admit of any settlement; because both parties, if they are really sincere in their opinion, and understand the subject of discussion, may very well be right, and for that very reason incapable of coming to any agreement. We consider taste to mean merely the faculty of receiving pleasure

* See our remarks on Franklin, vol. VIII. p. 329, &c.; and on Burns, vol. XIII. p. 250, &c.

from beauty; and, so far as relates to the person *receiving* that pleasure, we apprehend it to admit of little doubt, that the best taste is that which enables him to receive the greatest quantity of pleasure from the greatest number of things. With regard to the author again, or artist of any other description, who pretends to *bestow* the pleasure, his object of course should be, to give as much, and to as many persons as possible; and especially to those who, from their rank and education, are likely to regulate the judgment of the remainder. It is his business therefore to ascertain what does please the greater part of such persons, and to fashion his productions according to the rules of taste which may be deduced from that discovery. Now, we humbly conceive it to be a complete and final justification for the whole body of the English nation, who understand French as well as English and yet prefer Shakespeare to Racine, just to state, modestly and firmly, the fact of that preference; and to declare, that their habits and tempers, and studies and occupations, have been such as to make them receive far greater pleasure from the more varied imagery—the more flexible tone—the closer imitation of nature—the more rapid succession of incident, and vehement bursts of passion of the English author, than from the unvarying majesty—the elaborate argument—and epigrammatic poetry of the French dramatist. For the taste of the nation at large, we really cannot conceive that any other apology can be necessary; and though it might be very desirable that they should agree with their neighbours upon this point, as well as upon many others, we can scarcely imagine any upon which their disagreement could be attended with less inconvenience. For the authors, again, that have the misfortune not to be so much admired by the adjoining nations as by their own countrymen, we can only suggest, that this is a very common misfortune; and that, as they wrote in the language of their country, and will probably be always most read within its limits, it was not perhaps altogether unwise or unpardonable in them to accommodate themselves to the taste which was there established.

Mad. de Staël has a separate chapter upon Shakespeare; in which she gives him full credit for originality, and for having been the first, and perhaps the only considerable author, who did not copy from preceding models, but drew all his greater conceptions directly from his own feelings and observations. His representations of human passions, therefore, are incomparably more true and touching, than those of any other writer; and are presented, moreover, in a far more elementary and simple state, and without any of those circumstances of dignity.

or contrast with which feebler artists seem to have held it indispensable that they should be set off. She considers him as the first writer who has ventured upon the picture of overwhelming sorrow and hopeless wretchedness;—that desolation of the heart, which arises from the long contemplation of ruined hopes and irreparable privation;—that inward anguish and bitterness of soul which the public life of the antients prevented them from feeling, and their stoical precepts interdicted them from disclosing. The German poets, and some succeeding English authors, have produced a prodigious effect by the use of this powerful instrument; but nothing can exceed the original sketches of it exhibited in Lear, in Hamlet, in Timon of Athens, and in some parts of Richard and of Othello. He has likewise drawn, with the hand of a master, the struggles of nature under the immediate contemplation of approaching death; and that without those supports of conscious dignity or exertion with which all other writers have thought it necessary to blend or to contrast their pictures of this emotion. But it is in the excitement of the two proper tragic passions of pity and terror, that the force and originality of his genius are most conspicuous; pity not only for youth and innocence, and nobleness and virtue, as in Imogen and Desdemona, Brutus and Coriolanus—but for insignificant persons like the Duke of Clarence, or profligate and worthless ones like Cardinal Wolsey;—terror, in all its forms, from the madness of Lear, and the ghost of Hamlet, up to the dreams of Richard and Lady Macbeth. In comparing the effects of such delineations with the superstitious horror excited by the mythological persons of the Greek drama, the vast superiority of the English author cannot fail to be apparent. Instead of supernatural beings interfering, with their cold and impassive natures, in the agitations and sufferings of men, Shakespeare employs only the magic of powerful passion, and of the illusions to which it gives birth. The phantoms and apparitions which he occasionally conjures up to add to the terror of the scene, are in truth but a bolder personification of those troubled dreams, and thick coming fancies, which harrow up the souls of guilt and agony; and even his sorcery and incantation are but traits of the credulity and superstition which so frequently accompany the exaltation of the greater passions. But perhaps the most marvellous of all his representations, are those in which he has portrayed the wanderings of a disordered intellect, and especially of that species of distraction which arises from excess of sorrow. Instead of being purely terrible, those scenes are, in his hands, in the highest degree touching and pathetic; and the wildness of fancy, and richness of imagery which they display, are even less admirable than the constant, though incoherent expression of

that one sentiment of agonizing grief which had overborne all the faculties of the soul.

Such are the chief beauties which Mad. de Staël discovers in Shakespeare; and though they are not perhaps exactly what an English reader would think of bringing most into notice, it is interesting to know what strikes an intelligent foreigner, in pieces with which we ourselves have always been familiar. The chief fault she imputes to him, besides the mixture of low buffoonery with tragic passion, are occasional tediousness and repetition—too much visible horror and bloodshed—and the personal deformity of Caliban and Richard III.; for all which we shall leave it to our readers to make the best apology they can.

Mad. de Staël thinks very poorly of our talent for pleasantry; and is not very successful in her delineation of what we call humour. The greater part of the nation, she says, lives either in the serious occupations of business and politics, or in the tranquil circle of family affection. What is called society, therefore, has scarcely any existence among them; and yet it is in that sphere of idleness and frivolity, that taste is matured, and gayety made elegant. They are not at all trained, therefore, to observe the finer shades of character and of ridicule in real life; and consequently neither think of delineating them in their compositions, nor are aware of their merit when delineated by others. We are unwilling to think this perfectly just; and are encouraged to suspect, that the judgment of the ingenious author may not be altogether without appeal on such a subject, by observing, that she represents the paltry flippancy and disgusting affectation of Sterne, as the purest specimen of true English humour; and classes the character of Falstaff along with that of Pistol, as instances of that vulgar caricature from which the English still condescend to receive amusement. It is more just, however, to observe, that the humour, and in general the pleasantry, of our nation, has very frequently a sarcastic and even misanthropic character, which distinguishes it from the mere playfulness and constitutional gayety of our French neighbours; and that we have not, for the most part, succeeded in our attempts to imitate the graceful pleasantry and agreeable trifling of that people. We develop every thing, she maintains, a great deal too laboriously; and give a harsh and painful colouring to those parts which the very nature of their style requires to be but lightly touched and delicately shaded. We never think we are heard, unless we cry out;—nor understood, if we leave any thing untold:—an excess of diffuseness and labour which could never be endured out of our own island. It is curious enough, indeed, to observe, that men who have nothing to do with their time but to

get rid of it in amusement, are always much more impatient of any kind of tediousness in their entertainers, than those who have but little leisure for entertainment. The reason is, we suppose, that familiarity with business makes the latter habitually tolerant of tediousness; while the pursuits of the former, in order to retain any degree of interest, require a very rapid succession and constant variety. On the whole, we do not think Mad. de Staël very correct in her notions of English gayety; and cannot help suspecting, that she must have been rather unfortunate in her society during her visit to this country.

Her estimate of our poetry, and our works of fiction, is more unexceptionable. She does not allow us much invention, in the strictest sense of that word; and still less grace and sprightliness in works of a light and playful character:—But, for glowing descriptions of nature—for the pure language of the affections—for profound thought and lofty sentiment, she admits, that the greater poets of England are superior to any thing else that the world has yet exhibited. Milton, Young, Thomson, Goldsmith, and Gray, seem to be her chief favourites. We do not find that Cowper, or any later author, had come to her knowledge. The best of them, however, she says, are chargeable with the national faults of exaggeration, and ‘*des longueurs.*’ She overrates the merit, we think, of our novels, when she says, that with the exception of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, which belongs exclusively to the genius of the singular individual who produced it, and has no relation to the character of his nation, all the novels that have succeeded in France have been undisguised imitations of the English, to whom she ascribes, without qualification, the honour of that meritorious invention.

‘Ce sont eux qui ont osé croire les premiers, qu’il suffisoit du tableau des affections privées, pour intéresser l’esprit et le cœur de l’homme; que ni l’illustration des personnages, ni l’importance des intérêts, ni le merveilleux des événemens n’étoient nécessaires pour captiver l’imagination, et qu’il y avoit dans la puissance d’aimer de quoi renouveler sans cesse et les tableaux et les situations, sans jamais lasser la curiosité. Ce sont les Anglais enfin qui ont fait des romans des ouvrages de morale, où les vertus et les destinées obscures peuvent trouver des motifs d’exaltation, et se créer un genre d’héroïsme.’

Il règne dans ces écrits une sensibilité calme et sère, énergique et touchante. Nulle part on ne sent mieux le charme de cet amour protecteur, qui dispensant l’être foible de veiller à sa propre destinée, concentre tous ses desirs dans l’estime et la tendresse de son défenseur. Tome 1. p. 321.

The last chapter upon English literature relates to their philosophy and eloquence; and here, though the learned author seems

aware of the transcendent merit of Bacon, we rather think she proves herself to be unacquainted with that of his illustrious contemporaries or immediate successors, Hooker, Taylor and Barrow—for she places Bacon as the only luminary of our sphere in the period preceding the Usurpation, and considers the true era of British philosophy as commencing with the reign of King William. We cannot admit the accuracy of this intellectual chronology. The character of the English philosophy is to be patient, profound, and always guided by a view to utility. They have done wonders in the metaphysic of the understanding; but have not equalled De Retz, La Bruyere, or even Montaigne, in their analysis of the passions and dispositions. The following short passage is full of sagacity and talent.

‘ Les Anglais ont avancé dans les sciences philosophiques comme dans l’industrie commerciale, à l’aide de la patience et du temps. Le penchant de leurs philosophes pour les abstractions sembloit devoir les entraîner dans des systèmes qui pouvoient être contraires à la raison; mais l’esprit de calcul, qui régularise, dans leur application, les combinaisons abstraites, la moralité, qui est la plus expérimentale de toutes les idées humaines, l’intérêt du commerce, l’amour de la liberté, ont toujours ramené les philosophes anglais à des résultats pratiques. Que d’ouvrages entrepris pour servir utilement les hommes, pour l’éducation des enfans, pour le soulagement des malheureux, pour l’économie politique, la législation criminelle, les sciences, la morale, la métaphysique! Quelle philosophie dans les conceptions! quel respect pour l’expérience dans le choix des moyens!’

‘ C’est à la liberté qu’il faut attribuer cette émulation et cette sagesse. On pouvoit si rarement se flatter en France d’influer par ses écrits sur les institutions de son pays, qu’on ne songeoit qu’à montrer de l’esprit dans les discussions même les plus sérieuses. On pousoit jusqu’au paradoxe un système vrai dans une certaine mesure; la raison ne pouvant avoir un effet utile, on vouloit au moins que le paradoxe fût brillant. D’ailleurs sous une monarchie absolue, on pouvoit sans danger vanter, comme dans le Contrat Social, la démocratie pure; mais on n’auroit point osé approcher des idées possibles. Tout étoit jeu d’esprit en France, hors les arrêts du conseil du roi: tandis qu’en Angleterre, chacun pouvant agir d’une manière quelconque sur les résolutions de ses représentans, l’on prend l’habitude de comparer la pensée avec l’action, et l’on s’accoutume à l’amour du bien public par l’espoir d’y contribuer.’ II. 5-7.

She returns again, however, to her former imputation of ‘longueurs,’ and repetitions, and excessive development; and maintains, that the greater part of English books are obscure, in consequence of their prolixity, and of the author’s extreme anxiety to be perfectly understood. We suspect a part of the confusion is owing to a want of familiarity with the language. In point of fact, we know of no French author so concise as

Hume or Smith; and believe we might retort the charge of *longueurs*, in the name of the whole English nation, upon one half of the French classic authors—upon their Rollin and their Massillon—their D'Alembert—their Buffon—their Helvetius—and the whole tribe of their dramatic writers:—while as to repetitions, we are quite certain that there is no one English author who has repeated the same ideas half so often as Voltaire himself—certainly not the most tedious of the fraternity. She complains also of a want of warmth and animation in our prose writers. And it is true that Addison and Shaftesbury are cold; but the imputation only convinces us the more, that she is unacquainted with the writings of Jeremy Taylor, and that illustrious train of successors which has terminated, we fear, in the person of Burke. Our debates in parliament, she says, are more remarkable for their logic than their rhetoric; and have more in them of sarcasm, than of poetical figure and ornament. And no doubt it is so—and *must* be so—in all the discussions of permanent assemblies, occupied from day to day, and from month to month, with great questions of internal legislation or foreign policy. If she had heard Fox or Pitt, however, or Burke or Windham, or Grattan, we cannot conceive that she should complain of our want of animation; and, warm as she is in her encomiums on the eloquence of Mirabeau, and some of the orators of the first revolution, she is forced to confess, that our system of eloquence is better calculated for the detection of sophistry, and the effectual enforcement of all salutary truth. We really are not aware of any other purposes which eloquence can serve in a great national assembly.

Here end her remarks on our English literature—and here we must contrive also to close this desultory account of her lucubrations—though we have accompanied her through little more than one half of the work before us. It is impossible, however, that we can now find room to say any thing of her exposition of German or of French literature—and still less of her anticipations of the change which the establishment of a Republican government in the last of those countries is likely to produce,—or of the hints and cautions with which, in contemplation of that event, she thinks it necessary to provide her countrymen. These are perhaps the most curious parts of the work:—But we cannot enter upon them at present;—and indeed, in what we have already said, we have so far exceeded the limits to which we always wish to confine ourselves, that we do not very well know what apology to make to our readers—except merely, that we are not without hope, that the miscellaneous nature of the

subject, by which we have been insensibly drawn into this great prolixity, may have carried them also along, with as moderate a share of fatigue as we have ourselves experienced. If it be otherwise—we must have the candour and the gallantry to say, that we are persuaded the fault is to be imputed to us, and not to the ingenious author upon whose work we have been employed; and that, if we had confined ourselves to a mere abstract of her lucubrations, or interspersed fewer of our own remarks with the account we have attempted to give of their substance, we might have extended this article to a still greater length, without provoking the impatience even of the more fastidious of our readers. As it is, we feel that we have done but scanty justice, either to our author or her subject—though we can now make no other amends, than by earnestly entreating our readers to study both of them for themselves.

ART. II. *Travels into Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806.* By HENRY LICHTENSTEIN, Doctor in Medicine, and Professor of Natural History in the University of Berlin, &c. &c. Translated from the German by ANNE PLUMPTRE. London, 1812.

THE southern part of Africa is a country so singular, both in what relates to its natural and moral history, and is still so imperfectly known, that almost any account of it must prove interesting. The work before us adds to these general sources of interest, that of being the production of a man particularly conversant with natural history, who travelled at considerable leisure, and in circumstances favourable to the study both of the country and its inhabitants. After the restoration of the Cape to the Dutch at the peace of Amiens, it was thought proper that the *Commissary-General* DE MIST should make a tour through the colony, which he accordingly set out on in 1803. The expedition consisted of about eighteen or nineteen people, among whom were the daughter of the Commissary, AUGUSTA DE MIST, with a female friend from the Cape-Town; also our author, with his pupil the eldest son of General JANSSENS, &c. A number of servants, and a party of dragoons, made up a suitable retinue for a magistrate of the first rank. No better opportunity, and certainly no more agreeable one, could easily offer itself to a young naturalist, of exploring a new and unknown country.

The volume now given to the public is but the first part of the work; and, owing to some notions of method and order

of which we cannot entirely approve, it is deprived of much interesting information, reserved, it would seem, for the subsequent volumes. Though the author carried with him a compass and a thermometer, he rarely informs us of the direction of the road, or the temperature of the air; and of two barometers, we find, as is so often the fate of that unfortunate instrument, that one was broken, and the other left behind. There is a defect of information concerning the face of the country. Of the nature of the rocks very little is said: And we regret that Mineralogy and Geology are not the parts of natural history to which Dr Lichtenstein has turned much of his attention. The English bookseller has done wrong in sending out the translation without the map which accompanies the original, on which the author seems to have bestowed a great deal of attention. It is but justice, however, to remark, that the translation itself appears to be well executed; that the translator is a mistress both of the German and of her own language; and seems to be well acquainted with the subject of the book. On the whole, we think the volume before us is valuable and interesting, though inferior, in some respects, to what might have been expected from the character and situation of the author. The narrative wears greatly the appearance of truth: In treating of controverted points, it is full of moderation and candour; so that we have derived great satisfaction from the perusal of what is now before us, and have been led to form considerable expectations of what is to follow. It would however be in vain to think of attending our author regularly through a quarto volume of more than 380 pages: We shall confine ourselves to the particulars that seem most remarkable in the natural history of the country and the manners of the inhabitants, particularly of the Caffres, about whom more information is given here than in any other work we are acquainted with.

They began their journey about the 9th of October, answering, in point of season, to the same day of April in our hemisphere; and directed their course northward along the western coast. From thence their route was to take a direction inland toward the south-east, and to proceed as far as the eastern boundary of the colony, a distance of more than five hundred miles. This line of march is almost the longest, and, we doubt not, nearly the most interesting that the colony affords.

Travelling in waggons drawn by oxen is peculiar to this country; and the dexterity acquired by the drivers is a strong proof of what practice and necessity can accomplish, in the most unfavourable circumstances. All the address of our European

waggon-drivers, (the author might say, of our European coachmen), vanishes entirely before the very superior dexterity of the African colonists. In a very brisk trot, or even a gallop, they are perfect masters of eight oxen; and avoid, with the utmost skill, every hole and every stone in the road.

The route of our travellers led them by the shores of Saldanha Bay, on the west side of the promontory, the finest and largest harbour in Southern Africa. The predominance of accident over the general considerations of fitness and utility, have given to Table Bay the importance that ought certainly to have belonged to that of Saldanha. The project of making this bay the principal harbour of the colony, is discussed at some length; and the chief reason which our author alleges against it, is that Saldanha Bay being more exposed to an attack from the sea than Table Bay, the first breaking out of a war would put the English in possession of it, and consequently of the settlement. This, of course, will not deter the English from adopting the measure, if it is found in other respects desirable. Whether a sufficient supply of fresh water can be obtained, appears somewhat problematical. It has been proposed to conduct the Berg-river, which at present runs into St Helena Bay a little further to the north, into Saldanha Bay. As the Berg-river is one of the few in this part of Africa which is never dry, if the proposed cut can be made, there is no doubt that the supply would be sufficient. Lichtenstein says this bay is ill laid down in all the maps. He places its mouth in lat. $32^{\circ} 52'$ south; Barrow, in $33^{\circ} 10'$; but this last being conformable to La Caille's, is probably the most accurate determination. *

* Our author does not take notice, as a man of science might have been expected to do, that he was now passing over the ground where LA CAILLE had measured a degree of the meridian, and had exhibited to southern Africa at least one example, in which the exertions of European energy were neither prompted by the love of riches nor the love of power. The base he measured had its western extremity a few miles distant from the south end of Saldanha Bay, and running eastward across the sandy plain of Swartzland to the distance of 6467 toises. From this he determined, by means of no more than four triangles, the length of a line extending 69668 toises north from the Cape town; and thence he inferred the length of the degree of the meridian, bisected by the parallel of $33^{\circ} 18'$ S. to be 57037 toises. This was the first degree measured in the southern hemisphere, at a distance from the equator; and as it is as great as a degree in the northern hemisphere much farther from that circle, it gives reason to conclude, that the earth is more compressed at the south pole than at the north.

The state of the colonists throughout the great tract of country that composes the settlement of the Cape, is in many respects quite singular. An idea may be formed of the scale on which their solitary and extensive farms are laid out, from what is here stated of one on the side of the Berg-river, where the party of the Commissary-General halted, in its way from the coast inland. 'We found the house of Mr Laubscher very indifferent looking as to the exterior, but comfortable within; while the number and size of the outbuildings sufficiently showed our host to be a man of no inconsiderable wealth. He maintained a sort of patriarchal household, of which some idea may be formed from this, that the stock of the farm consisted of 80 horses, 690 head of horned cattle, 2470 sheep, with an immense quantity of poultry of all kinds. The family itself, including masters, servants, Hottentots, and slaves, consisted of 105 persons, whose subsistence was derived from the farm. The quantity of corn sown on it this year was 61 bushels.' It requires us to consider both the fertility of the soil, which returns from 40 to 100 fold, and the great use made of animal food, before we can see, in this moderate quantity of grain sown, any thing like an adequate provision for the food of 105 people during a whole year.

When the number of people to be maintained is so great, the surplus produce is little more than sufficient to procure the articles of manufacture, a few foreign luxuries, and some raw materials, such as iron, pitch, &c. which are necessary for the farm. It is by these only that the African colonist is connected with the rest of the world. All the different handicraft works necessary for the farm are performed by the slaves; and the principal dwelling is surrounded by work-shops of every kind. It may be easily seen that the master himself, who has such an extensive household to look after, cannot lead a life of the supine indolence described by some authors. Here Lichtenstein blames BARROW for his accusations against the African colonists, and particularly his charge of extreme sloth and inactivity. 'I could not,' says he, 'but daily ask myself, whether these men were the same African colonists which the celebrated Mr BARROW represented as such barbarians, and such more than half savages: so much did I find reality in contradiction to his descriptions.' We are here much inclined to be on our author's side. Barrow's book, though the work of a sensible and active-minded man, carries along with it many marks of those prejudices which so often prevent the people of this country from seeing any thing estimable in customs that differ from their own. It is hasty and superficial; and being

written for a political object, the fairness of the views and reasonings contained in it is not a little suspicious. We are far, however, from accusing the author of intentionally stating any thing differently from what he believed it to be: we only suppose certain prejudices, and views formed before the objects were examined, to have often led him unconsciously into error.

We can imagine Mr Barrow and Dr Lichtenstein, for instance, to have made a visit to the same farm; to have seen precisely the same objects, the same persons, the same actions, and to have experienced the same kind, but coarse, hospitality; yet, on going home, each having looked only at the things which previous inclination made him wish to observe, and having seen, in truth, a very motley picture, the one might burst out into an angry invective against the coarseness, dirtiness, and indolence of his hosts, while the other was high in the praise of their hospitality, their industry, and good humour. The truth lies between both, but much nearer, we are convinced to the favourable side. Mr Barrow, too, seems to have generalized particular instances in a very unwarrantable manner,—one of the great resources of partial and hasty observation. On the subject of the barbarity of the colonists in driving their oxen, and wounding them with their knives in order to push them on, though we cannot doubt the facts which he states as falling under his own observation, we cannot think but that Dr Lichtenstein is right when he denies them to be general, and remarks that some of them involve a contradiction in themselves.

The scenery on this west side of the African promontory, from the fantastic shapes which the progress of decay has given to the sandstone rocks, is singular.

‘ From our first entering into the Berg-Valley, we had been impressed with strong admiration of the very singular nature of the scenery. But we now passed through a ravine, the bold grandeur of which raised our astonishment to the highest pitch. Enormous masses of sandstone were seen towering one above another, till they seemed to touch the sky. They ran nearly in parallel directions from north to south; while here and there their regularity was interrupted by broken masses, the clefts of which were overgrown with plants, which almost seemed to rise out of the solid stone. These walls, almost perpendicular on our right and left, though they had braved the ravages of time for thousands of years, seemed every moment to threaten the travellers with falling, and crushing them to atoms.’—‘ The way through the ravine was a constant ascent; and when we had arrived at the top, and looked back on the narrow pass we had just quitted, it seemed as if the ruins of the former world lay in confusion at our feet.’

The same state of the sandstone rock is described by Barrow, and seems to prevail all along the western shore of Southern Africa. From the destruction of this stone arises the vast accumulation of sand that forms the low ground between the sea and the hills, stretching for an unknown extent toward the north. The castellated and spicular appearance of the ruins of the sandstone, probably arises from the gentler action of the causes of waste in the low, than in the high latitudes, and particularly from the absence of frost. Slender and lofty pillars could not resist the action of so powerful a cause of destruction, as the congelation of the humidity contained in them; and hence these appearances are rare in climates such as ours. An extensive range of rocks of the same kind were observed by BOUGUER, on the eastern declivity of the Andes.

On leaving the Berg-River, they came to the Elephants' River; which, like the former, running at first north and a little west, turns off to the west altogether, and runs into the sea, in lat. 32°. 30'. Where the party crossed this river, it was about two feet deep, and 100 feet broad. It runs a great way at the foot of the Nardow mountains; a range that extends for many miles nearly parallel to the coast. This ridge they found of very difficult ascent, and the road frequently obstructed by large blocks of slate, which appears here to have come in place of the sandstone, and is perhaps a rock that alternates with it. On this subject our author gives us no intelligence; but, from what we learn afterwards, the slate is of secondary formation.

It was among these mountains that the party, having separated from the waggon, lost its way, and for thirty-two hours had nothing to eat or drink;—nothing, during the day, to shelter them from the scorching heat of the sun; and nothing but a boundless and inhospitable wilderness to contemplate. They passed the night on the side of the Doorn River, at a place infested, as they afterwards learnt, with scorpions; from which danger they seem to have escaped by the influence of the cold, which was so considerable as to be within three degrees of frost, according to Reaumur's scale, and probably kept the scorpions in their holes. Our author does not let slip this occasion of doing justice to the behaviour of the ladies, whose constancy and good humour never deserted them; nor appear, either at this or any other time, to have yielded to the vexations, hardships and dangers which, in a tour of many months, through a country in so many places desolate and inaccessible, they could not fail almost daily to encounter.

The most northerly point of their tour was in the *Hantam* district, on the side of a small river of that name, which runs

westward, and joins the Elephants' River, where it leaves its northern direction, and turns west toward the ocean. The position of this place is considerably south of the parallel of 31° ; but of all this we have no information from our author. No doubt, if we had been so fortunate as to be furnished with his map, we should have had less reason to complain of this omission. It is not, however, quite pardonable even with that excuse. The direction and length of the route are essential parts in the narrative of a tour through a wild and almost uninhabited country; and ought no more to be omitted, than the point a ship steers on, or the distance she runs in the journal of a voyage at sea.

There are here a good many springs, and some means are afforded for the cultivation of grain; and the character of the colonists seemed also to improve. The people are more active, move more briskly, and are not so corpulent and unwieldy as in the southern parts, which our author ascribes to the greater temperance of the climate, or the greater moderation of the heat.

'Soon after our arrival, several families of the neighbourhood made their appearance, some in waggons, some on horseback, attracted by curiosity to see a magistrate high in office once in their lives. Every one brought with him some present of game, or other things for the table, which were not more thankfully received, than they were courteously given. We could not help being once more surprised to see so much natural good breeding and civility, so much propriety in the modes of expressing themselves under such simple garments, and among people living at the distance of sixty miles from the capital, in a dry and solitary country, fit only for the feeding of cattle, and half encircled with some of the wildest savages in this part of the world.'

'We had often the opportunity of remarking, that we never heard from the mouth of a colonist, an unseemly word, an overstrained expression, an oath, or an imprecation of any kind. The religious turn of the colonists amounting almost to bigotry, is perhaps a principal cause of this self-command. It may also be in some measure the result of their living so extremely secluded from the world.'

'But what pleased us above all things in the good people of the Hantam district, was the amenity of disposition which appeared in them towards one another. This was the first place where our active chief had not been called on to decide differences among the inhabitants,' &c.

One cannot reflect without regret, that these innocent and quiet people have changed their masters since the time which this narrative refers to, and that their peaceful and remote habitations have been assailed by the tumult and uproar by which the nations of Europe seem emulous of rendering civilization

a curse, both to those that possess it, and to those that do not. They belong, indeed, now to a government more free and generous than their own, but it is that of a stranger and a conqueror; and the simple colonist of Hantam may find a misfortune arise *who knew not Joseph*. In the midst of the exultation of victory, it is lawful to think of the evils and sufferings by which it is purchased; and there is certainly no Englishman who can refuse his sympathy to those on whom he forces the melancholy and humiliating reflection, which he himself could so ill brook, that they must never more expect to have their own countrymen for their rulers.

Our author, as we have already remarked, gives us but very scanty information concerning the mineralogy of the countries through which he travels. In Hantam, however, he tells us that on the side of a small periodical river, he found, in the slate from which a spring rose, the impressions of a vast multitude of fish.

'We perceived (says he) this extraordinary appearance first upon the surface; but the impressions were larger, more distinct, and finer in proportion, as we broke deeper and deeper into the stone. The form of the fish resembled that of the eel; and the length of the largest was about three feet. The more I made myself acquainted with this country by my subsequent travels, the more remarkable did this phenomenon appear to me, as being the only remains of a former world, which I found throughout Southern Africa.'

Whether this slate is an argillaceous or calcareous schistus, we are not informed: the number and size, and we believe the kind of fossil here mentioned are somewhat uncommon; but the general fact of impressions of fish in slate, of either of the kinds just mentioned, has been very often met with. This west side of the African promontory, is evidently a secondary country, consisting of horizontal strata, and therefore, likely to contain animal remains. On going to the eastward, in which direction our author's journey lay from this point, the rock soon becomes primitive; and seems to consist (at least far to the eastward) of Gneiss or Mica slate, lying on the great central chain of granite, of which the extremity is seen at the Cape town and its vicinity. In such situations as this last, animal remains are not likely to occur.

When they quitted the district of Hantam, they bent their course south-east, toward the * *Roggeveld* mountains, an elevated tract, where a considerable degree of cold often prevails.

* The name is given from a species of grass that grows among the rocks, similar to rye (*roggen*) which the colonists call wild rye. There are three districts of this name.

The farm where they halted, *Hartebest Fontein*, is described as a fertile spot, abounding in food for cattle. The colonist's stock consists of 200 horses, 3000 sheep, 400 goats, and a great number of horned cattle: A very neat, nice young wife, and five stout healthy children complete his domestic happiness; while his cheerful contented spirit, and frank integrity of mind, render him worthy of all they can bestow. Indeed, our author frequently describes, in glowing colours, the affluence, ease, and domestic comfort of the *shepherds* who inhabit the Dutch Arcadia.

The cold in this district was pretty severe at night, though the thermometer rose to 20° of Reaumur, or 77° of Fahrenheit in the day. In the winter months, deep snows sometimes fall; and it is so cold, that, in order to preserve their cattle, they remove them to the neighbouring *Karoo*, a great valley on the south side of the mountains, and on a much lower level. The climate of this mountainous district has within some years undergone a considerable change. Old people remember, that about fifty years ago, the superabundance of water, even in the middle of summer, was such that the nearest neighbours could not get to one another, on account of the rivers being out, and having entirely flooded the valleys. There seldom at that time passed a week, even in the hottest months, that violent thunder storms did not bring with them a profusion of rain. Of late years, whole summers have passed away without the intervention of a storm. Changes of this kind are said to have happened in some other parts of the world, (Guiana, for example), and have been ascribed to the draining of the grounds, and cutting down of the woods. In the present instance they cannot be ascribed to either of these causes.

Their road eastward carried them into *Middle Roggeveld*, a high and rugged country, without trees, and having nothing but the extensive pastures scattered through it to render it at all interesting. The habitations are described as mean, and with little convenience, from the entire want of wood, and the enormous expense at which it would be necessary to procure timber from a distance. They found, however, great neatness and attention to cleanliness; hardly any bread, but plenty of animal food. The ordinary extent of a farm was an hour long, as it is called, by as much broad; containing, according to our author's estimate, the vast extent of 36,000 acres.

We know not what acres are here understood; if they were English acres, the area of the farm would be 56 square miles; and if square, its side would be 7 miles and a half.

In Roggeveld, as they were sitting in the house of one of the

colonists at dinner, they were surprised by the entrance of two Bosjesmans, who had heard that one of the principal magistrates of the colony was in the neighbourhood, and were come in hopes of receiving some presents. They approached the company with considerable symptoms of apprehension and embarrassment; but a glass of wine, and looks of kindness, soon impressed them with confidence. They were of very small stature, not more than four feet high; the yellow colour of their skin was discernible but in very few places; for a thick coat of grease and dirt, covered their faces and meagre limbs like a rind. A wild, shy, suspicious eye, and crafty expression of countenance, form above all things a striking contrast in the Bosjesman, with the frank, open physiognomy of the Hottentot. It is a mistake, Lichtenstein says, to assert, as has been often done, that the nation of Bosjesmans is composed of fugitive slaves and Hottentots. They are, and ever have been, a distinct people, having their own peculiar language and customs, if these terms may be applied to the utterance hardly articulate, and the actions quite capricious, of a people in the lowest state of civilization that perhaps has ever been observed. No Hottentot understands a word of the Bosjesman language; and the nation was hated by all others on account of its habits of plunder, long before the Europeans settled in southern Africa. The language of the Bosjesmans is hardly articulate; and Lichtenstein asserts, positively, that they have no names, and seem not to feel the want of such a means of distinguishing one individual from another. This circumstance, which, without the most express testimony we could not have believed, is doubtless quite singular. We thought till now, that the profound observation with which the King of Phœcia begins his discourse to Ulysses, "That every man has a name," was one of those sound maxims which was never to be controverted.

The scale of civilization is very extensive, and neither its lowest nor its highest point has yet been ascertained: If, however, it be true that the Bosjesmans have no names, they certainly afford a very near approximation to the former. After all, we believe there is reason to consider them as a tribe or a variety of the Hottentots. They have the same peculiarities in their physical structure; and their diminutive stature, as well as their inferiority in other respects, may be accounted for by their more unfavourable situation.

The uniformity of the road, as they traversed this uninteresting wilderness, was once or twice agreeably interrupted by some flocks of ostriches, which came tolerably near, before they perceived the travellers. They then fled in haste, crowding

close together, and running against the wind; and an eye unaccustomed to such a sight, might have easily mistaken them for a squadron of horse. To the right were some stragglers, so far from the main body, that the travellers thought they might be able to cut off one of them, by surrounding him on all sides, mounted, as they were, on horseback. Two of the dragoons endeavoured to stop his way, presenting themselves directly before him, and striking at him with their sabres. By this manœuvre, they got a complete sight of this gigantic figure, which, raising his head, as high as he could stretch it, above the rider, pushed forward, and, evading the stroke of the sabre, escaped safe. The Africans condemned the rashness of this attempt very much; and assured the travellers, that if the ostrich, in its hurry, had given any of them a flap with its powerful wing, the fracture of a leg or an arm would have been almost the certain consequence.

The highest point of the desolate mountain plain where they were, is one of the most elevated in this part of Africa, and is reckoned about 2000 feet higher than the Table Mountain, or 5300 above the level of the sea. The cold here was very severe; and the tents in which they slept were in the morning quite frozen. From this, they looked down on the great Karroo below, into which they were now to descend.

The word *Karroo* is of Hottentot extraction, and is applied to a kind of plain, that, we believe, occurs nowhere but in this part of Africa. It is an extensive and elevated tract, surrounded by high mountains, and destined, in the course of every year, to exemplify the extremes of fertility and desolation, fruitfulness and sterility; the first, in the depth of winter; the second, during all the other months. The desolate appearance which this plain presented to our travellers, when they first came in sight of it, and viewed it from the mountains on the north, is well described.

Our view, far to the south, was bounded by a chain of lofty hills, the space between being occupied by the great Karroo, a parched and arid plain, stretching to such extent, that the vast hills which bound it are almost lost in the distance. The beds of numberless little rivers cross this enormous space, like veins, in a thousand directions. The course of these might, in some places, be clearly distinguished by the dark green of the mimosas, which spread along their banks. Excepting these, nowhere, as far as the eye could reach, was a tree to be seen; no, nor even a shrub: nowhere any signs of life, nor a point on which the eye could dwell with pleasure. The two ridges which include this plain, stretch across the African continent, from east to west, parallel to one another, and to the southern coast. It is bounded by mountains also on the east

and west. The streams that cross descend from the northern chain, and, traversing the Karroo, issue through the vallies of the southern chain; so that the plain is not level, but inclines toward the south. The length of it is reckoned 60 geographic miles (15 to a degree), and its breadth from 15 to 20.

The Karroo is by no means a smooth and flat surface, as it is sometimes described. In the midst of it are some considerable hills, which are not remarked, only because they come in comparison with the lofty mountains on either side. These hills are of slate. There are large spaces however, some of them of the extent of thirty or forty square miles, of which the surface is perfectly level. The soil is sand mixed with clay, and containing a good deal of iron, as appears from its yellow or ochry colour. This coat of soil is so thin, that, on digging a foot below the surface, they come to a hard and impenetrable stone. As soon as the cool season, and the rains which accompany it, set in, the plants lodged in this dry bed of earth begin to shoot; and so rapid is the progress of vegetation, that in a few days this barren waste is covered with verdure. By and by, thousands of flowers enamel the whole surface: and the whole air is filled with the most fragrant odour. Thus, the desert is transformed, as by magic, into one continued garden of flowers. The colonist, descending from the snowy mountains, finds a plentiful supply of food for the flocks and herds which accompany him; while the troops of the ostrich and the antelope, driven in like manner, from the high country, share in the repast, and feed secure from the lion, the tyger, and the hyena, in fields where there is no hole or cavern where these plunderers can conceal themselves.

‘But this scene of plenty and security is destined to vanish as quickly as it arose; and its average duration does not exceed a month. As the day lengthens, the power of the sun soon checks a vegetation supported by so shallow a soil: the streams dry up, the springs hardly flow, and before the end of September, the Karroo is again reduced to a solitary desert. The clay is rent by a thousand cracks; and the hard red soil is covered over with a brown dust, formed from the dried and withered plants.’

In the constitution of this singular desert, nothing is more difficult to be explained than the thinness of the coat of earth with which the rock is covered. A valley, enclosed as this is by mountains on every side, must have once been a lake: for there is no other way of explaining how the outlets for its waters have been cut through one of the chains of those mountains, winding through it, and holding the circuitous course that rivers usually do in such circumstances. But if ever this was the case, great quantities of mud must have been deposited in the bottom, and produced a soil of considerable depth, which we might expect to find remaining after the waters themselves were drained off. Here it is otherwise; and if there ever was a

greater depth of soil in this valley, it must have been carried down by the torrents through the southern chain, as their beds were deepened. In short, the two great enigmas are, how the soil is so shallow, and how the torrents from the northern chain, after traversing and fertilizing this desert, find their way through the opposite chain on the south. The first thing that occurs to one, on hearing of a long straight valley between two chains of mountains, is, that the waters run off in the direction of its length, and issue out by one, or perhaps both its extremities. Here, it is quite the contrary; the waters traverse the plain in the direction of its breadth, and find their way through the chain of mountains on its lower side. But we must know more of the natural history of the Karroo, particularly of its mineralogy and its levels, compared with those of the high grounds to the south, before we can hope to resolve the problems to which the singularity of its structure gives rise. It is probable that nothing less than a geological survey can supply the information required.

When our travellers crossed the Karroo, in their way to the south, the dry season was considerably advanced, and the plain was in the most desolate state; they were two days and two nights, (during one of which they continued their journey) in passing through it. In their way they passed one of the principal branches of the *Great River*, which contained at this time nothing but here and there a pool of brackish water. On the morning of the third day they began to ascend into the high country of Bokkeveld, by a narrow pass, called *Bokkeveld's Poort*: the sun arose just as they reached a scene capable of exhibiting the various effects of light and shade; and their minds, by the absence of every thing beautiful or picturesque for the last three days, were prepared to enjoy the scene that opened on them.

'Our minds were particularly attuned to feeling the whole effect of the scene. The night had been spent in watching and in travelling over a dreary desert; and now, as if by enchantment, we found ourselves in the mild twilight of this contracted valley, the living vegetation of which formed so fine a contrast with the dry, barren, and boundless plain which we had left.'

On advancing a little farther, they arrived at the house of the colonist where they were to halt, and the contrast with the Karroo was now complete. It was a house surrounded by orchards and corn fields: hard-by was a little wood of old oaks and lofty poplars, and close to it ran a clear stream of excellent water. The beauties of the *Oases*, in another part of Africa, which the ancients delighted so much to describe, could not be more heightened by the horrors of a surrounding wilderness.

The country in which they now were is surrounded by high mountains: it is called the Cold Bokkeveld, but is a district of great fertility. The snow lies there in winter to the depth of several inches, and the inhabitants are glad to retire to the Karroo.

'Oranges, lemons, peaches, figs, &c.' are the fruits principally cultivated, and they are finer flavoured than in any other part of the colony. Even apples and pears grow here; and it is the only part of the colony where cherries are produced. All European woods are tougher and harder here than in any other part of Southern Africa, as they have more rest in the winter, and do not come again into leaf so immediately.

'The country on the other side of the Karroo, as well as the Karroo itself, seemed entirely based on masses of slate; whereas Cold Bokkeveld is composed of granite hills, mixed with layers of sand-stone, intersected by deep valleys.'

Though the information here given concerning this very interesting spot is extremely valuable, we cannot help regretting that it is not more precise as to the temperature, the height, and the mineralogy of the country.

A phenomenon in geology, which we are persuaded may be considered as quite peculiar, occurred in their route to the S. E. at Schurfedeberge, a branch that runs off from the chain of the Nardow mountains, formerly mentioned. This mountain presents the appearance of a high *overshelling* wall; and continues to run thus unbroken for three miles and a half, (about 16 English miles.) Its inclination is everywhere the same, about 60°, rising toward the west. Over the whole length of this flat surface, there is not the least appearance of vegetation; it looks like the roof of a house washed clean by the rain, and everywhere of a dismal dark grey hue. The top of this wall is about 300 feet above the valley at its foot. The manner of ascending or getting across it is also described as not less singular.

'We travelled along the foot of the Schurfedeberge a full half hour, before we reached the passage by which it was to be ascended. A power far beyond all mortal comprehension has here made a vast rent in this enormous mass of stone, and opened a way five or six hundred feet wide, through which the road is made. The ascent through this cleft was difficult, especially in the lower part, where it is narrowed, but was less formidable than several passes we had already gone through. In half an hour we reached the top; and then descending on the opposite side, we reached a little plain, richly carpeted with green. On looking back, we were now presented with the western side of the Schurfedeberge, which, from its extreme ruggedness, appeared as inaccessible on this side as on the other, from its steep, flat, and unbroken surface.'

In all that is here said of the Schurfedeberge, it is more the

magnitude, than the kind, of the appearance, that is to be accounted wonderful. The wall that forms the eastern face of the ridge, is evidently a great stratum of rock, elevated at an angle of 60 degrees. The elevation and direction of this stratum are maintained uniform, for a distance that is no doubt very, uncommon. The whole ridge probably consists of strata parallel and similar to the exterior stratum. The great rent opened (as our author calls it) in this mass, is, we apprehend, no other than a softer part of it, or more probably a vein of softer matter crossing it, on which the powers of destruction have operated faster than on the great rampart itself. A breach, of gentler acclivity, has thus been produced, of which the colonists have taken advantage in conducting the road.

The district of *Rondezand* was that into which our travellers had now advanced; and as their course had been south-east, they had come considerably nearer to the Cape Town. Of this district our author observes, that there are more marks of civilization than in the more distant colonies;—the people are more active and industrious, and *more attentive to their own interests*,—though, we presume, he means rather to say, better judges of their real interests. But both the happiness and the morals of the colonists of this district seem to have been injured not a little by the intrusion of a swarm of Missionaries, and the introduction, by their means, of a great degree of bigotry, which has very much changed the frankness of character, the cheerfulness, and the good will to one another, which were formerly so prevalent in this district. Music and dancing are entirely banished; and under the conduct of his spiritual guides, the African colonist, who has so few sources of enjoyment, has succeeded perfectly in cutting off a great number of them. Their favourite doctrine is, that every man should apply himself solely to the salvation of his own soul, which he is to work out, not by justice or morality, but by faith and self-abasement. Thus we see the same poison extracted from the humane and charitable doctrines of Christianity, and administered in the same doses over all the world. The solitude of the African colonist must make him of all men most susceptible of injury from its effects; and for this there is certainly no remedy but in the better education of the lower orders of society, for which we do not observe any provision in the Public institutions which our author has mentioned.

What is here said of the Missionaries is agreeably contrasted with the society of the United Brethren or *Herrenhutens*, which soon after was visited by Lichtenstein and his friends. On the banks of the river *Zonder-end* (Endless River) at a place

called Bavransklooff, is the establishment of this most meritorious society. The beginning of it goes back as far as 1737; but little seems to have been done till the year 1791, when three of the United Brethren from Holland or Germany settled in these parts. By order of the Dutch East India Company, this spot was granted for the establishment of a little colony; and in a short time they collected together a considerable number of *bastards* and *Hottentots*, whom they instructed in the Christian religion, at the same time endeavouring to inspire them with habits of industry.

At first, the jealousy of the colonists seems to have been excited by this most inoffensive and laudable institution, and to have produced excesses highly to be reprobated. Our author admits the truth of this; but contends that Barrow, who has spoken of it in his travels, has very much exaggerated the bad conduct of the colonists. He says that they had formed a conspiracy to murder the Brethren: the Brethren themselves assured Lichtenstein that they had never heard of such a thing.

The whole description of this establishment will be read with pleasure by those who take delight in the improvement of the species. The instruction of the *Hottentots* is the object of the institution, and is begun by teaching them some useful handicraft. A house has been appropriated to the manufacture of knives, of which one of the Brethren is the director; and it begins already to be profitable. Four *Hottentots* are employed in this manufacture. But, says our author, in order to form a just estimate of the worth of the excellent men who conduct this institution, their manner of treating the *Hottentots* must be seen. The mildness, yet dignity with which they instruct them, and the effect already produced in improving the condition of their uncivilized Brethren, is truly admirable; and the more so, that it has all been accomplished by persuasion and exhortation, without violence, or even harshness. No other punishment is known, but being prohibited from attending divine service, or being banished the Society; and to such severity it has been very rarely necessary to have recourse. The highest reward of industry and good behaviour is, to be baptized, and received into the Society. Though the Dutch government has been very friendly to this institution, its main support is from the Moravian Brethren in Europe. This little establishment, in the eleven years that had elapsed from its foundation, to the time when Lichtenstein visited it, had received no less than twenty-five thousand dollars from Europe:

and the annual expense seemed rather to increase than diminish. So large a sum given for a purpose so salutary, and from motives so disinterested, is rarely to be met with in the world. Of all who have attempted to teach Christianity to barbarous or savage nations, the Moravian Brethren may be fairly placed at the head. The generosity of their efforts has been guided by a degree of judgment and good sense that are wanting in most other missionaries. They begin with civilizing their pupils—educating and instructing them in the useful arts. They live among the people; and their lives manifest a justice and sanctity that must extort respect, and gain affection from the most rude and unenlightened. It is by this kind of practical instruction alone, that those in a certain state of ignorance and barbarism are to be gained over to the truth; and, till a similar course is followed, our Missionary, and our Bible societies may expend thousands and ten thousands to no purpose but to manifest the goodness of their intentions, and their total ignorance of the means which ought to have been pursued.

The Commissary-General and his party continuing their route south-east toward the coast, passed through Zwellingdam, a little town in the midst of this great pastoral country, and the seat of a Landdroost. There are a good many artizans here, such as smiths and carpenters; and some degree of opulence prevails, as the place is on the road from the Cape-town to the eastern parts of the colony. It is pleasantly situated, and well watered; a circumstance not to be omitted in speaking of a situation in Africa, where this advantage is so seldom enjoyed. The land is very fertile, except when the crop suffers from want of rain, as often happens over the whole of Southern Africa. When the supply of rain is sufficient, wheat will yield 70 or 80 fold, and barley 90 or 100; in dry years, the seed is little more than returned.

They had, in this part of their journey, a remarkable instance of the *Mirage*, which presented them with a view of the sea, and the sea-coast, when they were distant from the latter by six German miles. They were at that time on the top of a hill; a place where the mirage, we believe, does not usually appear. It was between 9 and 10 in the morning; the sun about 50 degrees above the horizon, and seen through a cloud. The heat was 66 of Fahrenheit; it was almost a calm, with an appearance of rain, and none of the sky to be seen. In these circumstances, they saw what they imagined to be the sea, but what, after a great deal of doubt, was pronounced not to be so, from the unevenness of the horizon. Dr Lichtenstein supposes, that

this was an appearance produced by the reflection of the sea-coast, and of the sea itself, from some clouds hanging over them. We confess, that this explanation does not seem to us very satisfactory, nor very consistent with the elevated situation of the observers. The supposition, of a great mass of haze or fog lying along the sides of the distant hills, and rising near to their tops, would seem to us to afford a more easy solution. But as this obvious idea must have occurred to the gentlemen themselves, and have been rejected; and as a judgement formed of such fleeting and airy appearances, on the spot, should have much more weight than a conclusion drawn at a distance, we will not venture to dispute the preceding explanation; though, for any thing in the description; we should think it doubtful whether the phenomenon had any thing to do with the Mirage.

The part of the coast on which they soon after arrived, is known by the name of Mossel Bay, the same to which VASCO DE GAMA gave the name of the Bay of St BLAISE, when he landed there in December 1497. Near a Cape which still retains the name of St Blaise, is a cave in a high cliff, the foot of which is washed by the sea, which though 400 feet above the high water mark, is entirely overspread with a thick layer of muscle shells. Dr L. visited it, and makes the breadth about 20 paces, the depth half as much, and the height about 50. The mouth of the cave fronts the north-east. In another cave, about 50 feet higher, there are no shells. It is certainly a curious question, how these shells came into the place where they are now found. Barrow supposes that they were brought by the birds; Lichtenstein, that they were brought by the Hot-tentots, who are supposed to have formerly resorted much to this place, and to have lived much on shell-fish:—this is also the common opinion in the neighbourhood. The shells are none of them fresh, and are half buried in sand and earth. This phenomenon, it seems, is very common on that coast. Barrow says that many thousand waggon loads may be met with in various places along the eastern coast, in situations which are several hundred feet above the level of the sea.

If the travellers just named had informed us of the nature of the rock, of the kind of excavations which the sea has made in it, how high the obvious marks of the washings of the sea extend, to what height gravel and other substances are ever thrown up by the wind or waves, we would have had some data for deciding whether the sea itself, without any other agent, can be supposed to have deposited the shells where they are now found.

As the matter stands, the supposition of Lichtenstein may be accounted the most probable. What Barrow asserts, that in Lowenberg, near the Cape town, wherever like caves have been discovered, abundance of live shell fish are always found, is denied by Lichtenstein, after having, as he tells us, examined many of those caves very particularly, in order to satisfy himself of the truth.

They proceeded from this to the Great fish river, which divides the colony from the country of the Caffres. The various tribes of this great nation are very distinct in form and external appearance from those by which they are surrounded. They are taller, stronger, and better proportioned; their colour brown; their hair black and woolly. They have the high forehead and prominent nose of the European; the thick lips of the negroe; and the high cheek bones of the Hottentot. Their beards are black, and much fuller than those of the Hottentots. They have a greater resemblance to Europeans than either to Negroes or Hottentots; and this is particularly to be remarked in the form of the bones of the face, and in the shape of the skull. They are at the same time distinguishable at first glance from the European, by their colour and their woolly hair.

The men of the Koossa tribe, which Lichtenstein describes from his own knowledge, are tall, from five feet six, to five feet nine inches high; and some, as their king GEIKA, are considerably taller. The skull of the Caffre is highly arched; his eye lively; his nose sufficiently prominent; and his teeth of the most brilliant whiteness. He holds himself exceeding upright; his step is quick and firm; and his whole exterior denotes strength and spirit. The women are very handsome, but much smaller than the men. A very smooth soft skin, beautiful teeth, pleasing features, expressive of cheerfulness and good nature, and a slender form, make them exceedingly attractive even in the eyes of a European.

The Caffres believe in an invisible being; but they have no name for him, and pay him no worship. They have, however, the strongest belief in sorcery, enchantment, and soothsaying; indeed there are among them persons who employ themselves entirely in these arts, and who hold in some degree the rank of priests. All the missionaries, accordingly, who have come into the country, have been considered as magicians and diviners. One of them, *Vander Kemp*, a man of uncommon austerity and self-denial, who still lives in the eastern part of the colony, was among the first who tried to preach the doctrines of Christianity to the Caffres. Once, when a great drought prevailed,

the Queen Mother sent to him to say, that if he did not bring them rain in three days, he should be considered as an enemy, and treated accordingly. Vander Kemp had often talked to them of prayer, and of God inclining his ear to them; so they had no doubt that his interest with the Supreme Being was quite sufficient to procure rain, if he chose to exert it. It so happened, that rain fell within the time that the queen had appointed; and the missionary was safe for once; but was only set upon with the more earnestness the next time rain was wanted; as they were now convinced, from *experience*, that the thing was entirely in his power. As he was not always equally fortunate, he was at last obliged to fly; and if GEIKA the king, being, as it should seem, more enlightened and more tolerant than his subjects, had not favoured the escape of the missionary, he would have fallen a sacrifice to the high opinion entertained of his influence with the Deity.

It is indeed curious to observe, how a nation of bold, active, and independent savages, with so few wants to supply, and such abundant means of supplying them, is bound down and enslaved by ignorance and credulity. It is in vain that the admirers of the savage state tell us, that man is there completely defended from the anxiety and alarm which perpetually surround him in civilized life. The truth is, that he is not free from anxiety and alarm; his fears are only wrong directed, from the objects which are real to those which are imaginary; from things in which foresight might be useful, to things in which it is useless or impossible. The same savage, who in the morning does not reflect that he is ever again to want the protection of the garment which sheltered him from the cold of the night, consults the magician about the issue of a disease or a battle; and trembles at his answer. The same Caffre, who with his *hasagai* attacks the living elephant, and often triumphs over his wisdom and strength, becomes afraid in his turn, and uses many charms and incantations to avert the evils that may arise from the anger of the dead animal.

It is not, indeed, in ignorance and simplicity that man finds an antidote to the fears of superstition:

Hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necesse est

Non radii solis, neque lucida tela dies

Discussant, sed naturæ species ratioque.

The language of the Caffres is soft, harmonious, and full toned; their pronunciation slow and articulate, without the clattering sound of the Hottentots. They have many different dialects; but the most distant tribes are said to understand one

another. Lichtenstein has subjoined a very extensive vocabulary of words from the language of the Koossas, the tribe nearest to the colony. The people of this tribe have in their pronunciation a small degree of the *clatter*, which is unknown among the other Caffre tribes, and is probably borrowed from the Hottentots. Their numerals go no farther than ten; and of these, the eight seems wanting; and Vander Kemp, who was long among the Koossas, could never learn the name of that number. They appear to have no words for eleven, twelve, or perhaps for any number greater than ten. With this limited knowledge of arithmetic, they *tell* or count over things that they are accustomed to with great readiness. They know perfectly well of how many head a herd of cattle consists, and quickly discover if one is wanting. Even when a herd of four or five hundred oxen is driven home, the owner knows almost at a glance whether they are all right or not.

The Caffres have no alphabetical characters, nor any use of writing. They can draw a rude outline, and engrave coarsely on metals, which they also work and prepare from the ore, as the Hottentots are said to have done before the arrival of the Europeans.

In many things the manners of the Caffres are more refined than is usual among a barbarous people.

'The Koossas have a great respect for their parents and relations advanced in years. A father, when unable from age to attend any longer to his affairs, gives up his whole property to his sons, and is sure of being treated with the utmost care and kindness by them for the remainder of his life. All persons advanced in years have great respect shown them; their advice is always listened to; and if they become sick or helpless, every one is eager to afford them assistance.'

'The women are excluded from the public deliberations; but, in household affairs, have great influence; and indeed manage them almost entirely. Even in the manner of disposing of the common property, the wife has the principal direction,' &c.

Yet though the influence of the women is so considerable, they are forced to do all the hardest of the work, as is usual in this state of society: they make not only all the clothes, but all the house utensils,—even build the houses, and cultivate the land. The men, in time of peace, employ themselves solely in the chase, or in tending the cattle. The country inhabited by the Koossas is very fruitful; the climate excellent; and the heat moderate:—all circumstances extremely favourable to the pastoral and semi-nomade life led by the inhabitants. Their numbers, however, are very small, compared with the extent of country which they occupy.

The greater fertility of soil in the territory of the Caffres, than in that of the Dutch colony, seems to depend on a difference which is very remarkable in the climate of two countries under the same parallel, and quite contiguous to one another. In the country of the Cape, the rains fall in the winter, (as we saw when describing the Karroo), or when the sun is farthest from the zenith. The rain then descends in torrents; but at the time when the sun is nearest the zenith, there are neither clouds nor rain, and the earth is entirely burnt up. In the Caffre country this order is reversed. In winter, the days are serene and cool; there is no rain, and only a little fog in the night. In summer, when the air becomes sultry, thunder clouds are formed, and bring with them abundant rains, by which the air is cooled and refreshed. This, which is the natural order of things, in every hot climate, and which must be suspended in the territory about the Cape by local causes, of which we are yet ignorant, is far more favourable to vegetation than the reverse. The contrast thus marked, is one of the most important facts about the climate of Southern Africa, which has yet come to our knowledge.

'The government in the Caffre tribes is entirely monarchical; the king is absolute sovereign. He makes laws, and executes them entirely according to his own will.'

Resistance, however, is so easy, that the king can be absolute only in appearance. If he pursue any measure which displeases universally, he is warned by one of the oldest and most esteemed chiefs of the discontent of his subjects. If this warning be not attended to, every Kraal, from the first to the last, retires to the borders; and the threat of general emigration seldom fails of producing a change of measures on the part of the king. Vander Kemp saw this method actually resorted to twice.

The manner in which the Caffres make war against one another, has a generosity in it very unlike what we find either among savages or civilized nations. When war has been declared, which is always done formally by an ambassador carrying in his hands the tail either of a lion or a panther, the chiefs, with their vassals, are summoned to attend the king. After the army has marched, carrying with it a great number of oxen, which serve for their magazines of supply, and has approached the territory of the enemy, ambassadors are sent to give notice of the intended attack; and if the enemy declare that he is not prepared, or that his people are not assembled, the invading army waits with patience till he is ready. A wide open place, without bushes or rocks, is chosen for the field of battle.

that there may be no possibility of an ambush, which is reckoned highly dishonourable. Here they contend with great valour and obstinacy. When one side is vanquished, the same generosity, is as conspicuous after the battle as it was before it. A part of the plunder is sent back to the vanquished; for it is a maxim among them, *we must not let even our enemies die with hunger*. What different lessons will these savages be taught, when Europe shall instruct them in the law of nations, and the right of conquest!

This generous mode of warfare, however, takes place only when one tribe of Caffres attacks another. When they make war on the Dutch or the Hottentots, the chivalrous spirit is entirely laid aside, and they proceed to cut the throats of their enemies, according to the most approved practice of savage and civilized nations.

The riches of the Caffre consists entirely in his cattle; the individual has no property in land; the land belongs to the community, that is, to the kraal or village, and to it only while occupied. The *impostor*, as ROUSSEAU terms him, has not yet risen up among the Caffres, who, after enclosing a field, has said, *This field is mine*; and, by these magic words, laid the foundation of the arts, and the calamities of civilized life. From this delusion, if it is one, and its consequences, the Caffre is yet free; but his independence is not on that account more secure. A person who has a no ambiguous title to the name of an impostor, the sorcerer, has already begun his operations, and laid the foundation, as he has so often done, of all the delusions of false religion, and all the artifices of its ministers.

ART. III. *The Trials of the Slave-Traders, Samuel Samo, Joseph Peters, and William Tuft, tried in April and June 1812, before the Hon. Robert Thorpe, LL.D., Chief-Justice of Sierra Leone, &c. &c. With Two Letters on the Slave Trade, from a Gentleman resident at Sierra Leone, to an Advocate for the Abolition in London.* 8vo. London, Sherwood, 1813.

WE rejoice in having lived to see the title-page of this publication—recording the trials of persons for felony, committed by engaging in what, a few years ago, was considered as one of the staple branches of British commerce;—but which men of sound judgment, and right feelings, never viewed in any other light than that of an abominable crime. While the law sanctioned it, indeed, a deference to the constituted authorities

of the country, rather than any tenderness towards the thing itself, might prescribe somewhat of forbearance in regard to the slave-dealers. But, thanks to the steady friends of humanity, that day is now past; and Parliament having declared the slave trade to be a crime, we are to witness the grateful spectacle of those persons who still engage in it, being treated like other felons.

These trials were had under the new statute,* which makes all dealing in slaves by British subjects, wheresoever residing, and by all persons whatsoever in the British dominions, colonies, settlements and possessions, a felony,—punishable by transportation, or imprisonment and hard labour, at the discretion of the Court which tries the offence. They are the first proceedings under the act, as far as is known in this country; and therefore, they deserve the more particular attention, both to enable us to discover any defects in the law which might have escaped us before it began to be put in force, and to bring into notice whatever may appear worthy of remark in the conduct of the judicatures entrusted with its execution. The last topic we feel to be one of peculiar delicacy; because they who are impressed with a due sense of the infinite importance of a good administration of justice, will ever be disposed to respect the persons in whose hands it is entrusted, and to touch with scrupulous caution upon any defects in their conduct. Nevertheless, their conduct is a fit subject of discussion; and their errors may not only be exposed without impropriety, but the task, if performed faithfully and decorously, and from a love of truth, and not of slander, is in the highest degree useful and meritorious. It is a scrutiny, too, from which no good Judge will ever shrink, any more than he will be offended with the steps taken to obtain a judicial revision of his proceedings.

It must be premised, in justice to the parties engaged in the trials on which we are about to comment, that the Report before us does not bear the marks of being very accurate; and it does not pretend to be a full one. In all probability, it was compiled from notes taken by no very practised hand; and indeed we may easily conceive, that a penury of law should exist in Sierra Leone, after the specimens which have frequently reached this country, even from the far more important settlements in the West Indies. Much of what we are compelled to notice, may therefore be the error of the reporter, rather than the Court or the Counsel. Nevertheless we are afraid, that some irregular and erroneous proceedings have taken place, which no supposable mistatement in the narrative of the trials can altogether

* Mr Brougham's act, 51. Geo. III. c. 23.

account for. Anxious as we are for the strict and effectual enforcement of the Abolition Laws, and willing to make every allowance for those who feel the same zeal as we do in the cause, we are desirous to see those laws accurately and learnedly administered, and to repress any excess of that zeal which, by overstepping the limits of propriety, might at once endanger the whole object in view, and give birth to other mischiefs not much inferior to those intended to be put down.

The publication before us opens with an extract from the Chief-Justice, Dr Thorpe's, charge to the Grand Jury; in which, after mentioning the other offences in the kalendar, he comes to notice the newly-created felony of slave-trading. Upon this occasion, it was not only allowable—it was necessary, sitting in a country of slaves and slave-factors, to explain to them both the law, and the principles on which it was founded. He was speaking to men, some of whom, in all probability, were first taught by the act itself that slave-trading was a crime. He therefore inveighs most properly against this enormity; and justly commends the Legislature for having done so much to put it down. There is only one topic which we could have desired to see omitted in this charge:—We speak, of course, from the Report merely, and would be understood always as commenting upon this, rather than the charge itself. The topic we allude to, is the eulogium bestowed on Mr Fox; most justly, indeed, and very briefly, but misplaced, were it only in one word, for ‘carrying his purity of principle, and consistent integrity into place and power;’ and effecting the Abolition. With our unalterable veneration for this great man's memory, and feeling, if possible, more admiration of him, for his exertions in the cause of the Abolition, than even for his general enmity to oppression and abuses, it costs us a pang to say any thing that may look like disapprobation of a sentiment so much in unison with our own, as that just now cited. But, what may be fitly and laudably said elsewhere, is oftentimes extremely culpable in a magistrate administering justice; and if any feelings are to be suppressed on the Bench more peculiarly than all others, it is such as bear a reference to party attachments. If the Judge cannot wholly eradicate them from his mind, he may at least avoid expressing them in his discourse, or even letting his speech be tinctured with them. We admit, that the learned Judge, in the present case, has fallen into the most light and venial degree of this impropriety; but Mr Fox was too recently a political leader, and his name and principles are too notoriously the bond of a great party in our times, to authorize the mention of him which has been cited; and we

should not be able fairly or consistently to express the disgust excited by Judges prostituted, for mercenary ends, to the service of present power (if unhappily such an evil be in store for this country), were we to pass over unnoticed the slighter matter now alluded to. A popular Judge has been well said, by Lord Bacon, to be a hateful thing. For this we have his authority:—But we have his example to prove how odious a corrupt and time-serving Judge is;—to which most signal evil (and a state can be visited by few greater curses), the first and largest step is that which is made by a magistrate, from declaring the law, to espousing a party,—becoming a political character,—and ending (as end he will, from whatever point he may set out), by ‘allowing the King, rather than the Law, to speak through him.

In commenting upon these trials in ‘a colonial judicature, which is established in a very narrow settlement, it would be the height of injustice to expect the same strict regard to formal and correct procedure, or even to perfect propriety and decorum, which we have a right to look for in our own tribunals, and in the courts of the larger colonies. The judicial establishment of such inferior settlements does not admit of it.’ We conceive, however, that some things appear on the face of this Report, which might have been better arranged otherwise, and which a little attention may in future correct. The following passage is extracted from the address of the Attorney-General; and it was delivered in presence of the Chief-Justice, without calling forth any contradiction or disavowal from the learned Judge.

‘The daring violations against the acts of parliament prohibiting the traffic in slaves, which were known to be daily committed in the Rio Pongas by British subjects, could not fail to attract the attention of the government of this colony. When these violations had, in the hope of impunity, attained a gross pitch of criminality, no longer to be tolerated, the prisoner at the bar, and one of his slaving associates, were apprehended and secured. It was not certain that the evidence then had would absolutely establish their guilt. To obviate this difficulty, his Excellency the Governor, *and my Lord the Chief Justice, devised a plan*, highly to their honour and fame, of *obtaining the essential proof from the place where these illegalities had been committed*. This plan was to send to the King of the Soosoo nation for such persons as were qualified to be evidences for the crown; and I congratulate myself that it was appointed to me to bring them forth. It was proposed to me to present myself to Mungo Catty, King of the Soosoo nation, and, with his permission, bring away such residents in his dominions as I might think proper, pursuant to written instructions from his Excellency Governor Maxwell. This I did; and the evidence you have this day heard is the fruits of the attempt.’ p. 23.

Now, although the general superintending power of a Privy Council, or that which answers to it in a colony, cannot be doubted; and though the chief Judge may, and naturally ought to be, a member of this body,—and, as a councillor, may fully be consulted by the Executive Government,—we confess ourselves inimical to such an active interference in the peculiar province of police, as is described in this passage. It is not proper that, at a solemn trial, it should appear that the very person who is sitting in judgment on the prisoner, had, in the early stage of the cause, mixed himself up with the prosecutor, so far as to assist him in preparing his case. The active employment of the Attorney-General in this matter, which in a larger community would be deemed strange, is unquestionably nothing in such a settlement as Sierra Leone. But, at all events, it would have been better not to allow the duties of the double office to fall upon the Chief-Justice.

To proceed with these interesting trials. The grand jury having found the bills, the first person tried was Mr Samuel Samo, a slave factor of great note in the Rio Pongas; connected largely with all the native dealers; a man eminent for wealth and influence in those parts, and actively engaged in supplying Cuba and other colonies with negroes. In these respects, he was a fit object of justice, and proper to be made the first example of. But other circumstances appear to us quite adverse to beginning with him. The evidence of his falling within the act seems rather defective; for though he is clearly proved to have been engaged in the traffic subsequent to the time specified in the statute for those parts, yet as the acts of trading were committed without the limits of the British dominions, we do not see, upon the minutes of evidence now before us, very clear proof of his being a British subject, which in this case was unquestionably necessary to support the indictment: And whatever proof there is, appears to have been most irregularly, and indeed illegally, introduced. For the sake of the colonial functionaries entrusted with the administration of the new law, we shall enter a little more fully into this case.

When Mr Samo was brought to the bar to plead, he appears (if we rightly comprehend the account of it) to have offered something like a plea to the jurisdiction,—though it was, at least as to the manner of introducing it, clearly out of season; for it was in truth a defence, and amounted to a plea of not guilty. He stated that he was a Dutchman; and that the statute under which he was tried applied only to British subjects. This was also a mistake; for it applies to all persons whatever within the dominions or possessions of the Crown. However, as the slave

trading was laid to have been committed beyond those limits, it was evidently not within the statute, unless he was proved to be a British subject. The proceedings on this preliminary matter are not given with any degree of fulness; but we find that the objection was overruled, and the trial went on; the prisoner pleading Not Guilty. The prosecution was conducted by Mr Biggs; who is not, as we gather from what is stated, a professional man; but he appears to have displayed very considerable ability in the addresses which he made to the court and jury in the course of the proceedings. Unfortunately, he does not seem to have been aware of the necessity under which he was laid, by the circumstance of the act being committed abroad, to prove that the prisoner was a British subject; and accordingly, this most material part of his case is wholly wanting. We do not even think it clear, that the indictment contains such an allegation; in which case, the proceedings were quite useless from the beginning. After Samo was convicted, a motion was made in arrest of judgment; and then a singular proceeding took place. Witnesses were examined on both sides, without a jury, and merely before the judge, in support of, and in opposition to, the motion in arrest of judgment;—a question, by its nature, wholly confined to the record. If the indictment stated, that the prisoner was a British subject, no such motion could be entertained, on the ground of his not being a British subject, after verdict; and if the indictment omitted that material allegation, it signified not how the fact stood,—for no judgment could be given on such a record. The Chief Justice, nevertheless, allowed a kind of issue to be tried before himself, after verdict, to ascertain what ought to have been proved before the jury who tried the indictment, *viz.* whether the prisoner was a British subject or not; and he threw the affirmative of this proposition upon the prisoner, though it was a necessary part of the prosecutor's case. If then there is any accuracy at all in the Report before us, this conviction is undoubtedly bad; and we cannot help regretting extremely, that the first proceedings under the new act should have been so irregular, and indeed so entirely contrary to law. It is not impossible, that Samo may still seek legal redress in this country, for the injury which he appears to have sustained; and, little as we are disposed to pity him, convicted as he was of extensive slave trading, we cannot close our eyes to the fact, that he has been, if the account in this Report be correct, tried and convicted by a law which had no more jurisdiction over him than the Conscription law has over the subjects of this country. It will be no very agreeable thing for the friends of the Abolition, to have such proceedings

brought against them, as its enemies may institute on this occasion.

The evidence against Samo, so far as his large concern in the slave trade goes, we have already said, was sufficiently strong. We mean, that sufficient legal evidence to prove this is to be found in the proceedings; for it is scattered over a large space, the greater part of which is filled with something as little like evidence as may be. The following are the notes of the deposition given by the first witness called. Scarcely any of it is legal evidence, or ought to have been allowed by the learned judge who tried the cause.

‘ THOMAS CURTIS sworn.

‘ *Evidence.*—He has resided in the Rio Pongas a long time: he knew that Samuel Samo sent off slaves from the Rio Pongas some time in January, 1812; the master of the vessel in which the slaves went, bartered with one Wilson for the cargo; the goods for purchasing the cargo of slaves were landed at Wilson’s factory; the vessel carried off 120 slaves; he heard, and believes, that Samuel Samo, Mr John Ormond, Mr Stiles Lightburn, Mr J. Faber, and William Cunningham Wilson, freighted the vessel off with slaves; he knew the vessel called the Eagle under Spanish colours; she arrived in the Rio Pongas in September, 1811. The master of the Eagle bartered for 120 slaves; they were procured from Samo (the prisoner), Ormond, William Laurence, Thomas Curtis (the witness), Lightburn, and Faber. Samo supplied 25 slaves; the factors made an agreement to supply the cargo of slaves among them, to get the vessel off quickly; there was tobacco, gunpowder, cloth, and rum, paid for the slaves.

‘ *Cross-examined by Mr H*****s.*

‘ He is not in Mr Samo’s employ, but in the employ of witness’s father; he heard Wilson say, that Samo was to send him slaves for the vessel, and saw the barter to be paid for them; he did not see Samo send the slaves to Wilson; he thinks the Samadada another name for the Eagle; he heard Mr Wilson say that Samo sent off slaves in that cargo; he heard the natives of the Soosoo country say, Samo sent off 20 slaves in January, 1812; he heard and believes that Samo sent off slaves in the vessel also that sailed in September, 1811. The natives told him he had; the natives always inform the factors who supply the cargoes of slaves for each vessel, but the factors do not inform each other.’ p. 16, 17.

We extract this as a specimen of the proceedings; but we must add, that the fact of Samo’s dealing is proved by strictly legal evidence, both parole and written; chiefly by the examination of his clerk, and the production of his letters.

When Samo was brought up for judgment, the Chief Justice delivered an eloquent and impressive address to him, on the enormity of the offence. And if force of language were the only,

or even the principal requisite in the judicial character; or if zeal in behalf of a good cause, could authorize the dispensers of justice to gratify any private feelings on the Bench, we should not have a word to say upon any part of these proceedings. But a judge has one duty only to perform; and if any man should be free from all passion, nay, from all feeling, (were it possible), it is he who sits on the judgment seat. Indeed, it appeared from some passages in this Report, that the current of public feeling runs pretty strongly against the slave trade at Sierra Leone. We find the editor suppressing the names of the prisoner's counsel, 'because,' (says he) 'they would probably not like the world to know they had defended slave traders;' as if there were any case in which the prisoner's counsel exerted himself in favour of the crime; and as if there were any charge under which the accused (who may be in fact, and must be in law presumed, innocent before conviction) ought to be left undefended. Nor is this merely the over zeal and the blunder of the reporter. The prisoner's counsel begins his defence with apologizing for defending him; he states his reluctance to 'have any thing to do in this cause;' and extenuates the offence of assisting a person on his trial, by saying, that he had been assigned by the court. The account given of the subsequent proceedings leads to a similar inference,—that at Sierra Leone there was no want of right feeling on the subject of the slave trade; and that the zeal of the community rather stood in need of a check than a stimulant. It was therefore peculiarly the duty of the judge to stand between the accused and this popular feeling,—exactly as in the other colonies the first duty of the magistrate undoubtedly is, to stand between the negro and his oppressors,—that the deep-rooted prejudices of the whites may not carry away before them all law, humanity, and justice. In neither case is it intended to be insinuated, that the judge should take a zealous part one way or the other. Zeal indeed we may expect in him; but it should only be a zeal for the rigorous and unbending enforcement of the law,—neither relaxing it in favour of the whites in the West Indies, nor stretching it against the slave merchants themselves in Africa.

Whether the circumstances * to which we have alluded after-

* It appears that there might have been evidence produced of his being an Englishman, had the prosecutors conducted their case with due attention to law, and thought fit to prove that material fact at the trial; for, on the motion in arrest of judgment, two affidavits were read on the part of the prosecutor, stating, that Sarno had frequently admitted himself to be an Englishman. This evidence

wards occurred to the judge and the prosecutor, we know not ; but they did not proceed to pass the sentence of the law upon Samo. After the motion in arrest of judgment had been disposed of, the judge exhorted him, and the other slave-traders in the Rio Pongas, to save him, by taking effectual steps towards extirpating the traffic there ; holding out an expectation of pardon if something satisfactory should be done previous to the next Sessions. The prisoner was accordingly remanded ; and the following extract from a letter, giving an account of the sequel, will show, that this man's trial has not been without its advantages to the abolition.

On the 11th of June, Samuel Samo was brought up for judgment. The merciful suggestion contained in the address of the honourable Chief Justice to the prisoner when he was remanded, was improved by the friends of Samo, who, from his long residence in the Soosoo nation, his wealth, and extensive business and connexion, was an object of consequence. Though Samo had never been beloved, (and, indeed, what slave trader could be ?) he was respected ; and it would be no presumption in him to expect that his friends, whether Europeans or natives, would make great exertions to save him from enduring the penalty he had so justly incurred. Some time previously to the day appointed for receiving his dreadful and ignominious sentence, several petitions were humbly tendered to his Excellency Governor Maxwell, praying for the pardon of the prisoner. Three of these petitions were written in Arabic ; one from the King of the Mandingo nation ; one from the King at the Isles de Loss ; and one from Mungo Catty, King of the Soosoo nation. The remaining two petitions were in English ; one from the European settlers in the Soosoo nation, and the other from the British settlers at the Isle de Loss. A future occasion will be taken to make the whole of these interesting documents public. The Arabic petitions abound with tenderness and originality. For the present, it will suffice to remark, that they were all written in the language of pathos, sincerity, and submission, and bound the petitioners to abandon the abominable slave traffic, and to do all in their power to bring it to a total termination, upon the condition that Samo should be discharged by virtue of the royal pardon, and restored to his friends. To have the " father of the trade," converted into its avowed enemy, and all his African connexion solemnly pledged to assist him in the humane work of abolition, was a great point gained, and infinitely preferable to sacrificing an individual slave trader

dence would certainly have been sufficient, had it been given at the trial, and in the legal manner, by parole examination. It would at least have thrown it on the prisoner, to get rid of it by other evidence, such as entries in parish books, or testimony of several witnesses.

to the rigour of the law. Governor Maxwell, having consulted the Chief Justice, determined that he would exercise the delightful prerogative with which he was invested, of extending the royal pardon to the unhappy convict.' p. 36, 37.

Having made this extract, we cannot resist adding another from the same letter, for the singular (we ought perhaps rather to say, the too frequent) enormities to which it adverts incidentally.

'On the day appointed, Samuel Samo was put to the bar to hear the sentence the law directs for the crime of which he stood convicted. Mr Biggs moved, in arrest of judgment, that the royal pardon might be read, which being done by the Clerk of the Crown, the learned Chief Justice addressed the prisoner in a manner that not only impressed him, but moved every heart in the Court. He enjoined, and explained the gratitude the prisoner ought to feel at being released from a most ignominious punishment, which, from his age and frame, must have accelerated a death, whose terrors (from the habits of his life) he must be unprepared to encounter. He mentioned, that on a former occasion he had stated many of the miseries the negro suffered, from the moment he was caught till he was shipped, to all of which the slave factor was accessory. The horrid scenes the prisoner must have witnessed on board a ship in the Río Pongas, when the slave factors were carousing at dinner with one William Browne, (master of a Liverpool slave ship), might have deterred him from this pursuit. The rum in the cabin being exhausted, a person was despatched to the hold to open a fresh cask which caught fire from a candle; the ship was soon in flames; the inebriated factors saved themselves in their boats. Twenty-five slaves, not in irons, were drowned, and above seventy in irons, in the hold, were consumed to ashes! yet one of the wretches who was present, and who had just returned from the Matanzas, had assured him (the learned Judge) that the miseries he saw the negroes suffer in Cuba, so far exceeded any thing he imagined, that he had determined to decline the trade for ever.

'He next spoke of the ship Caracai, that had been sent to Bahia with eleven hundred slaves; five hundred died on their passage; and of the six hundred landed, it was not supposed many could survive. A vessel that had foundered at sea, and the whole cargo of slaves perished, while the master and the men escaped in the boats, was also dwelt upon; and the pangs thus wantonly caused by the trade in human flesh, forcibly impressed on the recollection of the prisoner.' p. 37, 38.

To the arrangement detailed in these extracts, we conceive there can be but one objection, and that not to the proceeding itself, but to the manner only of its accomplishment. The affair was perfectly fit for the Governor; but it would have been better if the Judge had not interposed so openly in it, more e-

specially by the terms publicly held out in his address to the prisoner on remanding him.

The other trials reported in the Tract before us do not furnish the same room for observation. That of Hickson is not given at all: we are only told he was acquitted. Wheeler's trial and acquittal is noticed with equal brevity; and though a fuller account is given of the convictions of Peters and Tufft, we shall not dwell at great length upon them. The case of Peters appears to have been of an aggravated kind. He had been a surgeon's mate on board a King's ship; had been for six years in the employ of the factory at Bance Island, and was receiving pay for attendance on the British troops at the time of committing the felony. It is not stated from what country he came; but we are left to suppose he was a British subject; and as, at any rate, he committed the acts of slave trading within the limits of a British settlement, the difficulty that occurred in Samo's case does not here arise. The evidence very much resembles that on the former trial: it is mixed up with a vast deal of matter which cannot be called evidence; but there is quite enough, and more than enough, of strict legal testimony to warrant most clearly the conviction.

The reader may be interested with the various forms in which the native witnesses were sworn; each being allowed, very properly, to take the oath according to the custom of his nation. One swore by his mother, and wished she might die, if he did not speak the truth; and hoped, if he did not relate the whole truth, that God might strike him dead as the earth, on which he rubbed his two forefingers, and applied the dust to his tongue. Another was sworn on the Koran; a third prayed that God might cause the earth to open and swallow him up, if he concealed the truth. Some kissed the earth, and promised to speak the truth; another was sworn on the Old Testament; another on the New Testament and the earth, as if the purer light of Christianity had not wholly dispelled his Pagan darkness. Several seem to have been sworn by their mother and the earth. There is something very simple and affecting in these poor people regarding the death of their mother as the greatest evil that an offended Deity could inflict on them.

Neither Peters nor Tufft seem to have made any defence; and the former was sentenced to seven years transportation; the latter to three years hard labour in the public works. We have stated that Peters was a person in a respectable station; Tufft, who seems to have been his partner in these infamous transactions, was a black man, who had been educated in England,

and had lived as a servant in the family of a nobleman near Windsor.

Upon the whole, it is impossible to doubt that these proceedings, but more especially the satisfactory and regular convictions of Peters and Tufft, and the severe and degrading, but most just punishments which they are now suffering for their crimes, must be productive of very happy effects in every part of the world where the knowledge of them shall be spread. The indelible stigma which the law had already fixed upon the offence, is now exhibited in the more plain and visible form of actual infliction; and the minds of men, after being weaned from the habit of regarding slave-dealing as a kind of commerce, will now become accustomed, more thoroughly than ever, to view it as a criminal act, when they see it punished, and in every respect dealt with as other felonies, the commission of which exposes the offender to the vengeance of the law, and renders him for ever infamous. It is easy to anticipate the salutary effects which this must produce in every part of the British colonies; and we can scarcely doubt that the example of our jurisprudence will be followed by the American Legislature, which has always shown so much laudable anxiety for the abolition of the traffic.

This leads us to a very painful train of reflections on the supineness so long displayed by our Government in carrying into effect the repeated addresses of both Houses of Parliament relative to the slave trade still driven by our allies. We are most unwilling to say any thing harsh, or to indulge in remarks which might give rise to any suspicion that we carried party feelings into this discussion. No such sentiments are present to our minds; on the contrary, we are disposed to give the Government full credit for its exertions, in many important respects, towards furthering the great object which all parties are now united in prosecuting, the enforcement of the Abolition laws. A merit by so much the greater in the present ministers, that they were almost all of them known as the warm opposers of the abolition before it was carried through Parliament. We trust then, that we shall meet with a ready belief, when we assert, that our remarks are wholly untinged with party feelings, and that they are dictated solely by a wish to rouse the attention of the country and the legislature to the serious matter about to be noticed. Those who hold converse with princes and courts, or have access to men in office, may insinuate their sentiments in the form of suggestions, and they have all the chance of their being listened to, and acted on, which the force of reason, and the nature of statesmen, may

afford. Obscure persons, like ourselves, whose influence is absolutely nothing, independent of the arguments we use—whose very existence is only known by our works, must rely on the effect which truth is calculated to produce by whomsoever urged and explained, and on the force exerted upon the measures of their rulers by the sentiments of the people, as often, as those sentiments are strongly pronounced. We have no other means of promoting the good cause; and it would be criminal in us to throw these away. What we have to state, we shall therefore take leave to urge with perfect respect to the present Government, and without any feeling of irritation or unkindness towards them; but at the same time with the frankness which so great interests as those here involved, make a duty incumbent on all who pretend to treat of this most important matter.

Our readers will easily perceive that we are now coming back to that sad chapter which sets forth the dreadful traffic in human flesh, carried on by those two nations, for whose rights and independence, for whose liberty in short, this country has spent so much treasure, and been so lavish of its best blood. The very worst forms that the slave trade has ever assumed, are those in which it is at this day exhibited by the Spaniards and Portuguese. In point of extent too, we doubt if even our own slave-trade, after the capture of the Dutch colonies, was greater than the united amount of the horrible traffic now driven by our dear, and costly allies. No doubt the British trade in flesh was of a dreadful extent in 1797 and 1798. It had been suffered by that celebrated abolitionist, Mr Pitt, to increase about thirty thousand in one year. The enormous number of 57,000 a-year were, by express permission of that great man, nay in consequence of his war measures, carried over by the English merchants for the supply of our colonies and conquests. And the whole increase went to supply those settlements in which there always has been the worst system of treatment, next to that practised by our faithful allies the Portuguese. It might save us some trouble, and tend to conciliate the friends and adherents of Mr Pitt's policy, were we to pass over these particulars;—but history must perform its office; and we have made it a rule, for the sake of truth and justice, always to note the strange inconsistency which has been alluded to, as often as the subject has come in our way. Iniquitous, however, as the conduct of our own government was in those days, the slave-traffic now carried on by our allies, far exceeds even the enormities just now mentioned, if not in amount, at least in the misery it occasions. Subject to no regulation, except that which the calculations of avarice prescribe, it involves in tor-

ture and destruction, a far greater proportion of human beings. The mortality of slaves in the Brazils, is described by all who know that country, as truly dreadful;—and the total inattention to breeding, the cruelties practised on women while pregnant, the careless management of infants who are taken from the mother, that she may resume her labour in the field, and crowded in droves under some disabled negress, in a single hovel,—and the brutal treatment of all descriptions of slaves, both in respect of punishment, work, and food, are such, that the excessive importations constantly going on, do barely, if at all, keep up the stock. The horrors of the middle passage, both in Portuguese and Spanish vessels, exceed even those which formerly, before the regulation acts, wrung our hearts, and did so much towards opening the eyes of this country to the iniquities of the system,—and since those acts, with all its enormities, the British slave vessel was a scene of comfort and ease, compared with the floating pest houses of Portugal and Spain. A single fact shall speak on this distressing subject, and it speaks volumes. One Portuguese vessel carried from Africa to Bahia, (or St Salvadore), eleven hundred slaves, —at least such was the destination of this miserable crowd; but five hundred died on the voyage, and the remainder were landed in a state which insured the death of a large proportion of them.

Such is the trade in slaves, directly carried on by our allies for their own benefit, real or supposed. But they are accessory to another mischief,—the protection, by means of their flag, afforded to Americans,—and we are sorry to add, to English traders, whom the gains of this iniquitous commerce still tempt to violate the prohibitory laws of the United States, and even to risk the still more serious penalties of our own abolition acts. Under cover of these flags are all these violations attempted; and in but too many instances they must inevitably succeed. We have on a former occasion pointed out the manner in which the fraud is carried on;—A vessel sails from America, or from England, to some port in the Spanish or Portuguese colonies; she there disposes of her cargo, and, taking in another, sails to some other port where the slave trade is most conveniently carried on. A fictitious sale is then made of her to a purchaser belonging to that port, and she becomes nominally Spanish or Portuguese property; she is furnished with regular passes accordingly; the English crew are turned over to some other vessel; and probably not above a single person remains in her of her original complement. That person, however, is an important one; for, under the name

of supercargo, purser, or passenger, he is in truth the commander of the vessel and voyage. In some cases he has been known to assume the command openly, after changing his name: Thus we observe a person of the name of *Woodbine*, alias *Madresilva*, at this time advertised in the newspapers, as having escaped from justice. He had gone out on such an adventure as we have been describing, and changing his name, by translating it into Portuguese, (*Madresilva*, signifying *Woodbine* in that tongue), he had continued to command the vessel after the fictitious sale had been effected, until in the course of time he was captured, and the vessel condemned on a satisfactory proof of these facts. In the proceedings, he had sworn to a variety of particulars, all of which were disproved by a cloud of evidences; and a bill was found against him for perjury, by the grand jury of the county of Devon, at last summer assizes. The advertisement offers a reward for his apprehension; but we greatly fear he has taken care to leave the country. The hostilities with America will of course still further occasion the slave merchants of that country to avail themselves of the flags of our allies; and there can be no doubt, that (with the exception of the small portion covered by the Swedish flag), and another portion to be presently noticed, all the traffic in human beings now remaining in the world, owes the continuance of its existence to the two nations most nearly connected with us in political relations; to whom we have done the greatest services; whose principles of national independence we hold the most worthy of being admired, and over whose fate, as well as their councils, we have the greatest influence that was ever possessed by one power over another, not absolutely reduced to subjection.

The question then is, ought this to be? Can no steps be taken to induce those governments to abolish the traffic, or at least to confine it within much narrower limits? Can we not prevail upon them, at all events, to confine the protection of their flag to cargoes (if we must still so speak) destined for their own use, and imported by their own capital? We profess not to be capable of understanding, why even the greatest of these several objects should be set down as unattainable. But we are lost in amazement, when we find, that to all appearance, not even the least of them has been attempted.

We shall, however, be told that attempts *are* made, and that our government *does* negotiate with these objects in view. Certainly we are in no condition to deny the assertion; but we plainly enough perceive the result of the attempt to be absolutely nothing, and are thence led to infer, that there is no-

thing very cogent in the means employed to make our negotiations succeed. It is not so in other matters;—it was not so when we treated for the cession of colonies in 1763 and 1802, the possession of which inevitably augmented the amount of our slave trade in a large proportion. When the question was of measures which should increase the slave traffic, we had some vigour to put forth, and we carried our point. Why should we not exert a little of the same force, when it might enable us to sweep the foul pollution at once from the face of the earth? That the governments of Lisbon and Cadiz,—the municipalities of those two respectable cities, (for it is in vain any longer to talk of their power, either in Europe or America, beyond their own walls),—that these worthy magistrates may be averse to the measures proposed, or indeed to any measure which any one out of their own worshipful body may propose, we can readily believe. That the people of the mother countries are averse to the abolition, no man can imagine. It is rather to be feared they care very little about it; as they know very little of that, or of any other subject. There are colonial interests undoubtedly opposed to it, as there were to our abolition; and we all of us may remember, how mightily both the grounds of that opposition, and its force, were magnified in the early days of the controversy, as we plainly enough now see how very little importance can be attached to either.

But there is a disposition, in some parts of the Spanish dominions, to concur with us in these proceedings. The question was once debated, and with a very favourable reception, in the Cortez itself; so that even their unanimity against the cause of the abolition is not to be feared. Moreover, some of the colonies have already abolished the trade, of themselves. We believe there was a decree against it in the Carraccas; and there now lies before us an account of the complete abolition being effected by the new government of Buenos Ayres. We shall insert the decree itself, which we take from that admirable and benevolent work the *Philanthropist*, No. IX.

* The Cabildo feeling this to be a proper moment to publish the superior Decree of the 9th April, prohibiting the introduction of slaves, orders it to be inserted in the Ministerial Gazette, and measures taken to insure its execution.—Signed by two of the members of the Government.

HERRERA, Secretary.

DECREE.

* In conformity with the rights of humanity, with the uniform conduct of cultivated nations, with the reclamations of the authorities of this capital, and as a consequence of the liberal principles which the illustrious people of the United Provinces of the River Plata have

valourously and energetically proclaimed and defend,—The Government passed the following decree on the 9th of April last, and it is hereby made public.

- Art. 1.—The introduction of expeditions of slaves into the territory of the United Provinces is absolutely prohibited.
- Art. 2.—Those which may arrive within the space of a year, counting from the 25th day of the present month of May, shall be ordered to depart from our ports immediately.
- Art. 3.—The term of a year being completed, all expeditions of the kind shall be condemned; the slaves shall be declared free, and the Government will apply them to useful occupations.
- Art. 4.—All the authorities of the State are hereby strictly charged to observe and execute the present decree, which is to be published and circulated, being deposited in the Secretary's office of the Government.

Buenos Ayres, 15th May, 1812.

FELICIANO ANTONIO CHICLANA.

BERNARDINO DE RIBADABIA.

NICHOLAS HERRERA, Secretary.

CITIZENS,

‘The Government has wished to mark the anniversary of the glorious epoch of your civil liberty with demonstrations worthy your sentiments and your virtues.—Divine Providence openly protects the cause of humanity, which we gloriously and honourably support. Fortune assists our projects, and overthrows the vigilance and efforts of the tyrants. Every thing announces the speedy consolidation of our just system. Courage, union, patriotism, generosity, and confidence. The victory is ours.’ p. 74, 75.

Now, we are far from saying that the victory for humanity, here recorded, was as great or as costly as it would have been, had a similar measure been carried in Cuba or Porto Rico, where the traffic in slaves is so much more extensive, and deemed so much more essential to the cultivation of the colonies. But it nevertheless is highly important,—not merely as recognizing the principle, or making a step,—but because it does in fact cut off a considerable portion of the traffic. We happen to know, from unquestionable authority, that, besides the slave trade directly carried on between Africa and the settlements on the River Plata, above 1500 of the negroes annually imported into the Brazils were destined ultimately, if we must still so speak, for the Buenos Ayres market. Then, with such instances on the part of some of the colonies, ought not our Government to proceed instantly in making the most effectual representations at Cadiz, if it shall be deemed impossible to open any direct communication with the colonies themselves?

It may indeed be said, that the mother country dares not abolish the slave trade of Cuba, and the other colonies which still

cling to it; that they would throw off the yoke, which indeed is now merely nominal, and declare themselves independent. Another objection to our interference, resting upon the same grounds, may be taken notice of at the same time,—that we should lose the prospect of a beneficial connexion with those settlements, by prematurely embroiling ourselves with them, or exciting and assisting the government at Cadiz to destroy their African trade. As far as regards Portugal, there may be some weight in objections of this kind; but what, we beg to be informed, are the mighty benefits we should sacrifice, either in possession or expectancy, even by a total annihilation of our intercourse with the only Spanish colonies that retain any considerable interest in the traffic? Cuba engrosses perhaps nine tenths of it, and grows an abundance of sugar and coffee, articles not very much wanted by us in the present state of things, and not very likely ever to be scarce and valuable. It grows, too, more and more of those commodities every year, and that entirely through the slave trade. The glut of them all over the world is more owing to Cuba, that is, to the slave trade carried on by Cuba, than to any other cause, as we formerly demonstrated. And may not our own planters reasonably enough complain, if, after putting a stop to their schemes in Trinidad, (the only one of our islands which could pretend to any interest in the trade), we do not use our utmost endeavours to prevent Cuba from obtaining a pernicious monopoly of the traffic which they have lost—a monopoly, not tending to make the produce scarce, but to increase the glut, already so ruinous to them?

As for Portugal, a rupture with her is not to be so lightly talked of; because undoubtedly her colonies afford a considerable market to our goods. But if we have gained absolutely nothing in return for all our exertions in her behalf, is it too much to expect, that when we ask a boon for humanity, we may be permitted to press our suit more strenuously than we should do, were it possible to ascribe our zeal to motives of interest? Against this doctrine at least, the present government have no right to protest. They demanded of the Danes a surrender of their fleet; and burnt Copenhagen because it was refused. Far be it from us to cite such a precedent; but it must be a sufficient answer to all who approved of that transaction. The policy now recommended, if pushed to the utmost extent, would only go the length of justifying a seizure of all vessels engaged in gross violations of every principle of national justice and natural law. But the mere apprehension of this last resort would inevitably gain the point with the government of the Brazils.

We cannot help thinking, that the ease with which people in this country reconcile themselves to allowing the enormities of the African trade to be carried on, resembles in no small degree the deception which some atrocious criminals practise on themselves, when they avoid an actual concern in acts of cruelty, and are averse to seeing, with their own eyes, the sufferings they inflict. A murderer who is present, and assists in every thing but the actual stroke—or an assassin who kills by poison, that he may not be afterwards haunted with the recollection of the slaughter—so much more intolerable, because so much stronger and more definite than the liveliest pictures of a disturbed imagination—escape, by these subterfuges, from a good deal of real misery; and, because their consciences are somewhat less severely tormented, they vainly suppose their guilt has been lighter. Somewhat akin to this, seems to be the delusion of those who, with the British navy at their orders, and the exploits of the army, and the drain of our treasure, to plead for them, stand by and know of, if they do not witness, the misery and distraction of the thousands yearly sacrificed to the insatuated avarice of the planters in Cuba and Brazil. Perhaps our language may be deemed too strong; and we are sorry that facts are within our reach wherewith to defend it. Grievous indeed it is to think that such scenes exist among civilized men, as that to which we are under the necessity of adverting; but doubly so, that our own countrymen should be so deeply concerned with the actors, as, we fear, there is but too much reason to suspect they were.

Three vessels have, in the course of last year, been captured on their voyage from Madagascar to the Isle of France, and brought to the Cape for adjudication in the Vice-Admiralty Court. We shall relate the circumstances of these captures, as being, in point of horror, not excelled by any thing ever before brought to light respecting the slave trade. The first was the brig *L'Eclair*, under English colours; and she was captured in September 1811. It appears that she had been fitted out at the Isle of France since the conquest by the English, and had engaged in carrying slaves to that colony from Madagascar. When she was boarded by the officers who seized her, she appeared only to have a cargo of rice, bullocks, &c.; but, on examining somewhat more closely, it was found that all the floors were false, being made of moveable planks, beneath which were laid one hundred and twenty-six negroes, of all ages and both sexes, crammed into a space in which they could barely exist—without regard to sex, and with scarcely sufficient air to breathe. The seamen who discovered them (for it was by mere accident that they were discovered, so nicely contrived was the flooring,

and so closely packed the wretched cargo), were offered a bribe of two hundred dollars to conceal it; but they were so indignant at the shocking spectacle, that they instantly told their officer.

“Amongst the many shocking circumstances of this infamous traffic in the human race, there is one marked with a peculiar feature of cruelty, by which these traders in men, not content with the corporeal sufferings of their victims, appear to have stretched their ingenuity to torture so as to reach the apprehensive mind of their suffering animated merchandize. These poor beings were taught to expect that the English would, upon discovering them, kill or eat them: their complaints, nay, almost their vital respirations, were thus caused to be suspended while the search after them in their concealed holds in the vessel was going on, lest by reaching the ears of the British seamen they should be discovered, and the punishment which their masters had told them would take place, would be the consequence.

‘About five or six days after this, another male black, about the age of fourteen, was discovered concealed on board *L’Eclair* by a seaman belonging to the *Astrea*, who was sent to do some duty below. This boy was first bought at Madagascar by one of the crew of *L’Eclair* (and who was very active in attempting to hide him) for sixty-five dollars, and was brought up, as the owner of this boy says, for sale, and with the full knowledge and consent of the captain of *L’Eclair*.’ p. 76.

The brig *Industry*, also under English colours, was captured soon after the *L’Eclair*. She was about the size of a *Margate* hoy, or little bigger, her register burthen being only seventy-three tons; yet were there crammed into her, besides a cargo of 5 or 600 bags of rice, and a crew of nineteen men, no less than *two hundred and eight* blacks. It is needless to remark, that this was almost twice as many as the slave carrying act allowed; and that they were crowded together, without any of the precautions there laid down, before the trade was wholly abolished. But human nature shudders at the thought of such complicated suffering as these miserable persons must have undergone during their confinement, while literally built into the floors and bulk-heads of the ship.

The third vessel was the *President*, which seems, at first, to have eluded the search; but, after a great deal of examination, two seamen employed, discovered a concealed place under the cables, but curved so as to escape detection. A bribe was now offered, as they were supposed to be on the scent; but they rejected it, and continued the search, when they found a plank not quite fixed; and, on opening it, they were led to a hole where nineteen male negroes and one female were concealed.

The cables were so stowed away with rice and wood, and a hide-stretcher under all, as to make it scarcely possible to get at the slaves, much less to suspect, on a careless inspection, that they were concealed there.

Here, then, we find three several vessels, within less than a week, engaged in this horrible traffic, at a settlement under the English government—with English troops, officers, placemen, a governor and secretary at the port to which the vessels were bound. But the public functionaries were deceived by the slave traders? Alas! we cannot say so. Two of the vessels (*Industry* and *L'Eclair*) had on board a certificate of permission, or license to export, from Mr Rondeaux, the civil commissary at Madagascar; and one of these two, the *Industry*, by far the worst case of the whole—we believe one of the worst that ever has occurred in the history of this accursed commerce—had actually on board licenses from Mr Rondeaux, and Major Barry, chief secretary to the government in the Isle of France, for the importation of one hundred and sixty-two slaves!

It is devoutly to be wished that the government of the Isle of France may be able to explain this affair in a satisfactory manner. To us no possible mode of accounting for it occurs. If a British governor and his secretary have been parties to so glaring a violation of the law, which they were bound by every exertion of their authority to support and enforce, there can be but one opinion as to the conduct fit to be pursued by the Government at home. Indeed, as the facts now stated must have come within the cognizance of the King's ministers, and as no step has been taken by them, it is possible that they may have received some satisfactory defence. We cannot believe that they could connive for an instant at such proceedings, unless the real state of the case is very different from that which now appears before the public.

It would be unjust not to add, that the conduct of Admiral Stopford and Captain Irby, the former upon the Madagascar station, the latter on the western coast of Africa, has been such as to entitle them to the warmest thanks of every person who feels interested in the execution of the Abolition laws; and this is undoubtedly stating their claim to the gratitude of all whose good opinion is worth having.

The facts which have been stated in the course of this article, suggest another train of observation, into which we have on former occasions entered;—the infinite importance of a careful selection of public functionaries in those distant dominions of the Crown, where the law must either be a dead letter, or be faithfully enforced, according as the governors and judges are honest

and courageous in the performance of their duty. In these kingdoms, the character of the persons who fill high stations, is not nearly so decisive of the conduct they may pursue. They are under the perpetual control of public opinion; and they dare not, for any length of time, lean towards oppression or corruption. In the colonies, public opinion must be boldly resisted;—for it means the interests and prejudices of a few hundreds, against the rights and happiness of thousands; nor can any man in authority honestly discharge his duty, who does not at once place himself between the unfortunate negro race and their oppressors. Is it to be conceived that they are the most likely to take this decided part, who, belonging to the body of the planters, are subject to all their prejudices, and participate in their interests? Nay, can a judge, for example, be viewed in any other light, than as a party in every cause wherein the conflicting rights and interests of the two colours are involved? While the rule too frequently followed in this country is transferred to the colonies, and men are promoted, not because they are suited to the offices, but because the offices are suited to them, we may make laws against oppression, until our statute-book is as heavy as the Roman code before Justinian's time,—“*multorum camelorum onus*.” The oppressor will be little affected by our legislation, and the victim will rather be mocked than relieved. The only effectual remedy must be sought for in the strict adherence to a rule once before suggested in these pages, and from which, we believe, almost every departure has been traced in its effects,—that no planter or colonial proprietor should ever, on any pretence, be named to a civil or military office, unless in the case of an officer whose regiment may be on service there. An addition to the salaries of some offices may be necessary, in order to induce persons unconnected with the settlements to remove thither; but we venture to assert, that no money was ever raised in this country for a more just and righteous purpose; and we trust that, even under all the difficulties of the times, no increase that could be imagined to our burthens, would be more cheerfully borne.

ART. IV. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln, at the Triennial Visitation of that Diocese in May, June, and July, 1812.* By George Tomline, D.D. F.R.S. Lord Bishop of Lincoln. London, Cadell & Co. 4to. pp. 28.

It is a melancholy thing to see a man, clothed in soft raiment, lodged in a public palace, endowed with a rich portion of

the product of other men's industry, using all the influence of his splendid situation, however conscientiously, to deepen the ignorance, and inflame the fury of his fellow creatures. These are the miserable results of that policy which has been so frequently pursued for these fifty years past, of placing men of mean, or middling abilities, in high ecclesiastical stations. In ordinary times, it is of less importance who fills them; but when the bitter period arrives, in which the people must give up some of their darling absurdities;—when the senseless clamour, which has been carefully handed down from father fool to son fool, can be no longer indulged;—when it is of incalculable importance to turn the people to a better way of thinking; the greatest impediments to all amelioration are too often found among those to whose councils, at such periods, the country ought to look for wisdom and peace. We will suppress, however, the feelings of indignation which such productions, from such men, naturally occasion. We will give the Bishop of Lincoln credit for being perfectly sincere;—we will suppose, that every argument he uses has not been used and refuted ten thousand times before; and we will sit down as patiently to defend the religious liberties of mankind, as the Reverend Prelate has done to abridge them.

We must begin with denying the main position upon which the Bishop of Lincoln has built his reasoning — *The Catholic religion is not tolerated in England.* No man can be fairly said to be permitted to enjoy his own worship who is punished for exercising that worship. His Lordship seems to have no other idea of punishment, than lodging a man in the *Poultry Compter*, or flogging him at the cart's tail, or fining him a sum of money;—just as if incapacitating a man from enjoying the dignities and emoluments to which men of similar condition, and other faith, may fairly aspire, was not frequently the most severe and galling of all punishments. This limited idea of the nature of punishment is the more extraordinary, as *incapacitation* is actually one of the most common punishments in some branches of our law. The sentence of a court-martial frequently purports, that a man is rendered for ever *incapable* of serving his Majesty, &c. &c.; and a person not in holy orders, who performs the functions of a clergyman, is rendered for ever *incapable* of holding any preferment in the church. There are indeed many species of offence for which no punishment more apposite and judicious could be devised. It would be rather extraordinary, however, if the Court, in passing such a sentence, were to assure the culprit, 'that such incapacitation was not by them considered as a punishment; that it was only exercising a right in-

' herent in all governments, of determining who should be eligible for office, and who ineligible.' His Lordship thinks the toleration complete, because he sees a permission in the statutes, for the exercise of the Roman Catholic worship. He sees the permission—but he does not chuse to see the consequences to which they are exposed who avail themselves of this permission. It is the liberality of a father who says to his son, ' Do as you please, my dear boy; follow your own inclination. Judge for yourself, you are free as air: But remember, if you marry that lady, I will cut you off with a shilling.' We have scarcely ever read a more solemn and frivolous statement, than the Bishop of Lincoln's antithetical distinction between persecution and the denial of political power.

' It is sometimes said, that Papists, being excluded from Power, are consequently persecuted; as if exclusion from Power and religious Persecution were convertible terms. But surely this is to confound things totally distinct in their nature. Persecution inflicts positive punishment upon persons who hold certain religious tenets, and endeavours to accomplish the renunciation and extinction of those tenets by forcible means: Exclusion from Power is entirely negative in its operation—it only declares that those who hold certain opinions shall not fill certain situations; but it acknowledges men to be perfectly free to hold those opinions. Persecution compels men to adopt a prescribed Faith, or to suffer the loss of liberty, property, or even life: Exclusion from Power prescribes no Faith; it allows men to think and believe as they please, without molestation or interference. Persecution requires men to worship God in one and in no other way: Exclusion from Power neither commands nor forbids any mode of Divine Worship—it leaves the business of Religion, where it ought to be left, to every man's judgment and conscience. Persecution proceeds from a biggotted and sanguinary spirit of Intolerance: Exclusion from power is founded in the natural and rational principle of self-protection and self-preservation, equally applicable to Nations and to Individuals. History informs us of the mischievous and fatal effects of the one, and proves the expediency and necessity of the other.' p. 16, 17.

We will venture to say, there is no one sentence in this extract which does not contain either a contradiction, or a misstatement. For how can that law acknowledge men to be perfectly free to hold an opinion which excludes from desirable situations all who do hold that opinion? How can that law be said neither to molest, nor interfere, which meets a man in every branch of industry and occupation, to institute an inquisition into his religious opinions? And how is the business of religion left to every man's judgment, and conscience, where so powerful a *bonus* is given to one set of religious opinions, and such a mark of infamy and degradation fixed upon all other

modes of belief? But this is comparatively a very idle part of the question. Whether the present condition of the Catholics is or is not to be denominated a perfect state of toleration, is more a controversy of words than things. That they are subject to some restraints, the bishop will admit: the important question is, Whether or not these restraints are necessary? For his Lordship will of course allow, that every restraint upon human liberty is an evil in itself; and can only be justified by the superior good which it can be shown to produce. My Lord's fears upon the subject of Catholic emancipation are conveyed in the following paragraph.

‘It is a principle of our constitution, that the King should have advisers in the discharge of every part of his royal functions—and is it to be imagined, that papists would advise measures in support of the cause of protestantism? A similar observation may be applied to the two Houses of Parliament: Would popish peers or popish members of the House of Commons, enact laws for the security of the protestant government? Would they not rather repeal the whole protestant code, and make popery again the established religion of the country?’ p. 14.

And these are the apprehensions which the clergy of the diocese have prayed My Lord to make public.

Kind providence never sends an evil without a remedy:—and arithmetic is the natural cure for the passion of fear. If a coward can be made to count his enemies, his terrors may be reasoned with, and he may think of ways and means of counteraction. Now, might it not have been expedient that the Reverend Prelate, before he had alarmed his Country Clergy with the idea of so large a measure as the repeal of Protestantism, should have counted up the probable number of Catholics who would be seated in both Houses of Parliament? Does he believe that there would be ten Catholic Peers, and thirty Catholic Commoners? But, admit double that number, (and more, Dr Duigenan himself would not ask)—Will the Bishop of Lincoln seriously assert, that he thinks the whole Protestant code in danger of repeal from such an admixture of Catholic legislators as this? Does he forget, amid the innumerable answers which may be made to such sort of apprehensions, what a picture he is drawing of the weakness and versatility of Protestant principles?—that an handful of Catholics, in the bosom of a Protestant legislature, are to overpower the ancient jealousies, the fixed opinions, the inveterate habits of twelve millions of people?—that the King is to apostatize, the Clergy to be silent, and the Parliament be taken by surprise?—that the nation are to go to bed over night, and to see the Pope walking arm in arm with

Lord Castlereagh the next morning?—One would really suppose, from the Bishop's fears, that the civil defences of mankind were, like their military bulwarks, transferred, by superior skill and courage, in a few hours, from the vanquished to the victor—that the destruction of a Church was like the blowing up of a mine,—deans, prebendaries, churchwardens and overseers, all up in the air in an instant. Does his Lordship really imagine, when the mere dread of the Catholics becoming legislators, has induced him to charge his clergy, and his agonized clergy, to extort from their prelate the publication of the Charge, that the full and mature danger will produce less alarm, than the distant suspicion of it has done in the present instance?—that the Protestant writers, whose pens are now up to the feather in ink, will, at any future period, yield up their Church, without passion, pamphlet, or pugnacity? We do not blame the Bishop of Lincoln for being afraid; but we blame him for not rendering his fears intelligible and tangible—for not circumscribing and particularizing them by some individual case—for not showing us how it is possible that the Catholics (granting their intentions to be as bad as possible) should ever be able to ruin the Church of England. His Lordship appears to be in a fog; and, as daylight breaks in upon him, he will be rather disposed to disown his panic. The noise he hears is not roaring,—but braying; the teeth and the mane are all imaginary; there is nothing but ears. It is not a lion that stops the way, but an ass.

One method his Lordship takes, in handling this question, is, by pointing out dangers that are *barely possible*, and then treating of them as if they deserved the active and present attention of serious men. But if no measure is to be carried into execution, and if no provision is safe in which the minute inspection of an ingenious man cannot find the *possibility* of danger, then all human action is impeded, and no human institution is safe or commendable. The King has the power of pardoning,—and so every species of guilt may remain unpunished: He has a negative upon legislative acts, and so no law may pass. None but Presbyterians may be returned to the House of Commons,—and so the Church of England be voted down. The Scottish and Irish members may join together in both Houses, and dissolve both Unions. If probability is put out of sight,—and if, in the enumeration of dangers, it is sufficient to state any which, by remote contingency, *may* happen, then is it time that we should begin to provide against all the host of perils which we have just enumerated, and which are many of them as likely to happen, as those which the Reverend Prelate has

stated in his Charge. His Lordship forgets that the Catholics are not asking for election, but for *eligibility*—not to be admitted into the Cabinet, but not to be excluded from it. A century may elapse before any Catholic actually becomes a member of the Cabinet; and no event can be more utterly destitute of probability, than that they should gain an ascendancy there, and direct that ascendancy against the Protestant interest. If the Bishop really wishes to know upon what our security is founded;—it is *upon the prodigious and decided superiority of the Protestant Interest in the British nation, and in the United Parliament*. No Protestant King would select such a Cabinet, or countenance such measures; no man would be mad enough to attempt them; the English Parliament and the English people would not endure it for a moment. No man, indeed, but under the sanctity of the mitre, would have ventured such an extravagant opinion.—Woe to him, if he had been *only* a Dean. But, in spite of his venerable office, we must express our decided belief, that his Lordship (by no means averse to a good bargain) would not pay down five pounds, to receive fifty millions for his posterity, whenever the majority of the Cabinet should be (Catholic emancipation carried) members of the Catholic religion. And yet, upon such terrors as these, which, when put singly to him, his better sense would laugh at, he has thought fit to excite his clergy to petition, and done all in his power to increase the mass of hatred against the Catholics.

It is true enough, as his Lordship remarks, that events do not depend upon laws alone, but upon the wishes and intentions of those who administer these laws. But then his Lordship totally puts out of sight two considerations—the improbability of Catholics ever reaching the highest offices of the state—and those fixed Protestant opinions of the country, which would render any attack upon the Established Church so hopeless, and therefore so improbable. Admit a supposition (to us perfectly ludicrous, but still necessary to the Bishop's argument) that the Cabinet Council consisted entirely of Catholics, we should even then have no more fear of their making the English people Catholics, than we should have of a Cabinet of butchers making the Hindoos eat beef. The Bishop has not stated the true, and great security for any course of human actions. It is not the word of the law, nor the spirit of the government, but the general way of thinking among the people, especially when that way of thinking is antient, exercised upon high interests, and connected with striking passages in history. The Protestant Church does not rest upon the little narrow foundations where the Bishop of Lincoln supposes it to be placed: if it did,

it would not be worth saving. It rests upon the general opinion entertained by a free and reflecting people, that the doctrines of that Church are true, her pretensions moderate, and her exhortations useful. It is accepted by a people who have, from good taste, an abhorrence of sacerdotal mummery; and, from good sense, a dread of sacerdotal ambition. Those feelings, so generally diffused, and so clearly pronounced on all occasions, are our real bulwarks against the Catholic religion; and the real cause, which makes it so safe for the best friends of the Church to diminish (by abolishing the Test Laws) so very fertile a source of hatred to the State.

In the 15th page of his Lordship's Charge, there is an argument of a very curious nature.

'Let us suppose' (says the Bishop of Lincoln), 'that there had been no Test-laws, no disabling Statutes, in the year 1745, when an attempt was made to overthrow the Protestant Government, and to place a Popish Sovereign upon the thrown of these kingdoms: and let us suppose, that the leading men in the Houses of Parliament, that the Ministers of State, and the Commanders of our Armies, had then been Papists. Will any one contend, that that formidable Rebellion, supported as it was by a foreign Enemy, would have been resisted with the same zeal, and suppressed with the same facility, as when all the measures were planned and executed by sincere Protestants?' p. 15.

And so his Lordship means to infer, that it would be foolish to abolish the laws against the Catholics *now*, because it would have been foolish to have abolished them at some other period;—that a measure must be bad, because there was formerly a combination of circumstances, when it *would* have been bad. His Lordship might, with almost equal propriety, debate what ought to be done if Julius Cæsar were about to make a descent upon our coasts; or lament the impropriety of emancipating the Catholics, because the Spanish Armada was putting to sea. The fact is, that Julius Cæsar is dead—the Spanish Armada was defeated in the reign of Queen Elizabeth—for half a century there has been no disputed succession—the situation of the world is changed—and, because it is changed, we can do now, what we could not do then. And nothing can be more lamentable than to see this respectable Prelate wasting his resources in putting imaginary and inapplicable cases, and reasoning upon their solution, as if it had any thing to do with present affairs.

These remarks entirely put an end to the common mode of arguing à *Gutiermo*. What did King William do?—what would King William say? &c. King William was in a very different situation from that in which we are placed. The whole world was in a very different situation. The great and glorious An-

thors of the Revolution (as they are commonly denominated) acquired their greatness and their glory, not by a superstitious reverence for inapplicable precedents, but by taking hold of present circumstances to lay a deep foundation for Liberty; and then using old names for new things, they left the Bishop of Lincoln, and other good men, to suppose that they had been thinking all the time about ancestors.

Another species of false reasoning, which pervades the Bishop of Lincoln's Charge, is this. He states what the interests of men are, and then takes it for granted that they will eagerly and actively pursue them; laying totally out of the question the probability or improbability of their effecting their object, and the influence which this balance of chances must produce upon their actions. For instance, it is the interest of the Catholics that our Church should be subservient to theirs. Therefore, says his Lordship, the Catholics will enter into a conspiracy against the English Church. But, is it not also the decided interest of his Lordship's butler that he should be Bishop, and the Bishop his butler? That the crozier and the corkscrew should change hands,—and the washer of the bottles which they had emptied become the diocesan of learned divines? What has prevented this change, so beneficial to the upper domestic, but the extreme improbability of success, if the attempt were made; an improbability so great, that, we will venture to say, the very notion of it has scarcely once entered into the understanding of the good man. Why then is the Reverend Prelate, who lives on so safely and contentedly with *John*, so dreadfully alarmed at the Catholics? And why does he so completely forget, in their instance alone, that men do not merely strive to obtain a thing because it is good, but always mingle with the excellence of the object a consideration of the chance of gaining it?

The Bishop of Lincoln (p. 19) states it as an argument against concession to the Catholics, that we have enjoyed 'internal peace and entire freedom from all religious animosities and feuds since the Revolution.' The fact, however, is not more certain than conclusive against his view of the question. For, since that period, the worship of the Church of England has been abolished in Scotland—the Corporation and Test Acts repealed in Ireland—and the whole of this King's reign has been one series of concessions to the Catholics. Relaxation then (and we wish this had been remembered at the Charge) of penal laws, on subjects of religious opinion, is perfectly compatible with *internal peace*, and exemption from religious animosity. But the Bishop is always fond of linking in generals, and cautiously avoids coming to any specific instance of the dangers which he fears.

‘ It is declared in one of the 39 Articles, that the King is Head of our Church, without being subject to any Foreign Power ; and it is expressly said that the Bishop of Rome has no jurisdiction within these realms. On the contrary, Papists assert, that the Pope is Supreme Head of the whole Christian Church, and that Allegiance is due to him from every Individual Member, in all spiritual matters. This direct opposition to one of the fundamental Principles of the Ecclesiastical part of our Constitution, is alone sufficient to justify the exclusion of Papists from all situations of Authority. They acknowledge indeed that obedience in civil matters is due to the King. But cases must arise, in which civil and religious Duties will clash ; and he knows but little of the influence of the Popish Religion over the minds of its Votaries, who doubts which of these Duties would be sacrificed to the other. Moreover, the most subtle casuistry cannot always discriminate between temporal and spiritual things ; and in truth, the concerns of this life not unfrequently partake of both characters.’ p. 21, 22.

We deny entirely that any case can occur, where the exposition of a doctrine purely speculative, or the arrangement of a mere point of Church discipline, can interfere with civil duties. The Roman Catholics are Irish and English citizens at this moment ; but no such case has occurred. There is no instance in which obedience to the civil magistrate has been prevented, by an acknowledgment of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. The Catholics have given (in an oath which we suspect the Bishop never to have read) the most solemn pledge, that their submission to their spiritual ruler should never interfere with their civil obedience. The hypothesis of the Bishop of Lincoln is, that it must very often do so. The fact is, that it has never done so.

His Lordship is extremely angry with the Catholics, for refusing to the Crown a *veto* upon the appointment of their Bishops. He forgets, that in those countries of Europe where the Crown interferes with the appointment of Bishops, the reigning monarch is a Catholic,—which makes all the difference. We sincerely wish that the Catholics would concede this point ; but we cannot be astonished at their reluctance to admit the interference of a Protestant Prince with their Bishops. What would his Lordship say to the interference of any Catholic power with the appointment of the English sees ?

Next comes the stale and thousand times refuted charge against the Catholics, that they think the Pope has the power of de-throning heretical Kings ; and that it is the duty of every Catholic, to use every possible means to root out and destroy heretics, &c. To all of which may be returned this one conclusive answer, that the Catholics are ready to deny these doctrines upon oath. And as the whole controversy is, whether the Catholics

shall, by means of oaths, be excluded from certain offices in the State;—those who contend that the continuation of these excluding oaths are essential to the public safety, must admit, that oaths are binding upon Catholics, and a security to the State that what they swear to is true.

It is right to keep these things in view—and to omit no opportunity of exposing and counteracting that spirit of intolerant zeal, or intolerable time-serving, which has so long disgraced and endangered this country. But the truth is, that we look upon this cause as already gained;—and while we warmly congratulate the nation on the mighty step it has recently made towards increased power and entire security, it is impossible to avoid saying a word upon the humiliating and disgusting, but at the same time most edifying spectacle, which has lately been exhibited by the Anticatholic addressers. That so great a number of persons should have been found with such a proclivity to servitude (for honest bigotry had but little to do with the matter), as to rush forward with clamours in favour of intolerance, upon a mere surmise that this would be accounted as acceptable service by the present possessors of patronage and power, affords a more humiliating and discouraging picture of the present spirit of the country, than any thing else that has occurred in our remembrance. The edifying part of the spectacle, is the contempt with which their officious devotions have been received by those whose favour they were intended to purchase,—and the universal scorn and derision with which they were regarded by independent men of all parties and persuasions. The catastrophe, we think, teaches two lessons;—one to the time-servers themselves, not to obtrude their servility on the Government, till they have reasonable ground to think it is wanted;—and the other to the nation at large, not to imagine that a base and interested clamour in favour of what is supposed to be agreeable to Government, however loudly and extensively sounded, affords any indication at all, either of the general sense of the country, or even of what is actually contemplated by those in the administration of its affairs. The real sense of the country has been proved, on this occasion, to be directly against those who presumptuously held themselves out as its organs;—and even the Ministers have made a respectable figure, compared with those who assumed the character of their champions.

ART. V. *Objections to the Project of Creating a Vice-Chancellor of England.* London. Cadell. 1813.

Observations occasioned by a Pamphlet, entitled, 'Objections to the Project of Creating a Vice-Chancellor of England.' London. Hatchard. 1813.

A Letter to a Noble Lord, from the Author of 'Objections to the Project of Creating a Vice-Chancellor of England.' London. Cadell. 1813.

WHEN any alteration of the established law has been proposed by Sir Samuel Romilly (whom, were we ever to name without expressing our veneration for his spotless integrity and enlightened principles, we should do a violence to our warmest feelings *), the uniform course of his antagonists has been, to set up a cry of '*innovation*;' to demand, if each part of our constitution must be made the subject of dangerous experiments; and to represent every charge as disrespectful to the wisdom of our ancestors, and pregnant with risk to their posterity. The alterations in the criminal code which he has attempted (and, in consequence of this clamour, vainly attempted), are extremely limited, as we have already had occasion to show; nor could any thing short of actual experience have persuaded us, that they who create capital felonies by the score, could consider the whole judicial system as threatened with subversion, when it was proposed to make the stealing of five shillings in a dwelling only a clergyable offence. But we have lived to see yet stranger things: For the same persons who raised all those clamours,—those especially who could not sleep for dreaming of revolutions, when it was suggested that proprietors of freehold estates should not be allowed to defraud their simple contract creditors;—those who had but one answer to fling at every proposal of legislative improvement, and held that one to be quite sufficient;—those who considered the merits of every plan as disposed of, the moment it was admitted to be a novelty;—those same persons have absolutely brought forward a scheme, in the first instance full of

* This most distinguished person was recently excluded from Parliament during a short period, to the astonishment of all who resided at any distance from the bustle and intrigues of party. He has since been returned, though not for a popular place; and if any thing could reconcile reformers to the system of Borough patronage, it would, by that truly noble and patriotic use of it which places such men as Sir A. Pigott, and Sir S. Romilly, in the House of Commons.

change and alteration, both in the jurisprudence and constitution of the realm, but in its probable consequences likely, beyond any that has ever in our times been adopted, to work a general and fundamental change in the system. But it is not for its novelty that we blame this project: The change which it is to make, we consider not merely to be extensive, but pernicious; it affords an inadequate remedy to the evil; and a remedy, as far as it is one, of a kind inapplicable to the evil. We are therefore willing to examine it in this point of view, through the medium of the tracts now before us, whereof the first and third are the almost avowed works of Sir S. Romilly, and the second of Lord Redesdale.

The unexampled delays of late years experienced in legal proceedings; both before the House of Lords and the Court of Chancery, and the great accumulation of business in those courts, whether that be the result or the cause of the delays, are well known to every person moderately versed in the recent history of parliament. Under the late administration, a reform of the Scottish Courts was proposed, as an effectual remedy for the worst part of the evil, the delay in appeal business; and it was hoped, that the improvement in the administration of justice in the courts below, would so far satisfy the suitors, as to diminish the number of appeals. Such an improvement would undoubtedly, in the course of time, produce this salutary effect; but it was not very likely to afford any immediate relief to the pressure so much complained of. The ministry being changed while the plan was in agitation, after the bill had gone through several stages, it was thrown out, and a plan of the new ministers substituted in its place. It differed from the former in two material particulars: it divided the Court of Session into two, instead of three courts, and it omitted the intermediate Court of Review. Our readers are aware, that we did not think very highly of either of those distinguishing features of the first project, and considered them as liable to some very unpleasant suspicions, connected with matter of patronage. It will not therefore be supposed that we could feel very hostile to the modifications under which the plan of their predecessors was by the present ministers carried into effect.

Whatever may have been the advantages obtained by the new arrangement, it has certainly not contributed, in any degree, to the object which the authors of it had principally in view. It has not diminished the number of appeals. The average yearly number of appeals from Scotland, during nine years ending 1808, was 37; and exclusive of 1807, in which the extraordinary number of 65 was entered, the average was only 33. In 1808, the new arrangement of the courts was in operation

but only during six weeks. Its effects, therefore, could not be materially felt during the early part of the Session 1809. The number presented in that session, viz. 43, is not therefore to be taken as a fair criterion either way. But 1810 affords a more unexceptionable test, because by law no appeal could be entered, during any part of that year, from any judgment pronounced while the old system was in operation. In 1810, however, before the middle of April, there were entered 45 appeals; and though the accounts before both Houses of Parliament are defective, in the returns for the remaining part of the session, inasmuch as they only give those entered after April, and *remaining undisposed of in June 1811*, yet as there then stood in that predicament nine cases, we may infer, that the whole entry for 1810 was upwards of 54 cases. In the same way we find, that at least 56 appeals were entered in 1811. It is therefore manifest, that the new arrangement has not diminished, but increased the number of appeals. The increase of trade, or rather of commercial difficulties, may no doubt have had some share in augmenting the number of lawsuits in Scotland, as every where else. But we are disposed to think, that much of the increase of appeals is owing to the new arrangement itself, and arises from one of the chief advantages of that arrangement, the greater despatch of business which it has produced, and the consequent increase in the number of causes heard and determined;—a prodigious benefit unquestionably to the country, but attended with an increase instead of a diminution of the evil, to remedy which the plan was originally proposed. In a word, it signifies not, as far as regards the evil in question—the pressure of appeal business in the Lords—whether the augmentation since 1808 is owing to the diminished confidence in the Courts below, or (as we are sure will be found to be the case) to the greater despatch of business: The remedy has been tried, and found ineffectual; nay, it has been found to remove an evil which it was not so much intended to meet, as another, which it has considerably augmented.

During the two last Sessions, the attention of Parliament has been drawn to this important subject with laudable perseverance, by several distinguished members of both houses; and it speedily appeared, that together with the accumulation of appeals in the House of Lords, the only evil inquired into upon the former occasion, an equal accumulation of suits in Chancery had all the while been going on, under the auspices of the same learned and eminent person who presides in the House of Lords. Various were the suppositions resorted to for the purpose of explaining this fact. Some contended, that the vast increase of trade, the progress of luxury, the augmented population, the

improved agriculture and extended commerce of land, must equally affect the business in all the Courts; and that the number of suits in Equity, as well as the number of appeals from all the Courts, must consequently, and in the same proportion, increase. Others contended, that the fact was otherwise; and that the increase was not so much in the number of suits brought into the Court of Chancery, as in the number left undetermined in any given time, by the noble Chief of the Court. It was remarked, that the Courts of Common Law, in which business had *really* increased beyond all doubt, and in a high proportion, had met the augmented pressure by increased exertion; and that there was, notwithstanding the vast multiplication of suits at law brought, little or no increase of arrear on suits left undecided. It was suggested, also, that the other departments of the Court of Chancery, and particularly the court where the Master of the Rolls presides, suffered in no respect from the augmentation of business, although of late years a great part of the Chancellor's business had gone there;—that the Privy Council, where similar circumstances should have produced an equal arrear, but where the same judge, Sir W. Grant, also sits, suffered no such inconvenience;—that the inferior judicatures all over the kingdom went on as formerly, notwithstanding the increase of trade, and crimes, and litigation;—and that the arrear of unheard causes waiting for a hearing, and of causes heard, but waiting for decision, was confined to those courts in which the chief legal character in the country presides. The same persons who noted those distinctions in the different judicatures, observed others in the different departments which the Chancellor himself superintends. They remarked, that he had political as well as legal functions; and that, generally speaking, his law business was in arrear, and in nearly an equal degree; while his Cabinet and Parliamentary business went on with the proper despatch, and indeed almost as easily and regularly as the mere disposal of his patronage, which can scarcely be classed among the *duties* of the office, but belongs rather to its enjoyments. And so (they contended) would it be with court intrigues, if any Chancellor should ever engage in such matters; for they reasoned thus—A man cannot be at work the whole night, and the whole day; and if he must be always debating in Parliament, or deliberating at councils, he can have little time left for hearing causes. Now, the political business relates to the tenure and security of the office—the legal to the execution of its duties; and a man will be very apt to regard the former first. Nay, some went so far as to trace the delays complained of, to the character and habits of the individual who hath so

long held the seals. They showed, that it had all arisen since he came into office; and that, though no one could in the least degree question his purity as a judge, his turn of mind was not that of decision—at least in legal matters; in which all the praise bestowed by Dryden on Lord Shaftesbury was applicable to him, except ‘*swiftness of despatch.*’ *

But whatever may be the nature of the present Chancellor’s connexion with the delay and arrear in question, no doubt can exist, that he is so far connected with it, as to be called upon for a full consideration of the subject. Now, he has not only confessed the justice of this call, but he has gone farther; or, at least he has done that which ought to have been preceded by the most ample inquiry and the most mature reflection. He has proposed a specific remedy, as it appears to us, of a most perilous nature; and the merits of this measure we are now to consider. They form the subject matter of the interesting tracts before us. We may premise, in a single sentence, the outline, or rather the whole body of the plan; for, unquestionably, it has the merit of extreme simplicity. It consists in creating a new office, subordinate to that of the Chancellor—and somewhat mysteriously connected with it—in some sort vicarious to it. The duties belonging to this new office are omitted in the scheme;—they*are stated at least so generally, that they might as well have been left wholly in blank. They are to be such as the Chancellor shall from time to time appoint. The new officer is to do as the old one bids him; and that is all we know about the trifling matter of his functions. The rest is sufficiently definite. The important points of his title, rank, and salary, are adjusted with an admirable precision. He is to be called “*Vice-Chancellor of England.*” —He is to have precedence next after the Master of the Rolls, —and his salary is to be five thousand a-year,—which we may remark, in passing, will either be too much or too little, according as the Chancellor pleases. The bill does not set forth by what style he is to be addressed; which, considering its fullness on every other particular, is somewhat odd: But it has been whispered, that “*His Honour*” is the phrase—although there are not wanting suspicions that he may only turn out to be “*His Worship.*” For the sake of despatch, and in order at

* In Israel’s courts ne’er sat an Abethdin
With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean;
Unbribed, unsought the wretched to redress,
Swift of despatch, and easy of access.
Oh! had he been content to serve the crown,
With virtues only suited to the gown.’ &c. &c.

Absalom and Achitophel.

once to relieve the Chancellor from business, and to diminish the cost and delay of litigation, an appeal is allowed from this deputy-keeper to his principal.

This project was first submitted to the consideration of Parliament last Session, and had actually passed the Lords; but no discussion at all worthy of its importance took place before the dissolution; and the controversy (if so we may call a dispute so unequal) began with the first of these Tracts, which was published, upon the bill being again introduced, early in the present Session. There is much reason to regret that the eminent lawyer, from whose pen it comes, had not sufficient leisure to take a more detailed view of the subject; but he gives a most clear and satisfactory summary of the principal heads of the argument, and states the points in a manner at once enlightened and practical. It is a statement which could only have proceeded from actual experience in the branch of the profession upon which it is proposed to legislate; and would on this account deserve the greatest attention, even if its own merits were less prominent.

The author distinctly sets before us the nature of the change which the plan will effect in the administration of justice in our chief Court of Equity; and in truth we need go no farther for an exposition of its imperfections. The professed object of the arrangement is to give the Chancellor more time for attending to appeals in the House of Lords. For this purpose a Vice-Chancellor is created, that the Chancellor may have a second assistant Judge, upon whom he may devolve as much of his other duties, as shall leave him the time required for appeals in Parliament. It is at present optional with the suitors, whether they shall set down their causes before the Master of the Rolls, or the Chancellor; but the new Judge is to be so mere a deputy, that suitors shall have no option in the matter; but all who mean to set their causes down before the Chancellor, shall do it liable to this contingency, that he may send the whole, or a part, or none, as he pleases, before his new assistant. Then, by the supposition, he must send a sufficient number to gain a considerable portion of time: since, if he does not, the plan effects nothing. What part of his duties will he so delegate? The business of the Chancellor consists of causes, interlocutory proceedings, of motions and petitions, and appeals from the rolls. The latter branch could with no propriety or consistency be transferred, for obvious reasons; and it forms but an inconsiderable branch of the Chancellor's duty, those appeals not exceeding nine in a year; on an average of the last ten years. The second, though considerable, especially of late years, is much less extensive than the first branch. That must, therefore, with a part probably of the second, be transferred; but our author appears persua-

ed, that both causes and proceedings on motions and petitions, must, in order to secure the requisite relief, be given up to the new functionary; so that the Chancellor will only retain his appellate jurisdiction, and confine himself, as far as regards his judicial duties, to reviewing the decisions of his law assistants, the Master of the Rolls and Vice-Chancellor. 'This alteration,' says he, 'in the constitution of the Court, will divest the office of Lord Chancellor of those functions which have hitherto been considered as the most essential to it, and as constituting its nature and character, and will leave the person who holds the Great Seal, in name, still a Chancellor, but in truth a magistrate of a very different description. He will have a variety of great and important duties to discharge; but the least of them will be to transact the business of the Court of Chancery: And, in the mean time, the ancient office of Lord Chancellor will, in effect, be divided between two Masters of the Rolls, or by whatever name they are to be called, neither of them subject to the control of the other, but each in his own hall exercising an original and independent jurisdiction.' p. 8.

He proceeds to observe, that the nature of the system established in Courts of Equity, renders the change now contemplated peculiarly detrimental. That system is not founded on positive statute, but depends on a series of decisions of no very ancient date, and though now assuming a regular shape, still in many parts varying, it may be hoped improving, gradually, even insensibly, under the judges who successively administer it. Hence the necessity of the judge having the whole system constantly present and familiar to him; that he may in each case which occurs, if it be determinable on established principles, apply those to it,—but if it be novel, deal with it according to the analogies and spirit of the system. Hence, too, the absurdity of placing in the highest place a judge who, whatever his qualifications at entering upon his office, must daily grow out of acquaintance with the principles which he must frequently be called on to apply in the last resort, and must either impede the gradual improvements which it is undergoing, or, being left out of the question, while those are insensibly effected, may find himself, in a few years, a stranger in the courts where he should be the most learned and expert. Hence, too, the risk of conflict between the two assistant chancellors, and of different systems being established in their two courts, a risk obviously far greater in matters of Equity, than of Common Law, because much more must depend upon the opinions and habits of thinking of their judge. 'Where two original judges'

(says our author), 'differently constituted as they must be by nature and habit, are sitting at the same time, it may happen that, with respect to the same rules, there should sometimes be deviations in quite opposite directions, and that there should come to be gradually established two different laws, administered at the same time, on the same subject, and by the same Court.' p. 11. 12.

Now to this apprehended evil of conflict between the two Courts, it may be suggested that a remedy is provided in the appeals which lye from both to the Chancellor. But an appeal presupposes, in order to be effectual, a decided superiority in the Court of appellate jurisdiction. If the Vice-Chancellor, and the Master of the Rolls, are both persons of great eminence as practitioners in the Courts of Equity; and if, after their appointments, they shall be kept in the constant exercise of their skill and acquirements, while the Chancellor is chosen for other qualifications than his legal talents, or, though selected for those talents, yet for a length of time has had little occasion to exert them; it requires no argument to prove, that the appeal to him from either of his assistants will soon become merely nominal. Subordinate only in rank, those judges will in reality be the superior tribunals; and although suitors may from time to time go through the forms of an appeal, in order to gain time, or to take a desperate chance of getting the judgments of the more competent courts reversed, it will soon be perceived that the Chancellor does not venture to differ with his *learned* assistants: And, whether any appeals shall ever be brought or not, will be of no consequence to the argument,—since, if brought, they will be mere matters of form, and in no degree tend to reconcile any jarring principles which the two courts below may have severally adopted.

It is urged indeed, and chiefly relied upon by Lord Redesdale, (in the pamphlet ascribed to him), that the proposed change will not take the Chancellor out of abundant practice in dealing with matters of Equity; for he is under no obligation to transfer all the important business to his deputy,—and may both sit a sufficient number of days in the House of Lords, to despatch the arrears there, and attend to his own court:—at all events, that he may attend to his own court after the present arrear in the House of Lords shall be disposed of. We cannot better answer this, than by referring to Sir Samuel Romilly's second pamphlet.

Can it really be supposed, that when the office of Vice-Chancellor shall have been created, and the Lord Chancellor shall find a deputy, whose sole duty it shall be to do his business for him, to sit

when, and where, and upon what causes, his Lordship shall please,—can it really be supposed that, with such temptations to relax from his labours, he will, at considerable inconvenience to himself, make a point of sitting regularly three days a week in his Court while Parliament is sitting, and every day when it shall stand prorogued, and leave his deputy during that season to the undisturbed enjoyment of his leisure?

‘ While the present Lord Chancellor continues to hold the Great Seal, your Lordship seems to make no doubt that this will be the case: but is your Lordship sure that it will be so with his successor, or with the Lord Chancellor to whom fifty years hence the Great Seal shall be entrusted? The great mischiefs of this projected change are likely to be felt most severely at some distant period, when the views of the framer of the bill shall have been long forgotten, and when the nature of the office of Lord Chancellor, and the character of the person selected to fill that office, shall have each undergone a gradual but a very important change. Respect for public opinion would at the present day make it impossible that the Great Seal should be committed to a mere politician, to some second Lord Shaftesbury, who would consider the administration of justice as a sort of troublesome appendage to his office, and who would profess the utmost contempt for the vulgar rules of his Court; * but such an appointment will give little scandal when there shall be two permanent Judges at hand to transact the ordinary business of the Court, and when habits of close attention and of continual mental exertion shall no longer be found to be indispensably necessary, to the adequate discharge of the duties of a Lord Chancellor; especially, too, if the appointment should take place when the offices of Vice-Chancellor, and of Master of the Rolls, may happen to be filled by men of very great learning in their profession, and who have never interfered with politics. Not looking at this project with all the indulgence of your Lordship, I cannot but feel great apprehension, that if it shall be adopted, the time may not be very distant when the art of skilfully managing a debate, or of dexterously conducting a court intrigue, may be the strongest recommendation to the highest office of Judicature.’
p. 13—15.

We have thus arrived at the view of this new project, in which it strikes us as most portentous. If the person selected to fill the office of Chancellor, is always to be chosen from among the chiefs of the Bar,—if, when seated upon the Wool-sack, he is to have the virtue never to forget the Bench,—if he is to transfer only as much of his equity business to the Vice-Chancellor, as his duties in the House of Lords oblige him to give up,—then undoubtedly this new creation will only be ob-

* See North's Examen.

jectionable, upon the supposition that the pressure of the arrear is a temporary evil, and the remedy adds a permanent office of rank and emolument to the already long list which enables the Crown to influence the Bar;—an objection, not indeed trifling, but very inferior to those which we have been considering. But the misfortune is, that all those *ifs* are so many improbabilities, and that we are bound to suppose the very reverse of each hypothesis, if we are to reason from the ordinary course of human affairs.

The office of Chancellor is, in every respect but the duties annexed to it, by far the most desirable of any under the Crown. The emoluments are nearly four times greater than those of the best paid Cabinet stations;—while, judging from the past, it may be asserted that the expense attending it is trifling. Almost the whole patronage of the Law, and the most extensive Church patronage is annexed to it. The rank and dignity, and parliamentary functions of the Chancellor, are of the highest order; and by prescriptive right, he enjoys familiar access to the Throne; which, considering that the retired and studious lives of lawyers should seem not to qualify them for intriguing, has been commonly turned to a wonderful account. The First Lord of the Treasury is placed in a laborious situation, if he is in reality the Prime Minister:—But, with far greater emolument, and a patronage not inferior, the Chancellor, were he relieved from his judicial duties, would have comparatively little to do. If this relief could be obtained, it is not easy to imagine a more tempting bait for a politician,—a station in the government, from which it might be more desirable for a minister to direct the whole. Now, supposing the arrear in the House of Lords to continue for a few years, and that, during this time, the Chancellor transfers to his assistants, all or the greater part of his business; which he may do without exciting the least disapprobation, while he occupies himself in appeals:—supposing, too, that the Master of the Rolls, and Vice-chancellor, are both men of consummate acquirements in their profession,—it requires but little foresight to perceive, that the way will be paved for leaving the Chancery business permanently in the same hands, while the Chancellor gradually retires from all that remains of his duties, the appeal business in the Lords, by sharing that, now become far less heavy, with the law Lords.

We contend that this is by no means an improbable result;—but it is more likely that the change will, for some time at least, be effected in another way, not quite so pernicious, but still very detrimental, both to the constitution and to the admi-

nistration of justice. Lawyers may still be appointed to the office of Chancellor;—but lawyers of a description very different from those who have of late years held the Seals. No member of the profession would now dare to accept the office, who was manifestly unqualified for its duties. And even if the Crown were disposed to venture upon such an experiment, and found a barrister capable of joining in the attempt, it would be impossible to persist in it for many months. But with an accomplished Vice-Chancellor, there would be no difficulty in the way of such a scheme; and a person might be promoted to the Seals, merely because he was capable of hearing Scotch appeals, and taking his part in political and parliamentary business, although he had never in his life seen a Bill, or an answer in Equity. He might blunder through a few Irish appeals in the course of the Session, with the help of the Irish Chancellor,—and from the Rolls, or the Vice-Chancellor, few, if any appeals would, in all likelihood come. The mischiefs of such an event, to the administration of justice, are too apparent;—and, in a constitutional point of view, it would be extremely objectionable. The Chancellor would be subservient to the caprices of the Court, in proportion as he owed his elevation to their favour, and was defective in the proper qualifications;—and a great increase of patronage would be gained to the Crown.

The increase of patronage is by no means a consideration to be passed over, in any view of this question. It has been said, that the creation of one office cannot much signify; and this proceeds upon the ordinary mistake, of supposing that only one individual is influenced by a single place. But, if a high office is created like the one proposed, we may be assured that many persons, who would not otherwise have been kept obedient to the Court, will be retained in subjection by their hopes and wishes: And, who wants to be reminded that, among those who are likely to be so controlled, are sure to be found some of the most powerful individuals in the country, as far as talents, accomplishments, and opportunities of influencing the public mind may be said to confer power? Now, can any one maintain, that such an addition of influence ought to be made to the already enormous power of the Crown—and *permanently* made—unless the evil in question is of a permanent nature, and incapable of being met with other remedies?

It may therefore be concluded, that the new plan consists in the creation of an office, with high rank and emolument, and the consequent increase of patronage and influence,—and in an arrangement which leads to the relief of the Chancellor from

his original judicial duties, and his confinement to the House of Lords. It is, in substance and reality, a separation of the two functions of Chancellor and Speaker of the House of Lords—but effected in the worst possible way, by creating a second Master of the Rolls, and, in all probability, laying the foundation of a double system of Equity.

The pamphlet of Lord Redesdale is professedly written in answer to Sir Samuel Romilly's; and it certainly has greatly the advantage in point of length. But we do not think any one will find, in its fifty-six pages, any answer to the objections which the latter has stated in eighteen. The ground chiefly relied upon by the noble author, is, that some remedy must be applied; that the evil is excessive, and requires a measure of some kind; that though the one proposed may be in several respects objectionable, it is better than none at all:—and he triumphs over his antagonist, because he had suggested no remedy of his own. To this it might be deemed a sufficient reply, that when a new scheme of importance is proposed, he renders an acceptable service to the country, who explains the defects of it, even if he should go no farther; and that we are not to embrace hastily the first nostrum offered for our relief, but may with all prudence reject it, upon a conviction of its deleterious or dangerous qualities, although he who opens our eyes to its dangers may not have a substitute ready. Sir Samuel Romilly, however, has furnished another reply. He has pointed out his own remedy; and it is one naturally following from the view which he takes of the origin and seat of the evil. It may be stated in a single sentence. The House of Lords has allowed its judicial business to fall into arrear; and it ought, like all other courts in similar circumstances, to make an effort to get rid of this arrear, by bestowing a larger portion of its time on appeal business. We shall give an extract from the two writers on this point, and subjoin our own view of the proper remedy. Lord Redesdale says—

‘ Having admitted the necessity for a greater attendance of the Chancellor in the House of Lords, an attendance at those times when he now usually sits in the Court of Chancery, and the necessity for providing a substitute to supply the defect; surely the writer ought not to have contented himself with quarrelling with the substitute proposed, without proposing a better substitute. The old saying, Of two evils choose the least, has been already alluded to. The necessity for the attendance of the Chancellor elsewhere is an evil; but as it is a necessity, the evil cannot be avoided. Some remedy *must* be sought for *that* evil. A remedy is proposed, by the appointment of an Assistant Judge: that remedy, says the writer, is an evil. Be it so: but, will not the utter denial of justice, in the

Court of the last resort, be a greater evil? and if that evil should be avoided, by the attendance of the Chancellor in the House of Lords, and no effectual measure should be taken to supply his unavoidable absence from the Court of Chancery, will not the want of such a measure be a greater evil? Admitting, therefore, every thing alleged in the pamphlet to be just, still, if the writer cannot suggest a better measure than that proposed, the original evil must remain, or the measure proposed must be adopted. It is not sufficient to say, that it would be better if the Chancellor could give the additional attendance required in the House of Lords, and also transact all the business of the Court of Chancery. The thing is impossible. It might be said with as much propriety, that it would be better if a great general could be in all parts of his extended command at the same time, and see to every thing himself; but as that cannot be, we must be content to allow him the assistance of others, most of them perhaps his inferiors in abilities, in knowledge, and in experience, but acting usefully under his control.'—*Observations, &c.* p. 27, 28.

Sir Samuel Romilly replies—

'The remedy, my Lord, which I have to propose, is a very simple one; but I am much afraid (considering the force of several expressions which I find scattered in different parts of your Lordship's pamphlet) that you will think me disrespectful even in mentioning it. You have, however, really left me no choice. You have imposed upon me the necessity of being deficient in what you will think due respect, in order to avoid the reproach of being deficient in what you have made my duty. The remedy, then, my Lord, seems to be, That the House of Lords, like all inferior tribunals, should, when they are pressed with an unusual quantity of business, sit on a greater number of days, and at unusual hours, in order to despatch it.

'No man, surely, can have seen it stated in the same publication, both that there is a gross and scandalous delay of justice in the House of Lords, and that the House sits only five months in the year, without feeling some anxiety to learn what is the physical or the moral impossibility of its sitting longer. One cannot doubt, that his Majesty, while he was happily capable of exercising the functions of royalty, and the Prince Regent, since he has been invested with the royal authority, would not hesitate to allow the Houses of Parliament to sit by adjournment for ten months in the year, if it were suggested to him that such a proceeding was necessary to prevent a denial of justice to his Majesty's subjects.

'Not only, however, has no such proceeding as this been ever resorted to, while the arrear of causes has been accumulating to its present amount; but, at the very moment when I am writing, the House of Lords, by its own act, stands adjourned to a later period by some weeks than that at which Parliament has been accustomed to meet after Christmas; and, as if it were to show how subordinate

the House considers its judicial to its legislative functions, it has adjourned to just one day later than the House of Commons. It is obvious how many appeals might have been disposed of during the month or three weeks which might have been so employed, though the house had only met at its accustomed hour, but without the risk of any interruption to its judicial proceedings.

‘It may well too be asked, what is it that prevents the House of Lords, without the creation of a Vice-Chancellor, and even without any protracted sessions of Parliament, from sitting sometimes at ten o’clock in the morning on the hearing of appeals? There is generally after each term the interval of near a week, during which the sitting of the Lord Chancellor in his own Court is suspended. During this interval there is no obstacle (none, at least, that I am aware of, and certainly none that the bill in question will remove) to the House of Lords sitting at a very early hour. It is said, indeed, that the present Lord Chancellor has several times declared, that at these seasons the House would sit at ten o’clock: such unusual sittings, however, have never yet taken place. To what cause this is to be ascribed, I shall not venture to pronounce; but, according to the unauthenticated reports which are published of what passes in Parliament, his Lordship has declared, that it has often happened to him to give a long unemployed attendance in the House, before a sufficient number of Lords had assembled to enable him to proceed to the business of the day. According to the same accounts, too, it has been stated by him, that if the bill now depending should pass, it will be necessary to adopt some new regulation to ensure an early attendance of Peers. What regulation is to be proposed has not, I believe, yet been divulged; though it is very manifest, that, till such a regulation shall have been adopted, there will be some danger, that when a Vice-Chancellor shall have been appointed, the House of Lords may possibly not avail itself of the facility which that appointment is to afford it of having long and frequent judicial sittings, and that the Lord Chancellor may have been taken out of his own Court, without being able to attend usefully in any other.’ *Letter, &c.* p. 21-24.

He then proceeds to show that the presence of the Chancellor in the House of Lords when causes are heard, is not so necessary as is imagined; that when the Great Seal is in commission, no such necessity has been found to exist; that the House always contains other law Lords besides the Chancellor,—Chief Justices for example, or persons who have been Chancellors of England or Ireland; and, that in appeals from the English Court of Chancery, there would be no disadvantage in the Judge of the Court appealed from being absent, while his decisions were under review. Nevertheless, though we agree in the principles upon which this remedy is founded, we conceive that the plan itself is defective from its vagueness; for it only suggests that the

Lords ought to sit more constantly, as their judicial business increases, without indicating in what way such augmented diligence, in so fluctuating a tribunal, is to be secured. The law Lords may own it as a duty to attend: but how are they to be compelled to come down regularly, as if it were their peculiar province? Can it be expected that the House will ever assume the functions of a Court, meeting regularly at ten o'clock, and sitting until the paper is disposed of, or the period of legislative business arrives, unless some plan is devised for throwing this branch of its duties into certain specified hands, fit to manage it, if not exclusively, at least principally? This leads us to the scheme which, with great humility we still venture to think the most advisable, notwithstanding the many objections urged against it, in no very measured language, and with a confidence of tone, somewhat greater than the scantiness and generality of the arguments advanced in their support may be thought to warrant. It is the remedy too, in our poor judgment, directly pointed out by Sir Samuel Romilly's own principles and statements, although, in one part of his tract, he seems inclined to agree with his noble and learned antagonist in rejecting it. The reader will have anticipated, that we allude to the appointment of a Speaker of the House of Lords, other than the Keeper of the Great Seal; and further, that this office should be held by the Lord President of the Council, who ought to be a lawyer. We shall take the liberty of explaining our views of this matter somewhat in detail; beginning with the objections to the separation of the Speakership from the Seals, and then adverting to the advantages of the union of that office with the Presidency of the Council, in the hands of a legal character.

The first objection urged against the separation, will not detain us long. The dignity of the Chancellor's office, it seems, would be impaired by it; and, the grand prize in the lottery of the learned profession being so much diminished, that body which devotes itself to the administration of justice, would be deteriorated in quality, as well as in rank and importance. We make answer—That the office of Chancellor would remain sufficiently eminent and splendid, both from its patronage, its political power, and its emoluments, which might be kept up to their present level, notwithstanding the separation. We contend, that very little of its dignity accrues from the Speakership; the Chancellor would still have a seat in the House of Lords, and have the same weight there, as a lawyer and judge and minister, which he now has. In truth, it is in these characters, much more than as Speaker, that he now does possess such material influence in debate; for the office of Speaker in the Upper

House, is clothed with but few of those prerogatives which accident, and the more constant pressure of business have enabled Speakers of the House of Commons in the progress of time to assume. It is only when the House of Lords acts judicially, that the Chancellor in reality feels his weight as Speaker: And that weight is merely judicial; he exerts his influence over the cause, in a House composed of one Peer and one Bishop, before an audience consisting of a pair of attornies, as many clerks, three or four barristers, and a door-keeper. Again, the arrangement proposed, would add a large prize to the lottery of the law, by the new office of which we are presently to speak more in detail. And, lastly, it seems unfair to attach any great importance to the objection, even if the prizes were diminished,—in as much as there is but little reason to apprehend, from any such diminution, the smallest degradation of the legal profession in the eyes of the world.

But another objection which has been urged may appear to have more weight. ‘The person, it is said, who should preside in the House of Lords, and especially as the Court of ultimate appeal, ought to be a person whose education and habits, and continued practice in legal decision, might enable him to give assistance to the House in the discharge of its judicial functions, and occasionally in its legislative functions; that a man, so qualified, would not readily give up the office either of Chancellor or Chief Justice, or his pretensions to either of those offices, for such new office; and that if such a man could be found, yet, exercising no judicial function, except in the House of Lords, he would (whatever might have been his knowledge and experience before his appointment) gradually lose that familiarity with business, which, as the author of the pamphlet justly observes, is essential to its prompt and steady despatch, as well as to its weight and authority in public opinion.’ (p. 15, 16.) The same argument is referred to by Sir S. Romilly; apparently with an assent to it. (Objections, p. 10.)

Notwithstanding these high authorities narrated, we must take the liberty of inquiring upon what this argument rests. The difficulty of finding a lawyer of sufficient eminence in his profession to undertake the high, and not very laborious office of presiding in the House of Lords, with a peerage, even if the presidency of the Council were not joined with it, is surely a dream. Taking every thing into the account, it would probably be esteemed as desirable as the Great Seal itself. But supposing it to be otherwise, and that we could only get a barrister somewhat below the very first, to take the office:—let it only be considered, that the best judge is not always he who, while at

the Bar, had the most entire command of practice for a length of time. The present Master of the Rolls, in the greatest degree, and Lord Mansfield himself, to a certain extent, are examples of this truth. We suspect, few suitors would object to having their rights determined by the former of those judges, in the last resort; and it is notorious, that he does at present substantially decide in the Privy Council, not merely in appeals from all colonial courts, but from the High Court of Admiralty itself. If the more essential requisites of skill, knowledge, and judicial habits be found in a lawyer, although he should not have reached the heights of professional reputation, or had his name rendered famous, and his mind perhaps trained to the qualities of an advocate, rather than a judge; we may be assured that he will speedily attract respect and deference, when he is elevated to the peerage, and clothed with high judicial functions. Then, as to the remaining and principal part of the argument, let us analyze it a little more closely.

The business of appeals in the House of Lords, may be divided into Law and Equity, as far as regards England and Ireland; and Scotch causes, which consist of matter of fact, and matter of *foreign* law,—with the trifling exception of Exchequer cases. By far the greatest part of the business belongs to this third class, arising from Scotland. From the year 1800 to the year 1810 inclusive, there were entered 417 Scotch appeals, and two Scotch writs of Error, which we may class with the English and Irish common-law business; *i. e.* writs of Error from England and Ireland. The account will then stand thus;—Scotch appeals, 417;—writs of error from the three countries (exclusive of those which were non-prossed) 74,—Irish appeals, 67,—and English appeals, 38. What are the peculiar qualifications of a Lord Chancellor, that is, an Equity lawyer, of first-rate eminence, presiding in the highest Court of Equity in England, to decide on these various classes of causes? For one class, he is not only not the fittest Judge, but he is peculiarly unfit; we mean, the 38 appeals from his own decrees and orders. This seems a trifling number, compared with the others. But are we sure that this is the real number which ought to stand under this head of division? Is it not somewhat strange, that all the Equity business of England should not give rise to much above one-half as many appeals as come from Ireland alone? To a certain degree, this may arise from the greater confidence reposed in the English Courts of Equity; but it must needs arise, in part at least, from the singular circumstance of the Court of Appeal being substantially the same with the Court below. It is true, that there are also few writs of error from the Courts of

Westminster. But this is easily explained; for the appeal by writ of Error from judgments of Courts of Law, is confined necessarily to matter appearing on the record. From determinations on matter of fact, and from the mass of business decided upon motion, no appeal lies. Add to which, that in all actions by Bill in the King's Bench (the most numerous class), the writ of Error must first be brought into the Exchequer Chamber; and in actions in the Common Pleas, Error lies into the King's Bench: So that, in these instances, the appeal is by no means likely to be prosecuted further, viz. to the House of Lords. Accordingly, we find that the writs of Error from Ireland, instead of being twice as numerous as those from England, are less than half as numerous. It is plain enough, from these considerations, that many more appeals from the Court of Chancery would be brought, if the Judge presiding in the House of Lords were a person different from the Chancellor: And surely it cannot be denied, that as any arrangement which obstructs the reviewing of judicial proceedings by appeal, is inimical to the administration of justice, so any change which should facilitate appeals, would be advantageous to it. In so far, then, as the appeals from the English Courts of Chancery are concerned, the separation of the offices would be beneficial; and those appeals would also bear a larger proportion to the whole duties of the Speaker of the House of Lords, than they at present bear.

But try the question as to writs of Error. Is it necessary that the person who decides on these, should be constantly occupied in the proceedings of Courts of Equity? Clearly the argument fails here. It applies only to appeals from Courts of Equity. In like manner, it seems no more essential to have a Chancellor, than a Lord Chief-Justice, in order to decide Scotch appeals; and thus we find, that the strict application of the argument is confined to the appeals from Ireland. But surely it is sufficient to disprove the necessary union of the Speakership to the Great Seal, if we have shown that this union is positively disadvantageous as to English appeals from Courts of Equity—although it may be advantageous as to Irish appeals; and that, in all the other branches of the appellate jurisdiction, it is nearly indifferent whether an Equity or Common-Law Judge presides. It is said, however, that there is great good to be derived from having a Judge of Appeal, who is constantly employed in Courts, whether of Equity or Law; and whose mind is thus kept ever alive to the duties and learning of his station, by a perpetual exercise of judicial functions. But would not the best kind of discipline and practice for the Judge be, the constant employment of his time in hearing all kinds of appeals and writs of Error? Is not this a more short and direct road to the object in view, namely, the

having a Judge competent to determine easily, readily, and surely, in appeals from all the Courts of the United Kingdom? And if the same Judge also presides in Prize and Plantation appeals, he has a further means of maintaining his expertness, and enlarging his mind. We may indeed be told, that the arrear of appeals in the House of Lords would not last long under such an arrangement; and that the Speaker would soon be out of work, at least in the House of Lords. Perhaps this might be deemed a sufficient reason for making the arrangement in the first instance temporary, at least in so far as concerns the Speakership of the House of Lords. The President of the Council, however, being a lawyer, would still be ready to assist the Chancellor in the House of Lords, while he presided over appeals in his proper Court.

We profess ourselves unable to discover why there should be such fear of an incompetent Judge of Appeal, when he might at all times have the benefit of the attendance of those Judges most constantly in practice. But if there be such ground, and if the pressure on the table of the Lords is only temporary, some means must be adopted for getting rid of it. Which of the two experiments is the most rational;—that of appointing a temporary Speaker, or that of appointing a permanent Vice-Chancellor? We should think it at least as wise a course, to apply the remedy where the evil exists, and to confine the change both to the spot where it is wanted, and to the duration of the call for it. If the Chancellor cannot overtake his business both in Chancery and in the Lords, it seems fit to let some other Judge act for him in the Court of Appeal; and not to let him shift his principal business from himself, and retain only his appellate jurisdiction. If the arrear is only temporary, this separation needs not be continued longer. But the least rational plan seems to be that which, without considering whether the pressure is temporary or permanent, gives the Chancellor the power of getting rid of the chief duties of his office for ever.

The plan of choosing a lawyer for President of the Council, is undoubtedly objectionable, in some degree, on the score of patronage. No new office, indeed, is created; but a new source of influence is opened, upon a very important class of the community. Against this unquestionable evil, we can only set off the great advantage of having a more regular Court for Prize and Plantation Appeals; which can never be expected, until some such arrangement is resorted to. If any facts were wanted to show the evils of the present plan, we might refer to the well-known circumstance, of the business in that Court standing still a whole year, in consequence of a misunderstanding between the Judge principally relied upon in the Council and the Ministry of the day.

It has recently been avowed in Parliament, that an election dispute produced this serious inconvenience.

It may be worth while to enter somewhat more minutely into the question of fact, before concluding these observations. That there is an unprecedented arrear both in appeals and in Chancery suits, cannot be questioned. As little is it doubted, that this has grown up under the present Chancellor. Is there then a great increase in those branches of business? That there is an arrear of undecided causes no one denies. Is there an increase in the whole number of causes?—and does that increase bear any proportion to the arrears complained of? The increase of appeals cannot be questioned. The number presented, from 1791 to 1800, both inclusive, was 290; the number presented from 1801 to 1810, was 492. But, in the former period, 152 were determined; in the latter only 150. So in all former periods, there was some proportion kept between the numbers presented and heard. In the ten years ending 1770, 272 were presented, and 114 heard; and in the next ten years, 344 being presented, 228 were heard. In the last ten years, however, no such proportion is kept—but the very reverse of it. A much greater number is entered; and a much smaller number—not proportionally merely, but absolutely—is heard. Then as to the Court of Chancery—Both the contending parties have avoided coming to close quarters upon this point. Lord Redesdale asserts, that the question, Whether there has been an increase or not? bears very little upon the present dispute; and he only takes occasion, from different particulars, *incidentally* to infer that there has been such an increase. These particulars are, the increased business at the Rolls, and the increase of the appeals from thence;—which two are indeed evidently one and the same; and, far from proving an augmentation of the Equity business, they only prove that it is differently distributed;—that the Court of Chancery does less of it, and the Rolls more of it, than formerly. Sir Samuel Romilly flings out doubts with regard to the alleged, or rather insinuated increase of Chancery business, and criticizes Lord Redesdale's arguments respecting it; but he evades the question itself; and neither party makes any appeal to the documents in the Committee's Reports. When we come to examine these, indeed, we find them defective in an extraordinary degree: for, though they give a statement of the bills filed, they contain no analysis of the business arising out of these bills (as all the ordinary business must), further than that they give a comparative statement of the business done at the Rolls, and in Chancery, for two years and a quarter ending April 1812; and an account of the motions heard in Chancery during the same period, compared with periods of equal extent, ending April 1799.

and April 1739; which two periods are altogether omitted in the comparative account of the numbers of bills filed; so that we cannot come near the correct truth, in comparing the whole mass of the business at the different periods, even if no allowance is required to be made for the different nature of the causes at the different periods. It may, however, be worth while to state what results the accounts, imperfect as they are, seem to give.

The average yearly number of bills filed in ten years, ending 1754, was 1659 original bills, and 231 bills of revision and supplement; or 1890 in all. The like average for ten years, ending 1769, were 1271, 174, and 1445 respectively. The like average for ten years, ending 1809, were 1381, 162, and 1543 respectively. From this account, which is of unquestionable accuracy, it appears that more bills, by a considerable number, were filed in Lord Hardwicke's time, than in the present day. Of original bills, 278 fewer are now filed annually—and of all kinds of bills, 346 fewer.

That great changes have taken place in the distribution of this business can in nowise be doubted. Sir Samuel Romilly speaks directly to this point, and states, (indeed the fact is sufficiently notorious), that not only a much larger proportion than formerly is set down at the Rolls, but causes of a much more difficult and important description. The Reports of the Committee of the House of Commons, give us no comparative statements whereby we might estimate in what degree the suitors have left the Chancellor, and betaken themselves to the Master of the Rolls; but they afford a pretty clear view of *the reason* of this change; for they contain a comparative account of the state of the *papers* in the two Courts.* By this it appears, that of 114 original

* The Report of the Lords' Committee gives us a comparative account of the business at the Rolls, in the last ten years of Lord Hardwicke's time, and the ten years ending Michaelmas-term 1810. By this it appears, that, in the former period, the average yearly number of decrees was 165, exclusive of Consent causes; and that in the latter period, the like average was 251. The number of decrees in the former period is upon the decrease, the average of the first three years being about 180,—of the last three, about 152. In the latter period the number rapidly increases, from 181, the number made during the year of Lord Eldon's accession, to 259, the number of the last year in the return. The causes heard in the Court of Chancery during the former period were, 163 yearly, on an average; during the latter period, 57; or, exclusive of Consent causes, 44. Whether the account for the former period includes Court causes, does not accurately appear. The number of causes thus heard in Chancery, decreases rapidly during Lord Eldon's time;—during the first year it was 87,—during the last, only 33.

causes, which stood for hearing in the Chancellor's paper in Trinity Term 1811, 58 had been set down previous to Trinity Term 1810, and, of these, *seven* had been in the paper above *three years*; that of 86 sets of exceptions, further directions, re-hearings, appeals, and causes on the Equity reserved, 47 had been set down previous to Trinity Term 1810, of which *six* had been in the paper above three years. By the account from the Rolls again we find, that of 226 original causes in his Honor's paper in Trinity Term 1811, only 18 were set down previous to Trinity Term 1810; and that of 50 exceptions, further directions, &c. only *one* had been above a year in the paper. It is further stated by Sir Samuel Romilly, who was examined as a witness in the Committee (Rep. 1811, p. 25.) that so far from even the trifling apparent arrear of 19 causes in 276, just stated, being real, all those set down previous to 1811, had been heard, except such as stood over at the instance of the parties; and that in Trinity Term 1811, many of the causes set down in Hilary Term of the same year, had been heard in the regular course of the paper. Perhaps this statement will in part account for the great disposition of suitors in these times to seek the Rolls.

The Reports further inform us of the amount of decrees, orders, &c. made in the two great departments of Equity; and, as might be expected from the preceding account, the work done in those courts is inversely as the arrears observable therein at any given time. From the beginning of 1810 to the month of April 1812, the Lord Chancellor pronounced 37 decrees.* At the Rolls, during the same period, 933 causes were heard, and decrees made.† While his Lordship made 47 orders on further directions, and his Honor in his own court 365.‡

But the same Reports contain statements of an increase in the business actually done by the Chancellor in three particulars—*Motions, Bankruptcy, and Lunacy*. His Lordship it seems heard, during the two years and a quarter already referred to, 14,987 motions; while his predecessors, in similar periods, ending April 1789 and 1799, only heard 11,280, and 11,121 respectively; from which an inference is attempted to be drawn, that much of the Chancery business has of late years taken

* 47 Decrees in Chancery were pronounced; but the Master of the Rolls tried 10 of these causes. We here speak in the popular degree; for the Chancellor, strictly speaking, pronounces all the decrees, both in causes heard at the Rolls, and by himself.

† This includes Consent causes; but, exclusive of these, 658 were heard.

‡ This includes Consent causes; exclusive of these, 214 orders were made.

a new form,—gone in the channel of interlocutory proceedings,—and been disposed of by motion and order, instead of hearing on bill and answer, and decree. The state of business at the Rolls might seem sufficiently to show, that there is no solidity in this statement; and that if business on motion is augmented, it is only a proof that delays in Chancery have driven suitors to indirect modes of litigation, and augmented the amount and expense of it. It may further be observed, that the patrons of this argument should have produced the number of motions heard during the period from 1745 to 1754, when there were near 400 more bills filed in a year than there are now. * We should be anxious too, to have some information (if any such is to be found among the Hardwicke papers) as to the time allowed by the Lord Chancellor, in those days, to be taken up by those hearings,—the number of counsel whom he heard before he was satisfied,—and the amount of papers which he doomed himself to wade through, after full hearings, before making up his mind to a decision. Upon this branch of the subject it appears that the Committee of the Commons were strongly urged to inquire. It was proposed, for the purpose of ascertaining this, as well as other points, that the chief practitioners of the Court should be called; and perhaps the following extract from the evidence of Mr Crofts, the Register of the Court, who appeared desirous of ascribing great virtues to the system of motions, may not be thought so luminous as to supersede the necessity of farther investigation.

‘ You stated, in your former examination, that many motions were made at seals, of a nature that put an end to a cause; can you state more particularly how a cause was put an end to by a motion?—Those motions, *as it struck me*, were in the nature of injunctions.

‘ You speak of special injunctions?—Yes, surely.

‘ Do you happen to know any particular cause; can you mention any cause that has been put an end to, in consequence of a special motion being made?—*It only struck me as a general observation.*

‘ Will you have the goodness to state, how you conceive the motions were of that nature that could put an end to a cause?—*It struck me, that there were different branches; and, from the way in which the cause turned, there was nothing left for the Court to hear.*

‘ Has there been any different practice, during Lord Eldon’s

* The Lords’ Committee have supplied this defect; and it appears by their accounts, that the average yearly number of motions heard by Lord Hardwicke during his last ten years, was 3798. The like average, for ten years ending 1810, was 5703. In what proportion this increase consists of motions of course, there is no attempt in any of the Reports or Accounts to ascertain.

time, from that of his predecessors, with respect to hearing motions?—None, that I am aware of; except that *some motions are made of a speculative nature*, which have occupied a great portion of time; *that is the view I took of it.*

‘Has there been, to your knowledge, any order made in Lord Eldon’s time, altering the practice of the Court, as to making motions?—Not, to my knowledge.

‘I observe that, in your former examination, a question was put to you, whether orders had not been made which put an end to the causes: your answer was, I should think so. Can you produce to the Committee any order pronounced upon motion which was likely to put an end to a cause?—I have made no memorandums of any sort upon that subject.’ Rep. p. 54.

As, however, the Committee, from motives of delicacy towards the Chancellor, refused to enter into any such inquiry, and as the House of Commons were persuaded, by the friends of the new plan to agree in this refusal, we are, of course, in this Report, left without the means of pursuing this matter farther. But, admitting the whole increase of interlocutory business contended for, it makes a very trifling alteration on the state of the question, when the whole amount of bills filed is so materially diminished.

The increase of Lunatic petitions has also been mentioned. They averaged 48 yearly, it seems, in Lord Hardwicke’s time; and now, they amount to 113, and occupy about 25 days in a year, or about 15 days more than they would have done formerly, at the same rate of despatch which the Court now uses. Bankruptcy has also increased greatly; and we find, that there is no material arrear in this department. The exact increase is not to be found in the Reports of the Committee of the Commons. But if bankrupt petitions have increased in number, at the same rate with commissions of bankruptcy, as we find the fees derived from that source by the Chancellor, amounted in 1811 to near 5000*l.*, whereas, in 1802, they had been only 1700*l.*, we may infer, that this branch of business has trebled since the present Chancellor first held the seals.* It is however admitted, by the practitioners in that court, that from 30 to 35 days are sufficient for despatching bankruptcy; so that the increase on bankruptcy and lunacy, taken together, cannot, within the last ten years, require an increased labour of above thirty days in

* Here again the Lords’ Committee have furnished more accurate accounts. It appears, that the average yearly number of orders in bankruptcy, in Lord Hardwicke’s time, was 116, and in Lord Eldon’s time, 255; which is a much smaller increase than that deduced in the text from the amount of the fees,—and contributes to strengthen the argument accordingly.

the year. Now, these are the only departments in which no arrear is to be found; and of all the other branches of the Chancellor's duties, (except, indeed, his Cabinet business), it would be difficult to determine which is the most in arrear.

It is in vain then to contend, that the increase of the business is the cause of the arrear. There is no such increase as can account for it; but if there were, it would remain to be proved that as much business is despatched as formerly. If, indeed, this were proved, then we might be allowed to state, that the excess only was left undone. But the ground is shifted in a remarkable manner. When the arrears in Chancery are complained of, the answer is, 'There are so many appeals in the House of Lords.' But if this means any thing, it must be, that the Chancellor sits more days, and more hours each day, in the Lords, than he used formerly to sit. Now the reverse is notoriously the fact; for fewer causes in the Lords have been decided of late years, than when fewer were entered. We are then told, that it must be so,—for 'there is such an increase of business in Chancery.' On looking into that Court, however, we find, that there is far less business done, at least by the Chancellor; and that, if *litigation* has increased before his Lordship, *decision* has been confined to the Rolls.

It cannot have failed to strike the reader as a very remarkable circumstance, that the number of bills in Equity should be so much fewer now than they were sixty years ago;—notwithstanding the increased trade and population of the country, and the more frequent changes of real property. In what way this fact is to be accounted for, we cannot at present stop to inquire. Undoubtedly, the more systematic form which the science has, since Lord Hardwicke's time, assumed, chiefly through the labours of that great Judge, has diminished the number of disputes on points of Equity. It may also be presumed, that fewer bills are now filed for trifling objects; and that the same, or a lesser number of causes may possibly give rise to more prolonged and troublesome litigation. But let us admit even a considerable increase in Chancery business—an increase much less considerable certainly than that of legal practice—because there must be deducted from it the diminution of new and difficult points to be settled, with which Lord Hardwicke had constantly to grapple;—still we must remark, that all other Courts, except the Chancellor's, have met the increase in *their* business by redoubled efforts to get through it. Lord Mansfield might have 50 or 60 causes in his paper at Guildhall for one sitting. Lord Ellenborough has once had about 600, and seldom less than 350. The business on all the

Circuits has greatly increased, though not in an equal proportion; and the Criminal keeps pace with the Civil courts; and the result of the same change of circumstances is, a prodigious augmentation of business in Term time. Yet we never hear of arrears in Bank excused, because of the large entries at *Nisi Prius*; or of Remanets at Circuits and Sittings, because the Newgate Calendar presses heavily at the Old Bailey—or because the Chiefs and Puisne Judges are exhausted during the Term. The work done has kept pace with the work which there was to do. If the causes have increased in number, the judgments have also increased. And although every one who reflects upon the subject must be sensible that the Common-law Judges, as they are the worst treated of all public functionaries in point of emolument, are likewise the most important and the most indefatigable;—although it can never be pretended that they can continue to make head against the increase of business, as they have hitherto done, to the admiration of all who observe their proceedings;—although no man who knows and values the best interests of the country, could hesitate in wishing to see some relief afforded in *this* quarter;—yet it is worthy of remark, that the attention of the community has not been drawn towards the enormous increase in the pressure of Common-law business by any complaints of the twelve Judges, or any arrear in *their* Courts. Those learned and virtuous persons, remote from the strife of faction, and above the obstructions of court intrigues, have been silently labouring under their growing burthens; and it is only when the denial of justice elsewhere, by the arrears of unattempted work, calls the public eye towards them, in the way of contrast, that we find them almost sinking under their load, before they have once suspended their toils to utter a complaint.

The reader may probably by this time have inferred, that the impression produced upon our minds, by the evidence now before the public, is in favour of the opinion of those who ascribe a large part of the arrears and delays complained of to the Noble and Learned Person entrusted with the Great Seal, almost ever since this evil has been accumulating. Whether a more rigorous investigation by the Committee would have tended to weaken this impression, it will be for those to tell, who, out of delicacy towards his Lordship, persisted in refusing all further inquiry, and stopt short at the point where the discussion was becoming most interesting and conclusive. But, taking into our account all the arguments on both sides, and as many of the facts as the labours of the Committee, under the control of its tender and respectful feelings, have placed within our

reach, we must state it as our decided opinion, that no increase of business has been proved, which might not have been almost entirely met by some additional efforts on the part of such Chancellors as, before the accession of Lord Eldon, kept down the arrears both of the Court and the House of Lords. Or if something beyond those efforts had been absolutely required, —a few days additional for Bankruptcy and Lunacy,—or a few appeals requiring the Lords to sit at extra seasons,—it might have been adviseable either to separate Bankruptcy and Lunacy altogether from the Great Seal, with which they have no necessary connexion, or to relieve the Chancellor from part of his duties in the House of Lords. But that any project could have arisen, under former Chancellors, of creating a new Judge in Equity, and separating the original judicial business of the Court almost entirely from the Great Seal, we venture respectfully, and without any invidious comparison, but still most distinctly, to question. We are anxious to disavow any the most remote design of testifying disrespect towards the very distinguished person whose judicial conduct unavoidably fills so large a space in any view that could be taken of the subject. Nothing, indeed, could be more preposterous than such a sentiment; and as to invidious comparisons, there can be no doubt of his superiority as a lawyer, to all who have held the Seals since the time of Lord Hardwicke. If the greatest learning and subtlety in the science of his profession, with the most perfect purity as a Judge, were all that were required to form an accomplished Chief in a Court of Equity, we should never have heard either of the arrears in Chancery, the transference of business to the Rolls, or of the *Vice-Chancellor of England*. *

* We have been compelled, however unwillingly, to omit all discussion of the plans which have been proposed by Mr Taylor and Mr Leach, because there are no authentic accounts of them before the public: and it is not safe, on such subjects, to trust the common Parliamentary Reports. The country is certainly greatly indebted to those gentlemen for their exertions on this question. Mr Taylor originated the Inquiry in Parliament, and was Chairman of the Committee of the Commons. The general outline of the plan afterwards proposed by him, was to appoint a separate Judge for Bankruptcy. Mr Leach strenuously and ably opposed the new Bill; and suggested an arrangement, by which Bankruptcy should be transferred to the Master of the Rolls, and the Chief Baron relieve his Honor at the Cockpit.

ART. VI. *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa.* By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D. Part the Second. *Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land.* pp. 715. London. Cadell and Davies. 1812.

THE effects of climate, and even of the seasons, upon the temper and character, have been much insisted upon by some ingenious writers. It has even been observed, we understand, that our Spring Number is uniformly far more indulgent than its predecessor; and that we are generally expected to throw aside our ill-humour with our great coats and pelisses. How far this is the case with ourselves, or with others, we do not pretend to determine; but we certainly think it very likely, that a man may be less liable to be put out of temper, while he is treading the pleasant shores of the Mediterranean, than while he is travelling through snow or mud in a Russian pine forest. That Dr Clarke was not in the best humour in the world, during his abode in Russia, has been strongly suspected by some of his readers. Even we, who applauded the frankness of his remarks, sometimes more honest than polite, and more sincere than gentle, have not been sorry to observe, that the testimonies of his irritability are not so frequent in this as in the preceding volume. And really, at first sight, it is not easy to see to what this change can be imputed, except to the influence of a milder climate. The Pachas and Agas of Turkey are surely as little enlightened as the Boors of Muscovy; and the Russian government, though somewhat short of perfection, is at least as good as that which flourishes at Constantinople. An Autocrat at St Petersburg may now and then issue inconvenient edicts about the dress of his subjects; and give them the *knout*, or send them to Siberia, if they mistake his meaning about the cut of their coats, or the fashion of their wigs. But we doubt whether the prospect would be at all mended by considering the usual history of a Turkish despot,—who comes out of a cage to mount a throne, and generally maintains his place on it by the liberal use of the axe and the bow-string. Then the manners of the Turks and Arabs are scarcely more polished than those of the Finns and Russians; and the former seem to have just as little abhorrence for filth and vermin, as the latter. The Mussulman, it is true, makes frequent ablutions; but when he comes out of the bath, he puts on his dirty garments again, and lies down to sleep on his greasy and pestiferous carpet, with an indifference which an Englishman cannot imagine, and a courage which nothing but a belief in predestination could supply.

When we first observed the good humour of our author in

the present volume, we were inclined to attribute it to the pleasing recollections, in which he might have indulged while travelling over Greece, Egypt, and Syria. But a moment's recollection convinced us, that these could only be a source of uneasiness. That heart must, indeed, be insensible, which feels no painful emotions amidst the decay of all that has been great and venerable;—amidst the ruin, moral, political, and physical, which the scenes visited by Dr Clarke every where exhibit. Barbarism can only appear more disgusting by the contrast, when it occupies the seats which the Muses once possessed; and the *admonitus locorum* can impart no gladness to the soul, while the traveller treads upon classic ground, and while his fancy fills up the blank which desolation has spread around him. How, then, has it happened, that the frown, which lowered upon the brow of our author at Moscow, disappeared while he was wandering among the barbarians, bigots, and robbers, who are now the unworthy masters of the fairest regions of the earth, from the Danube to the shores of the Peloponnesus, and from the Bosphorus to the Nile? Again we ask, if this favourable change could have been produced by the happy influence of brighter skies? Perhaps there are other causes to which it may be traced; and regarding Dr Clarke as one of the most enlightened travellers of the present times, we shall make a few observations on this apparent enigma.

There are both virtues and vices which belong to the extremes of refinement and barbarism. Man is nowhere so savage, that Nature has left him entirely without some right propensities;—without the perception of what is just—or the admiration of what is generous. The wild Arab, all lawless as he seems, possesses courage and fortitude; and exercises, with exactness, the duties which his rude notions of religion teach him to regard as sacred. He seldom abandons those whom he has promised to protect; nor hesitates to shed his blood in defence of him to whom he is united by the ties of friendship. A high sense of honour, which makes him impatient of injury, raises him above every act of meanness; and the rude lord of the desert, who lives in the midst of war and rapine, is a stranger to the ignobler vices, the frauds, the intrigues, the cabals, and the chicaneries, which too often dishonour civilized society. His faith is professed without hypocrisy—and his friendship is tendered without servility. Independence of sentiment, and loftiness of soul, may be traced in every feature of the proud barbarian; while he acknowledges no other law than his honour, and no other superior than his God. We admire him, as we admire the lion, the sole rival who disputes with him the empire of

the wilderness; because we believe him to be as generous as he is terrible,—and willing to spare, though conscious of the power to destroy.

It may not be so easy, however, to maintain the same feelings of indulgence, when we encounter barbarism without elevation of mind, and luxury without refinement of sentiment. In countries where the government is despotic, where wealth is most unequally distributed, and where civilization has made but little progress among the lower orders, we must expect to meet with the opposite vices of opposite conditions. What, indeed, can we look for, but corruption on one hand, and ferocity on the other, when the rich are courtiers and tyrants, and when the poor are barbarians and slaves? If Dr Clarke's account of the Russians be not overcharged, we confess, that we would rather travel in the Syrian deserts, than in the empire of the Czars; and would prefer the friendship of the quite barbarous Arab, to that of the half-tamed Muscovite. It may seem paradoxical, and yet we believe it to be true, that to an enlightened mind, simple and unsophisticated nature, however rude, is less offensive than a certain imperfect polish. We turn away with dislike and suspicion from barbarity ill concealed by cunning, and from fierceness scarcely checked by selfishness. We can find no charms in magnificence without taste, in profusion without liberality, and in splendour without comfort. The pomp which is every where contrasted with penury, and the politeness which is more than half mingled with brutality, shocks the philanthropist, and does not satisfy the man of refinement. A mercenary, illiterate, and despotic nobility, and their enslaved and superstitious vassals, would have been less respected by the philosophers of Greece, and by the patriots of Rome, than the rude and independent hordes of the ancient Scythia; and we can easily pardon an English traveller, who prefers the hospitable Cossacks, and the high-spirited Arabs, to the titled Tartars, and the ostentatious barbarians, who sell their peasants like their oxen, and who chatter the language, and ape the manners, of a people more refined, but not more profligate, than themselves.

It remains for other travellers to undeceive us, if we have been misled by Dr Clarke. Recent events have indeed proved, that the Russians are not deficient either in courage, in military discipline, or in devotion to the cause of their country. But, men may be brave without being amiable; and may love their native land though they be strangers to literature, to philosophy, to independence, and to liberty. He is still to be esteemed as a patriot, who repels the invaders of his country, even

though he fight under the banners of superstition and of tyranny,—whether it be to maintain the influence of the Inquisition in Spain, or to preserve to the Czars the right of punishing by the *Knout* in Russia.

In the account which Dr Clarke has given of Constantinople, little novelty will be found; and little indeed was to be expected. We cannot, however, agree with him in thinking, that the manners, customs, and even the garb of the Greeks, were adopted by their Turkish conquerors. It never was the custom, as far as we know, for the Greeks of the Lower Empire, to shut up their women in harems—to marry four wives at a time—to practise the painful ceremony of circumcision—to abstain from drinking wine—or to shave their heads, and wear turbans. We are farther embarrassed by the following sentence;—*‘neither do the divâns of Turkish apartments differ from those luxurious couches, on which the Greeks and Romans were wont to repose.’* But the divân is that part of the chamber which is raised by a step above the rest of the floor, and which is commonly surmounted by a couch, or ottoman, that is placed along the wall of the apartment. The divân itself, however, is no more a couch, than the area of the quadrangle in Trinity College is a building.

Our traveller found means to enter twice within the walls of the Seraglio:—and he says, that his second visit has enabled him to describe with minuteness scenes hitherto impervious to European eyes. We are aware, that ever since a noble diplomatist took occasion to despatch a messenger from Constantinople to Europe, the geography of Turkey has been rather unsettled; but we can assure Dr Clarke, that he is mistaken, if he suppose, that his have been the only European, or even the only English eyes, that have beheld the interior of the Seraglio. His account, however, of that mysterious abode of despotism and luxury, will be found, by most readers, to be curious and interesting; though we can afford to give but a very short abstract of it. The gardening is, for the most part, in the Dutch taste, and by no means in a style of magnificence; while the massive fragments of antique marbles, scattered all around—the dark and towering cypresses—the gloomy walls—the huge iron gates—and narrow cloistered quadrangular palaces, like the older colleges in our universities—together with the stillness and apparent desolation of the whole scene, conspire to give it an air of sadness, and something of the character of a prison. In some of the apartments from which the women had recently removed, they found various little articles that strongly characterized their way of life;—the fragments of mirrors and chandeliers broken in

their romping—labels for *Rosoglio* and other *liqueurs*—painted boxes half full of confectionery, and various pieces of embroidery—together with much dirt, and other indications of sluttishness. The private apartment of the Sultan opening into the garden of *hyacinths*, which Dr Clarke only surveyed by looking into the windows, seems by far the most comfortable, as well as the most superb, that fell under his observation.

‘Three sides of it,’ he observes, ‘were surrounded by a divan, the cushions and pillows of which were of black embroidered satin. Opposite the windows of the chamber was a fire-place, after the ordinary European fashion; and on each side of this, a door covered with hangings of crimson cloth. Between each of these doors and the fire-place appeared a glass-case, containing the Sultan’s private library, upon shelves; every volume being in manuscript, lying one above the other, and the title of each book written on the edges of its leaves. From the ceiling of the room, which was of burnished gold, opposite each of the doors, and also opposite to the fire-place, hung three gilt cages, containing small figures of artificial birds: these sung by mechanism. In the centre of the room stood an enormous gilt brazier, supported, in an ewer, by four massive claws, like vessels seen under sideboards in England. Opposite to the entrance, on one side of the apartment, was a raised bench, crossing a door, on which were placed an embroidered napkin, a vase, and bason, for washing the beard and hands. Over this bench, upon the wall, was suspended the large embroidered *porte-feuille*, worked with silver thread on yellow leather, which is carried in procession when the Sultan goes to mosque, or elsewhere in public, to contain the petitions presented by his subjects. In a nook close to the door was also a pair of yellow boots; and on the bench, by the ewer, a pair of slippers of the same materials. These are placed at the entrance of every apartment frequented by the Sultan. The floor was covered with Gobelins tapestry; and the ceiling, as before stated, magnificently gilded and burnished. Groupes of arms, such as pistols, sabres, and poniards, were disposed, with very singular taste and effect, on the different compartments of the walls; the handles and scabbards of which were covered with diamonds of very large size: these, as they glittered around, gave a most gorgeous effect to the splendour of this sumptuous chamber.’ p. 26, 27.

This is faithfully and correctly represented;—and had our traveller been permitted to enter this part of the palace, he would have found several other rooms fitted up with equal taste and magnificence. It may, perhaps, surprise our readers to learn, that the floors of these chambers were laid with English Wilton carpets; and that the walls of a gallery, which runs behind them, were hung with English prints. It is very likely, however, that these have been removed since the death of Selim,—who was too humane, too liberal, and too virtuous for his situation. He was possessed of considerable knowledge. The best French

works had been translated for his perusal; and the piety of the rigid Mahometans was shocked, while the voice of scandal whispered, that the Commander of the Faithful was an admirer of the arts, and that he read the writings of infidels. It was indeed too publicly known for his security, that he was no friend to intolerance—that he had established a printing-press—that he wished to enlighten the people—that he fancied he could ameliorate the laws of his country—that he sought to curb the power of the Janissaries—and that he had actually introduced a new system of tactics into his army. The consequence was, that he paid, with the loss of his life, for the boldness of his projects, and for the liberality of his sentiments.

We shall now accompany Dr Clarke to the plain of Troy, as by courtesy it is called. There can be no doubt that tradition, during a long lapse of ages, has pointed out one of the plains in Anatolia, which is watered by the *Mender-sou*, the *Thymbreck*, and some smaller streams, as the identical territory which Homer has described as the plain of Troy. Is modern criticism to be permitted to dispute the authority of antient tradition? The followers of Bryant will answer in the affirmative. They contend, that the detection of error can never be less meritorious, though it may be somewhat more difficult, from the length of time that the error has prevailed;—and it must be admitted, that this aphorism sounds plausibly enough: But if we once begin to quarrel with antient traditions, merely because they seem to be at variance with probability, there is no saying where we shall stop. If we reject the traditions of the Greeks, because they do not satisfy our reason, we can scarcely admit those of the Egyptians, of the Romans, or, indeed, of any other nation. But these literary sceptics tell us, that Anaxagoras was as incredulous two thousand years ago, concerning the Trojan war, as they are themselves at the present day; and they seem really to think that the Greeks may have done as much for Homer, as we Caledonians are sometimes supposed to have accomplished for Ossian;—that the countrymen of Homer, vain of the lustre which his poetry had shed upon the Grecian nation, might have sought, at an early period, for a scene to suit the action of his fabulous *Iliad*; and might have bestowed various names mentioned in that poem upon the rivers, plains, and mountains of Anatolia, with as much precision and certainty as a Highlander of Scotland can now point out the tomb of Ossian, and the cave of Fingal. With all our abhorrence for scepticism, we must acknowledge, that there seem to be considerable difficulties in admitting some of the reports of Homer, and in adjusting the topography of the district of Troas to his descriptions. Still, however, it is much easier, as well as

been the site of Troy. From some medals which were brought to him by the peasants, Dr Clarke is persuaded that he discovered the site of New Ilium at a place called Palais-Califut; and he therefore concludes, that Troy must have stood three miles and three quarters to the eastward—that is to say, at a place now called Tchiblack, or in its vicinity.

That this conjecture sounds almost as plausibly as Mr Chevalier's, can scarcely be denied; but we are afraid that it will not satisfy the sceptics. Dr Clarke says, that the Califut-Osmack (of which we find no traces whatever in Chevalier's map) was the Simois of Homer, and that the Mender-sou was his Scamander. —But here again the sceptical doubts come thick upon us. It had been believed, that Homer had described the Scamander as *rising from two fountains* close to the walls of Troy. After mentioning that Achilles and Hector had passed the fig-tree, and run by the carriage-road under the wall, the poet adds—

Κρηνὰ δ' ἱκανοὶ καλλιῆρᾶν, ἵνα δὲ πηγαί

Δοιαὶ ἀναΐσσοσι Σκαμάνδρα διήϊτος. II. x.

Now, Dr Clarke, being aware of the difficulty attending the more obvious interpretation of this passage, is incredibly comforted to find it thus rendered by Cowper.

And now they reached the running rivulets clear,

Where, from Scamander's dizzy flood, arise

Two fountains.

We fairly avow, that we cannot comprehend a word of this translation—*running rivulets, where two fountains rise from a river!* Rivers, we had thought, generally rise from fountains, and not fountains from rivers. We should translate these verses literally—*They arrived at two clear-flowing springs, where two fountains of eddying Scamander rise.* But if this version be right, it offers an insuperable obstacle to Dr Clarke's conjecture. The Mender-sou, which he would have to be the Scamander, rises at the distance of several leagues from Tchiblack; nor is it possible, if Tchiblack be the spot where Troy stood, that the fountains of Bournabashi, at the distance of six or seven miles from that place, should be the hot and cold springs, mentioned by Homer as being close to the wall. But it is essential for Dr Clarke, if he would reconcile himself to Homer, to find two fountains of the Scamander, one hot, and the other cold, near to Tchiblack. Now, this he certainly has not done. Nor, indeed, would the task be an easy one; for the Mender-sou, the Doctor's Scamander, rises at a great distance from his *Pagus Iliensium*; and no where approaches this supposed site of Troy, nearer than *four or five miles*. In what way, then, is it possible to suppose, if Tchiblack be the site of Troy, that Homer

could have spoken of two fountains of the Scamander as breaking forth close under the wall of the city? We must now leave it to our readers to decide between our author and ourselves. We shall not follow him in his excursion through the rest of the district. Since the site of Troy cannot be pointed out to us, we should feel little interest in tracing the course of the Califat-Oswock—in seeking the sources of the Mender-sou—or in climbing with Dr Clarke and the tigers to the snowy summit of Mount Kazdasghy.

Our author's account of his voyage from the Hellespont to Rhodes, is written in a lively and agreeable manner; and his description of the ruins of Cos will be found to be interesting by the antiquarian. For the account which is given of Cnidus, Dr Clarke is indebted to Mr Morritt. 'Rhodes,' says our author, 'is a most delightful spot.' A day without sunshine is said to be unknown there. To the citizens of London this must seem the strangest and most incredible thing in the whole book. After leaving Rhodes, he proceeded to the Gulf of Clau-cus, and visited the ruins of Telmessus. On the 17th of April 1801, he arrived in Aboukir Bay, and consequently not a month after the celebrated battle of the 23d of March, when the fate of Egypt was decided. This circumstance has given our author an opportunity of detailing the events of the campaign; and it is but just to say, that he has executed his task with candour and ability.

Dr Clarke took only a cursory view of the country. During his journey to Rosetta, he observed that remarkable illusion, which is so frequent in the desert, and which the French call *le mirage*. The sands had taken the appearance of water. The domes, and turrets, and groves of Rosetta were seen reflected on the glowing surface of the plain, which appeared like a vast lake extending itself between the travellers and the city. An explanation of this *phenomenon* has been given by Monge. It is called, if we do not mistake, *السراب*,—*at serab*, by the Arabians; and is alluded to by Isaiah (c. xxxv. v. 7.), in the following words, *יְהִי חֲשֵׁר לַמַּדְבָּר*,—'and the *serab* (the illusory lake of the desert) shall become a real lake.' This explanation gives the true sense, and presents a far more beautiful as well as characteristic image than that conveyed in our version—'and the parched ground shall become a pool.'

Of the antiquities of Egypt, Dr Clarke has not spoken at great length; and we wish that he had dwelt longer on those of Cyprus. We shall make a few brief remarks. He is undoubtedly right, in supposing the *Scarabeus* to have been a type of the Sun. Some curious information concerning this symbol

may be found in Horapollo, and in Clemens Alexandrinus. We must, however, caution Dr Clarke not to trust too much to Kircher. When a female figure is represented on a *Scarabæus*, it is more likely to be that of Neitha, or Minerva, than of Iris. 'Επὶ δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν κάλλιπον, says Horapollo, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἡφαίστου τὸν γυμνὰ γράφουσιν. We have only slightly examined the signets found in Cyprus. The characters, however, are obviously the same with those which the Pelasgi introduced into Etruria. The Etruscan alphabet was certainly copied from the Phœnician, as may be easily perceived by comparing the former, as published by Gori and Lanzi, with the latter as determined by Swinton and Barthelemy. While we are upon this subject, we shall just mention, that we think Dr Clarke is mistaken in what he says concerning the worship of Serapis, which, he says, was not introduced into Egypt until the time of the Ptolemies. The curious reader may consult Plutarch in his life of Alexander; also de Iside & Osiride—Arrian de Expedit. Alexandri. L. VII. and Tacit. Hist. L. IV. c. 84.

Our traveller left Egypt on the 24th of June, and arrived at Acre on the 29th. His portrait of the celebrated Djazzar Pacha is drawn with much spirit; though we found a little portion of horror mingled with our amusement, while we contemplated it. Next to the remarkable personage, who has so long attracted the attention, and disturbed the tranquillity of Europe, we look upon Ali Pacha of Jenina, and Djazzar Pacha of Acre, as the most extraordinary men of the present times. The name of the latter, which he assumed voluntarily, and out of ostentation, signifies *Butcher*; and, by all accounts, he has amply earned it. Throughout his life, he has generally acted as his own executioner. On one occasion, in a fit of jealousy, he put seven of his women to death with his own hand; and is regularly attended by what he calls his *marked men*, that is, men whom he has formerly deprived of a nose, an eye, or an arm, for some disobedience or offence. He affects the utmost plainness and hermit austerities in his way of living—occupies himself nearly the whole day in cutting out paper into fantastic forms with his scissars; and utters such a quantity of frivolous stuff—long obscure parables, and inapplicable truisms—that it is but rarely that an occasional visitor can discover any traces of that profound sagacity, consummate art, and extraordinary quickness and decision for which he has so long been celebrated.

We found him seated on a mat in a little chamber, destitute even of the meanest article of furniture, excepting a coarse, porous, earthenware vessel, for cooling the water he occasionally drank. He was surrounded by persons maimed and disfigured in the manner be-

fore described. He scarcely looked up to notice our entrance, but continued his employment of drawing upon the floor, for one of his engineers, a plan of some works he was then constructing. His form was athletic, and his long white beard entirely covered his breast. His habit was that of a common Arab, plain but clean, consisting of a white camlet over a cotton cassock. His turban was also white. Neither cushion nor carpet decorated the naked boards of his divan.

The conversation began by a request from the Pacha, that English Captains, in future, would fire only one gun, rather as a signal, than as a salute, upon their arrival. "There can be no good reason," said he, "for such a waste of gunpowder, in ceremony between friends. Besides," he added, "I am too old to be pleased with ceremony: among forty-three Pachas of three tails, now living in Turkey, I am the senior. My occupations are consequently, as you see, very important." taking out a pair of scissars, and beginning to cut figures in paper, which was his constant employment when strangers were present: these he afterwards stuck upon the wainscot. His whole discourse was in parables, proverbs, truisms, and Oriental apologies. One of his tales lasted nearly an hour, about a man who wished to enjoy the peaceful cultivation of a small garden, without consulting the lord of the manor, whenever he removed a tulip; alluding, perhaps, to his situation with reference to the Grand Signior. There was evidently much cunning and deep policy in his pretended frivolity. Apparently occupied in regulating the shape of a watch paper with his scissars, he was all the while deeply attentive to our words, and even to our looks. He believed that dissensions had been excited in his dominions by Sir Sidney Smith, to divert him from the possibility of assisting the French, by attacking the Vizier's army in its march through Syria; and was much incensed while he complained to us of this breach of confidence. "I ate," said he, "bread and salt with that man; we were together, as sworn friends. He did what he pleased here. I lent him my staff; he released all my prisoners, many of whom were in my debt, and never paid me a parâ. What engagements with him have I violated? What promises have I not fulfilled? What requests have I denied? I wished to combat the French by his side; but he has taken care that I shall be confined at home, to fight against my own people. Have I merited such treatment?" When he was a little pacified, we ventured to assure him that he had listened to his own and to Sir Sidney's enemies; that there did not exist a man more sincerely allied to him; and that the last commission we received, previously to our leaving the fleet, were Sir Sidney's memorials of his regard for Djezzar Pacha. In proof of this, I presumed to lay before him the present Sir Sidney had entrusted to my care. It was a small but very elegant telescope, with silver slides. He regarded it however with disdain, saying, it had two splendid an exterior for him; and taking down an old ship glass, that hung above his head, covered

with greasy leather, added, "Humbler instruments serve my purposes: besides, you may tell Sir Sidney that Djazzar, old as he is, seldom requires the aid of a glass to view what passes around him." p. 368—371.

Dr Clarke informs us, that the ancient custom of tinging the eye-lashes with the sulphuret of antimony, and drawing black streaks from the corner of the eyes, is still preserved by the modern ladies of Syria. 'Jezebel heard of it, and *painted her face.*' The Doctor remarks, that this translation is not faithful, and renders the original text (at least so we infer from his expressions), 'and put her eyes in painting.' But the Hebrew words confirm his observation more than he seems to have been aware of—נָחַם עֵינָיו—literally, *et posuit in stibio oculos ejus*. Whether this eye-blackening be becoming or not, we shall leave to our fair readers to determine; but we trust that we have proved, to the satisfaction of the whole Blue-stocking Club, that we have a right to participate with Dr Clarke in the glory of having shown, that though Jezebel certainly blacked her eye-lashes, and perhaps her eye-brows, yet there is no evidence whatever of her having worn *rouge*.

Before we accompany our author on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, we wish to advert to the reasons which he has given for naming the country the *Holy Land*, rather than Palæstine. We agree with him in thinking that Palæstine did not include Phœnice; but we differ from him, when he says that Phœnice constituted a portion of the Holy Land. The Greeks, it is true, gave the appellation of Phœnice to the whole coast, from Orthosia to Pelusium. τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἢ μὲν ἀπὸ Ὀρθωσίας μέχρι Πηλουσίας παραλία Φοινίκην καλεῖται ἐνὴν τις καὶ Ἀλιδνῆς. Strab. L. XVI. But it is certain, that the Phœnicians did not occupy the coast even so far to the south as Ptolemais; for there can be no doubt, that the Israelites possessed it from Joppa to the neighbourhood of Tyre. On the other hand, however, Phœnice cannot be included within the precincts of the Holy Land, since the coast from Tyre to Orthosia was never under the dominion of the Israelites. Dr Clarke observes, that according to Joshua, the lot of Asher extended unto Great Tsidon. We confess, that we suspect the text to be corrupt. Helkath is said to be the border of Asher. It follows then, that Helkath was the northern border of the province. Now Tsidon lay considerably to the north of Helkath. How then could the territory of Asher, of which Helkath was the border, reach to Tsidon? Again, it is to be observed, that the list of places is given as follows:—Hebron, Rehob, Hammon, Kanah, Tsidon. We are unable to fix the position of Rehob and Hammon. Hebron was si-

tuated about eight miles from the coast, and about as many to the south of Hēlkath. It consequently lay on the eastern frontier of Asher, near the boundaries of Asher and Naphtali; and was, therefore, not even on the same side with Tsidon. Kanah was still more remote from the Phœnician capital; for it lay within the inland territory of Zebulun, near to the south-east extremity of Asher. But we have seen that Tsidon lay nearly due north of Asher. These are inconsistencies for which we cannot account, unless we suppose the text to be corrupt. Dr Clarke thinks, that there were two cities of the name of Kanah; and that Joshua alluded to one which was new to Tsidon. But this is to cut the knot without untying it. What traces exist of this second Kanah? In all events, it is evident, that no territory, in which the institutions of Jehovah were not observed, can be included in the Holy Land. This is expressly stated by the Jewish Rabbies in the Mishna. Consequently, we cannot agree with our author, in thinking that Phœnice can be included in the Holy Land;—since we cannot suppose, that the ordinances of Moses were observed by the votaries of Adonis at Tsidon, or by the worshippers of Hercules at Tyre.

After leaving Acre, Dr Clarke crossed the river Belus, and proceeded to Nazareth, which he describes as a miserable village. From this place, he directed his course to the lake Genesareth, by Rani, Kanah, and Turan. Between these two last mentioned places, he remarked some basaltic *phenomena*; and we recommend his observations upon them to the attention of geologists. There are few countries, if we err not, which offer a finer field for geological pursuits than Palæstine.

During his journey, Dr Clarke encountered some of those extraordinary people called *Druses*, whose religious tolerance becomes the more remarkable, when it is contrasted with the furious animosities of the sects around them. ‘Their Pantheon,’ says our author, ‘admits as objects of adoration, whatever has been venerated by Heathens, Jews, Christians, and Mahometans.’ While the philosopher smiles at the accommodating creed of these *Pantheists*, he will probably wish, that the gentle spirit which guides them may extend its influence to every country, in which the intemperance of zeal, and the intolerance of bigotry, are daily contracting the limits, and diminishing the authority of reason, of sober morality, and of sound philosophy.

The city of Tiberias, and its lake, are objects which, we confess, appear to us very little interesting. Dr Clarke compares the lake with those of Cumberland, of Scotland, and of Locarno in Italy. ‘It is something like all, and very like none;—just as

might be supposed, when one sheet of water, with its shores, and peculiar scenery, is compared with any other sheet of water of nearly an equal size. Dr Clarke seems not to be decided, whether he shall follow Adrichomius and d'Anville, who suppose Tiberias to have been built on the site of the ancient Kinneroth, or whether he shall reject that opinion, with Reland. We are inclined to think with d'Anville, that the southern border of Naphtali reached even beyond Tiberias. There can be no doubt, that Chamath, otherwise called Ammaus, was within the province of Naphtali. Now, the hot baths of Ammaus are about a mile to the south of Tiberias. The objection, therefore, of Reland, is obviated. We must observe to Dr Clarke, that *חמאט* *Chamath* does not signify *baths*;—we shall not, however, object to him, if he should say, that by *Chamath* the Jews understood certain *hot* baths near to lake Gennesareth.

After having bathed in this lake,—after having guessed at its length and breadth, which may be twelve miles by six,—after having been cruelly flea-bitten at Tiberias, where it seems ‘the king of the fleas holds his court,’—and after having supped on mullets, which, according to tradition were the ‘favourite food of Jesus Christ!’—our author returned once more to Nazareth, and proceeded by Napolose, the ancient Sichem, to Jerusalem.

That Dr Clarke should have been impressed with sentiments of admiration, bordering on enthusiasm, when he first beheld the venerable domes of Salem, can excite no surprise. We know, indeed, of no place, of which the history is so extraordinary as that of this ancient city of the Jebusites. In the eighth year of his reign, the holy David took the strong hold of Zion, and brought up the ark of Jehovah from Kirjath-jearim, and placed it in Jerusalem. Innumerable and astonishing prodigies have since distinguished the city of David, and have rendered it eminent above all the cities of the world. The early and fabulous accounts of Ilium, of Athens, and of Rome, amused the imagination of the poets, while they excited the contempt of the sceptics of antiquity. But the authentic, though extraordinary records, which attest the history and the fate of the Jewish capital, must convince the reason, in exercising the fancy, of the Christian reader. It was here that, during a long succession of ages, the oracles of God were wont to be uttered by inspired and holy men;—it was here that the Lord of the Universe deigned to reside, under the dazzling, though material form of the glorious *Schechinah*;—and it was here, that the same eternal Being submitted to a voluntary and ignominious death, for the salvation of ungrateful man. Every edi-

fice in the sacred city is the monument of a miracle ;—every place within its walls has been dignified by the presence of prophets and apostles ;—and every hill and valley in its vicinity, have been the scenes of the most dreadful and astonishing events. Here were heard the mysterious sentences, which were uttered by the *Daughter of the Voice* ;—there, the Pontiffs of Israel were instructed in the will of Heaven, by *Urim* and *Thummim*. To the south of the modern city stands Mount Zion, whence, the prophet Isaiah has said, ‘ shall go forth the law.’ Tophet is situated beneath it, in the Valley of the Children of Hin-nom, in which the voice of lamentation was heard, while idolatrous parents passed their devoted infants through the fire to Moloch. ‘ Silon’s brook, that flowed East by the Oracle of God,’ still bathes the feet of the holy Zion. To the east lies the Vale of Jehoshaphat, which is watered by the Kedron, and in which the good Josiah burnt the groves of Baal. Beyond arises the Mount of Olives, from which Jesus foretold the destruction of the Temple, while he sat on ‘ the Rock of Prediction,’—otherwise called ‘ the Mount of Corruption ;’ to the right of which Solomon built high places to Ashteroth, Chemosh, and Milcom, the idols of the Heathen, and the abominations of the Gentiles. On Mount Moriah stood the Temple of Jehovah. A Mahometan mosque now covers the sacred ground on which it was placed ; and the Christian pilgrim turns away with a sigh from the venerable spot ;—which, indeed, its present possessors will not permit him to approach.

We had already perused M. Chateaubriand’s account of Jerusalem, and had caught some portion of that devout person’s enthusiasm, before we began to read the narrative of Dr Clarke. It was not, therefore, without regret, and, indeed, some alarm for the consequences, that we followed our author through the streets of Jerusalem, while, with a kind of philosophical independence, unexampled in the history of all former pilgrims, he trampled under foot traditions which had stood the test of more than a thousand years. Not satisfied with ridiculing the notion, that the house of Lazarus remains where it was eighteen centuries ago, he derides the tradition which indicates the position of the *Holy Sepulchre* ! He treats the Empress Helena as nothing better than a credulous old woman ; and tells us, that what was called the *Holy Sepulchre*, was a mere delusion, and monkish juggle. Had Dr Clarke no fears of a visit from the ghost of the pious Quaresmius, who wrote a book ‘ *de eternâ, profanâ, sed detestabili ac vitiosâ peregrinatione ?* ’ At the same time we must confess, that the Doctor’s reasoning appears to us to be rather plausible. It must, we think, be conceded to him, *first*,

that the site of the supposed sepulchre must have been within the walls of the ancient Jerusalem; *secondly*, that this would be contrary to the usual customs of Oriental nations; and, *thirdly*, that this supposed tomb in no way resembles the *cryptæ* excavated in rocks, in which the Jews were accustomed to bury their dead.

A learned correspondent, whose authority Dr Clarke would be the first to acknowledge, combats this new hypothesis, and has authorised us to make public the following statement.

‘ I was inclined, from the first time that I read what Dr Clarke has said on the subject of the site of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, to believe, that he had shown, there was not sufficient reason to imagine the *supposed* site to be the *real* site. But I have lately met with an argument, which I shall now offer to you, tending to support, strongly I think, the claims of the commonly supposed spot, to be the site of the Holy Sepulchre.

‘ The tomb in which Christ was laid, was in the place where he was crucified. It was in the spot called “ *the place of skulls*; ” or Calvary. (John xix. 41.)

‘ Near the Holy Sepulchre is, and has been, pointed out, from a very remote period, a place, in which the “ *head of Adam* ” was laid. Dr Clarke mentions it (p. 563); and some of the very early Fathers say they heard the tradition. Dr Clarke has not added Epiphanius:—But *he* also says the “ *cranium Adami* ” was supposed to have been there.

‘ Now, it may be made evident, that the meaning of the phrase, “ *the place of skulls*, ” and of the “ *skull of Adam*, ” is the same. But near the *former*, was the tomb of Christ, according to Scripture; therefore, it was near the *latter*; that is, where it has always been placed.

‘ The proof, that the meaning of the two phrases is the same, I take from the learned author of “ *Aristarchus Sacer.* ” *Adam*, in Hellenistic language, signifies, collectively, *mankind*; as in Hebrew. The Latin translation of 1 Sam. vii. 9. has “ *Ista est lex Adam*; ” that is, τῶν ἀνθρώπων not τοῦ Ἀδάμ. Symmachus interprets the word Ἀδάμ by ἀνθρωπότητα. Josias is said to have burnt the bones אדם (Adam), that is, ἀνθρώπων. And thus the Greek translators rendered it, καὶ ταύτας ὅσας ἀνθρώπων.

‘ Instead, therefore, of the place of the “ *skull of Adam*, ” as the tradition of ignorant people (who did not know that the word *Adam* had the signification sometimes which we have found it had) gave it, let us say, “ *the place of the skulls of men*, ” and we arrive at this conclusion. K, in Dr Clarke’s plan of the topography of Jerusalem, is the site of the Holy

‘ Sepulchre ; but there has been always a tradition, mentioned by the early Fathers, that near it was the place of “ the skull of men.” If this be so, and we have found “ the place of skulls ” of the Gospel, we cannot be far from the tomb ; for they were close together.

‘ It cannot therefore be allowed to Dr Clarke, that the church supposed to mark the site of the Holy Sepulchre, exhibits nowhere the slightest evidence which might entitle it to either of these appellations (Golgotha, or the place of skulls), p. 551. It is in fact near the place called, from a remote tradition, the place “ of the skulls of men.”

‘ I think it adds much to the argument to observe, that the ignorant manner of giving the tradition, “ as the place of the skull of *Adam*,” which was the way in which the Greek-Fathers had it pointed out to them, shows no marks of design or imposture on the part of those who so pointed it out. The main fact they were in possession of,—that it was the place where was the “ cranium Adami.” They ignorantly interpreted the latter word of *one person*, instead of taking it in the sense, which it commonly bore, *collective*. And this interpretation still continues; as appears from their showing the spot to travellers.

We wish to submit the following considerations to our readers, and to our correspondent.

The Syro-Chaldaic word for *a skull* was גולגולתא *golgoltha*, which, by the elision of the second *lamed*, becomes גולגולתא *golgoltha*. St Mathew renders it κρανίον τόπος, *a place of a skull*; and St Mark and St John give it nearly the same meaning. St Luke, without mentioning *Golgotha*, writes καὶ ὅτε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καλούμενον κρανίον. κ. τ. λ. *and when they were come to a place called SKULL, &c.* Now, it is evident that St Luke is the only one of the Evangelists who has strictly translated the word *Golgotha*, though he be the only one who has not introduced the name; for it does not signify κρανίον τόπος, *a place of a skull*, but simply κρανίον, *a skull*. Our correspondent, then, has not written with his usual accuracy, when he cites the Evangelists as speaking of *the place of skulls*. The word is necessarily in the singular—*golgoltha*, or *golgotha*, *cranium*. Tradition tells us, that the place was so called, because *the skull of Adam* was there buried. This is absurd enough; and we so far agree with the ingenious writer, that we think the name of the place, which *was* probably a burying ground, was originally called גולגולתא, which may be translated *men's skulls*; a fit enough name for the usual place of interment near to a great city. But where was this place, which must have been very extensive?

Surely not within the city, where the monks point out the spot in which they pretend that the skull of Adam was buried. The Fathers have frequently related this tale concerning Adam's skull; and have said, that it was deposited near the tomb of Christ. But can we doubt, when the priests had persuaded the Empress Helena, that they knew the true position of the Holy Sepulchre, that they failed to seek and to find 'the place of a skull?' The Fathers, as far as we recollect, nowhere say, that Adam's skull was buried upon Mount Moriah. We are therefore inclined to think, that the place called *Golgotha*, or *skull*, was the burying-ground in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, originally, perhaps, called *הגלגלות אדם*, *hegolgoth Adam*, *the skulls of men*, absurdly interpreted, *the skull of Adam*. In all events, if either we, or our correspondent, be right in our explanation of the origin of the tale concerning *Adam's skull*, it is more probable, that the place called *the skulls of men*, was that described by Dr Clarke as containing so many sepulchres, than that the spot, pointed out by the monks as the repository of *Adam's skull*, should be the true Calvary. But the words of St Mark are, we think, decisive in favour of Dr Clarke's opinion—and *laid him in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock*. This answers exactly to the description of the ancient tombs excavated in the rock, in the place where Dr Clarke has fixed the position of Calvary. The supposed Holy Sepulchre, over which Helena built a church, is a grotto above ground, according to Shaw; who says, that the empress cut away the rock round about it. How did Dr Shaw know that? In the mean time, it must be admitted, that this supposed tomb, as it exists at present, corresponds in no way with the words of the Evangelist. We trust, that some future traveller, with the honesty of M. Chevalier, and with the judgment of M. Chateaubriand, will soon relieve us from our perplexity, and ascertain, beyond the reach of further cavil, the true position of this most venerable spot.

We shall now transcribe the description which Dr Clarke gives of Jerusalem, as he surveyed it from the Mount of Olives.

'Leaving the mountain where all these sepulchres are hewn, and regaining the road which conducts towards the east, into the Valley of Jehosaphat, we passed the *Fountain Siloa*, and a white mulberry-tree which is supposed to mark the spot where the *Oak Rogel* stood. Hence we ascended to the summit of the MOUNT OF OLIVES; passing, in our way, a number of Hebrew tombs. The Arabs upon the top of this mountain are to be approached with caution, and with a strong guard. Here indeed we stood upon holy ground; and it is a question, which might reasonably be proposed to Jew, Christian, or Mahometan, whether, in reference to the history of their respective

nations, it be possible to attain a more interesting place of observation. So commanding is the view of Jerusalem afforded in this situation, that the eye roams over all the streets, and around the walls, as if in the survey of a plan or model of the city. The most conspicuous object is the Mosque, erected upon the site and foundations of the Temple of Solomon: this edifice may perhaps be considered as the finest specimen of Saracenic architecture which exists in the world. But this view of Jerusalem serves to strengthen the objections urged against the prevailing opinion concerning the topography of the ancient city. D'Anville believed that ancient and modern Jerusalem were very similarly situated; that by excluding what is now called Calvary, and embracing the whole of what is, now called Mount Sion, we should have an area equal in extent to the space which was occupied by the walls and buildings before the destruction of the Holy City by Vespasian and Titus. But this is by no means true: a spectator upon the Mount of Olives, who looks down upon the space enclosed by the walls of Jerusalem in their present state, as they have remained since they were restored in the sixteenth century by Solyman the son of Selim, and perhaps have existed from the time of Adrian, must be convinced that, instead of covering two conspicuous hills, Jerusalem now occupies one eminence alone; namely, that of Moriah, where the Temple stood of old, and where, like a Phoenix that hath arisen from the ashes of its parent, the famous Mosque of Omar is now situated. It is probable that the whole of Mount Sion has been excluded; and that the mountain covered by ruined edifices, whose base is perforated by antient sepulchres, and separated from Mount Moriah by the deep trench, or Tyropæon, extending as far as the Fountain Siloa, towards the eastern valley, is, in fact, that eminence which was once surmounted by the "bulwarks, towers, and regal buildings" of the House of David. There seems to be no other method of reconciling the accounts which antient authors give of the space occupied by the former city; these in no wise correspond with its present appearance: And the strange temerity which endeavours to warp the text of an historian, so as to suit existing prejudices, and the interests of a degrading superstition, cannot surely be too eagerly scouted by every friend of truth and science. Eusebius allows a distance of twenty-seven stadia, or three miles and three furlongs, for the circumference of the antient city. The circuit of the modern town does not exceed two miles and a half, or twenty stadia, according to the measure of Eusebius. We cannot, therefore, without including this mountain, embrace an area sufficiently extensive even for the dimensions afforded by Eusebius. But supposing that the antient *Cryptæ*, described at the conclusion of the preceding Chapter, do mark the position of the regal sepulchres, in the midst of the vast cemetery of the antient Jews, where the Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea was also possibly situated, then it will appear evident, that the mountain standing to the south of that deep trench or valley, which Sandys has described as the Valley of Ge-

hinnom, (where the sepulchres appear which now exhibit, in so many instances, the words of an inscription, *THC AFIAC CIWN*), was, in fact, Mount Sion; opposed, upon the south, to Moriah, and divided from it by this valley. That the summit of this mountain was formerly included within the walls of the ancient city, the remains upon it, at this hour, not only of walls, but of sumptuous edifices, seem forcibly to demonstrate. In this view of the subject, the topography of the city seems more reconcilable with ancient documents. The present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and all the trumpery attached to it, will, it is true, be thrown into the back ground; but the Sepulchres of the Kings of Judah, so long an object of research, do then become a prominent object in the plan: the possible site of our Saviour's Tomb may be denoted; and

—Silva's brook, that flowed

Fast by the Oracle of God—

will continue in the situation assigned for it by Christian writers of every sect and denomination, since the age of the Apostles, and earliest Fathers of the Church.' p. 571-576.

This long citation will prove, that our author can describe, both with truth and with elegance, the scenes which he has visited. In some other instances, in which it is evident that his style is more ambitious, the effect, we think, has been less happy. We know not, however, how the following sentence, in the passage which we have quoted, has been received by the Doctors of Cambridge. 'Jerusalem now occupies one eminence alone, namely, that of Moriah, where the temple stood of old, and where, like a Phoenix that hath arisen from the ashes of its parent; the famous Mosque of Omar is now situated.' This is prettily said; and yet our orthodox feelings are a little disturbed, when we are reminded by a metaphor, that a Mahometan mosque could arise out of the ruins of the temple of Jehovah, as a Phoenix is fancied to arise out of the ashes of its parent. If his readers did not know the truth, and were not aware of the Doctor's orthodoxy, they might suspect that he meant to say, that one seat of superstition had arisen out of the ruins of another. We are well assured, that this could never have been his intention; and it was chiefly in order to prevent any such mistake, that we have taken notice of our author's ingenious, but rather ambiguous metaphor.

After the war which Dr Clarke had been waging with traditions at Jerusalem, we were a little surprised to find him giving implicit credit to the tradition concerning *the Cave of the Nativity* at Bethlehem. St Luke tells us, that the heavenly infant was laid in the manger (*ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ*), because there was no room for them in the inn. Christ, then, was probably born in a stable, and not in the cave which, according to Jerom, was consecrated to the worship of Adonis, or the Sun, in the time of Adrian.

Our author deserves more applause for endeavouring to dispel the darkness which has hung for so many ages over the natural *phænomena* of Judea. The visionary tales, as false as they are extravagant, which have been told concerning the lake *Asphaltites*, would fill a volume. Dr Clarke has briefly, but conclusively, exposed their absurdity.

From Bethlehem our author proceeded by Rama to Joppa, or Japha; where, according to tradition (always tradition!) Noah built his ark. 'Pliny,' says Dr Clarke, 'describes Joppa 'as older than the deluge.' *Joppe Phœnicum, antiquior terrarum inundatione*. Did Pliny mean the universal deluge as described in Genesis? We should think *not*.

Dr Clarke returned by sea from Joppa to Acre; and here his narrative closes. We have already extended this article to such a length, that we must be very brief while we speak of the general merits of the work before us, and while we make a few remarks upon its defects.

That Dr Clarke possesses qualifications which entitle him to the notice of the public, both as an observer, and as a writer, will scarcely be denied by those who have perused his former volume; and we are led to think, that his claims to attention will lose nothing by the appearance of that which we have been considering. It is not to be expected, however, that in a volume of seven hundred pages *in quarto*, there should not be many inequalities; and that faults, both in the manner and in the matter, should not occasionally meet the eye of the critic. Those authors are rare, who always say what is agreeable, or wise, and to whom we never fail to listen with instruction or delight. Dr Clarke possesses much general knowledge, which he employs without pedantry, and displays without ostentation; nor does he often fatigue attention, by dwelling too long, or too minutely, upon any subject. We have, indeed, seldom met with a traveller, whose descriptions are more lively, or who presents objects more distinctly to the mental eye; but we have sometimes also had to observe, and to censure, his want of method, the faults of his language, and the imperfections of his style. His pictures, it is true, are generally spirited compositions—full of character and animation; and he paints with the ease and the rapidity, if not always with the skill and the grace, of a master. But (to continue the metaphor) his colouring is occasionally too gaudy—his lights too glaring—and his shadows too dark.

ART. VII. *An Historical Sketch of the Last Years of the Reign of Gustavus the 4th, Adolphus, late King of Sweden, including a Narrative of the Causes, Progress, and Termination of the late Revolution: And an Appendix, containing Official Documents, Letters, and Minutes of Conversations between the late King and Lieut. Gen. Sir John Moore, Gen. Brune, &c. &c.* Translated from the Swedish. 8vo. pp. 384. Cawthorn. London. 1812.

THIS is altogether a very singular work. It undoubtedly must be regarded as the defence of the party which dethroned the late King of Sweden; and there can be as little question that it appears, if not under the patronage, at least by the connivance of the present government. Those for whom it professes to speak, and those who have permitted, and therefore approved of, its publication, are Royalists by profession, if not in principle. The former were at all times friends of the monarchy—and courtiers; the latter may be supposed to have something of the zeal of new converts—converts, too, who have adopted a faith singularly beneficial to themselves. Yet does this book abound in the very purest principles of resistance, urged in their most unpalatable form, because illustrated by recent examples. ‘The following pages,’ says its author, ‘are principally addressed to the present times, in order to dissipate groundless prepossessions, and to prove, that the causes of the great events which they have witnessed, are not to be sought for in deep-laid and long-concerted plans, but in the criminal abuse of power and inordinate ambition.’

‘It is entreated that the reader will determine with himself, whether he consider it to be the duty of a King to prefer the welfare of his people to every other consideration, or the duty of the people to disregard the obvious interests of their country, and to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to the personal resentments of their monarch. Should any one be of the latter opinion, let him not peruse the following work: the sentiments which it contains must be to him unintelligible,—and we think it unnecessary to undertake to prove what no despot has yet ventured openly to deny.’ p. 3. & 4.

Now, we certainly are not ‘of the latter opinion.’ On the contrary, we consider the principle of resistance as the very corner-stone of free governments;—as that on which they are founded, and which keeps them standing. It requires to be kept, indeed, in its proper place. It is one of the more delicate topics of political discussion;—it is, as Mr Fox was wont to say, a doctrine that ought to be preached rather to kings

than to their subjects; and for this reason, we should hold the task of defining lawful resistance, and specifying the cases to which it should be applied, to be one attended both with extreme difficulty, and much real mischief. But the general position may safely be maintained, that there are acts of the rulers which make resistance a duty. What those acts are, it would indeed be dangerous to settle by any general reasoning:—But as often as cases occur which may be thought to justify resistance, there can be no harm in discussing them, with the view of ascertaining whether they do so or not. Now, the reign of the late King of Sweden has been supposed to furnish an example of this kind; and the real object of the work before us is to prove, by a detail of facts, that the conduct of that monarch called upon his subjects to depose him. Into this inquiry we may at the present moment safely enter. Like all sovereigns who have ceased to be kings *de facto*, Gustavus has lost his admirers and followers;—he is no longer the ‘real opposer of Buonaparte,’ and the ‘liberator of Europe.’ The innumerable eyes which four years ago were turned towards him, cannot now discern whereabouts he has taken shelter;—and instead of being ready to tear us in pieces for whispering any thing to his disadvantage, as all the monopolists of profitable loyalty would have been at that time, we doubt not they are now as careless as they are ignorant, whether he was justly or unjustifiably dethroned; and it is notorious, that they have long ago transferred their hopes and admiration to an upstart general of Buonaparte, who drove the ‘magnanimous Hero of the North’ from the kingdom of his ancestors.

There seems to be no reason for doubting the authenticity of this work. The publisher, we presume, has a copy of the original Swedish, and can prove it to have been published in Stockholm. He infers, from the state of the press there, that it must have come out under the auspices of the government whose defence it espouses,—though composed in language often very unlike that which might be expected from the court of an absolute monarch. The bulk of the facts contained in it, however, do by no means belong to the class of secret history: And the Appendix of original documents, which, it seems, in the original, was very large, contained, for the most part, papers which had publicly appeared in other countries, and is therefore reduced greatly in the translation. One fact is stated in the prefatory advertisement, which must rest on the authority of the anonymous translator, or of his publisher, that the Act of Abdication was composed by Gustavus IV. himself; and that the accounts of his interviews with General Moore and General Brune were corrected by his own hand. It is a statement of some moment,

and should unquestionably have been better authenticated, at least by a reference to some name.

This work opens with reflexions, or rather references to facts, respecting the share taken by Gustavus in the war which was preparing almost from the conclusion of the treaties of Luneville and Amiens. No power in Europe, it is justly observed, had so little interest as Sweden in the renewal of hostilities; and none was so little adapted, by situation and circumstances, to take any share in them. She had perhaps some interest, though not of a very honourable kind, in the renewal of a maritime war between the other states; but by this she could only gain as long as she remained neutral herself. To count upon her gaining by the Continental war, would have been ridiculous; but no man of common sense could pretend that she had the smallest chance of doing any thing else than expose herself to contempt, as well as certain loss, and the greatest risk of destruction, by affecting to take a part in the quarrels of the greater powers. A prince of ordinary prudence would have taken these obvious points into his consideration. But they chiefly related to the interests of the kingdom,—and the neglect of them must, in the first instance, ruin his country:—and therefore Gustavus foolishly thought they were below his notice—forgetting that his own ruin could not long be delayed after his people should be undone. His motives for interfering in the affairs of Germany, were all personal and selfish. He was desirous, we are told, and *all* his state papers prove it, of humbling a person, who, from a private station, had ‘dared to aspire to sovereignty:’ He was in hopes ‘of sharing in the glory of restoring the family of the Bourbons;’ and he expected the same success that attended his illustrious ancestor, whom he resembled literally in nothing but the name. The present publication is peculiarly delicate in one respect; it begins no earlier than the subject requires. Every one acquainted with the Swedish history, from the period when the regency of the Duke of Sudermania (the present King) ended, must be aware, that if personal attack had been the object of the work; or even if, in prosecuting its real design—the vindication of Gustavus’s expulsion—great pains had not been taken to give only those things which were necessary for proving the case, a vast deal of condemnatory matter might easily have been collected, and would greatly have assisted the defence of the party opposed to the unhappy Prince.

Having been seized with the silly desire of making a parade of warlike measures (for it never seems to have gone much beyond this point), he hurried away to Germany in July 1803, and remained there about a year and a half. The total neglect of

his kingdom during this period, is all that is laid to his charge by the authors of the work before us. They abstain from any account of his conduct while rambling up and down the German courts, where it is very well known he only exposed himself to ridicule by his extravagant pretensions—his unavailing personal abuse of Buonaparte, whom he always treated with contempt—and his little pertinacious squabbles about matters of etiquette. He then, unfortunately, made himself personally known to almost all the statesmen, who might otherwise have only communicated with him through some judicious and able negociators. Indeed, from what has been seen of Princes in modern times, one is frequently tempted to think them of the class of persons who gain extremely by making themselves scarce. However, Gustavus thought otherwise; and having no small idea of his military genius, as well as political acumen, he used to treat all the coteries of Germany with his resolutions to destroy Buonaparte, and restore the Bourbons.

Upon the ‘lamentable death of the Duc D’Enghien,’ (the expression is a remarkable one considering from whence it proceeds), Gustavus instantly recalled his minister from Paris, and prohibited all political intercourse with France. ‘He was even strongly inclined (we are told) to declare war against that powerful country;’ and required the aid of Russia and England, we presume, as little auxiliaries in his Swedish Majesty’s quarrel. This fume, however, evaporated; and the French mission was still suffered to remain in Stockholm, until the *Moniteur* mentioned the behaviour of Gustavus disrespectfully; whereupon the mission was ordered out of the country, and all French and Danish newspapers prohibited, together with some English ones—and, in general, every journal where unwelcome remarks were to be found. With his usual inconsistency, however, he suffered the commercial intercourse to remain uninterrupted; and he received constant irritation from the forbearance of the French government, under all his little ebullitions; for he construed it, nor was he much mistaken, into a sign of contempt. In truth, he was treated as a child by all parties; for all were aware of his imbecility, and only smiled at his own seeming ignorance of it.

Unhappily this royal personage was not a child (in power of doing mischief at least) in his own country. Buonaparte assumed the title of Emperor; the King of Prussia recognized it, and sent him the order of the Black Eagle; and Gustavus, indignant at having so low a fellow for his associate in the order, lost not a moment in sending back his own to Berlin. This led to the recal of the Prussian mission from Sweden. The

Emperor Alexander having sent to Stockholm the badge of a Swedish order, worn by Paul, Gustavus refused to receive it because the bearer was not of a sufficient rank. He likewise sent back a Russian minister who was travelling through Sweden; and, by way of a conquest and extension of territory, he painted with the Swedish colours, the Russian side of a bridge on the frontiers of Finland. The Russian government took offence at this piece of decoration, and a considerable sum was spent in putting Swedish Finland in a state of defence: But in the end, Russia thought it better to let Gustavus have his own way; and, instead of making war, concluded a treaty with him, in which it would be hard to determine whether the two high contracting parties showed most folly or criminality in neglecting the obvious interests of their respective subjects. The chief stipulation was, that the King of Sweden should command a joint expedition against the Batavian Republic, composed of 25,000 Swedes, and 15,000 Russians,—and that war with France should be immediately declared, apparently without any other cooperation. Indeed the dream in which Gustavus lived, and lost all recollection of his real existence, or of the age of the world in which France and Sweden were, seems on this occasion to have been extended to the Russian court.

When the negotiation with England was far advanced, and the subsidy on the point of being concluded, he had well nigh withdrawn from the coalition, because he could not admit of any other reason for the war being assigned, than the restoration of the Bourbons. But every thing with this small king appears to have been '*very near*' and *threat* and *almost*—The subsidy was agreeable, and the treaty was completed. Some money was paid for the fortifications at Stralsund; and England was to pay for 12,000 men, of whom only 10,000 were to serve. This treaty was signed during the war in Swabia; and its object was to send an army of Russians and Swedes into the north of Germany. Their combined force scarcely amounted to 25,000; but they had many thousand copies of an '*ostentatious proclamation*' by Gustavus, and another by Lewis XVIII.

The King of Prussia had not as yet declared himself; and every thing turned upon him. Accordingly a numerous corps of foreign ministers, all sent on special missions, were then collected at Berlin. Frederick William was beset by the greatest powers in the world. England, France, Austria and Russia, assailed him unceasingly with the most tempting offers, and held out the most alluring alternatives. In this delicate and hesitating state was he placed,—all those mighty nations awaiting in breathless suspense the fate of their coalitions and cam-

paigns from his resolution,—when the valiant Gustavus, at this critical moment, thought proper, of himself, unasked, without concert or communication, to send the Prussian monarch a letter, peremptorily desiring to know his intentions, and announcing to him that a combined Russian and Swedish army was going to take possession of Hanover! Immediately before the arrival of this epistle, the Emperor of Russia, then in person at Berlin, had in a manner secured the cooperation of Frederick William;—and the Prussian minister, aware that Gustavus knew nothing of this important change when he wrote, and alarmed at the consequences the letter might produce, withheld the delivery of it; while the Swedish minister who had been sent with it, despatched the strongest representations to his master (now arrived at Stralsund) to recall it. Gustavus, however, would not listen to such a proposition, but wrote on the despatches with his own hand, that his minister should inform the Prussian Secretary, ‘*Que le Roi de Suede n’etoit pas fait pour que ses lettres ne fussent pas reçues.*’ This, we fancy, he thought a piece of infinite decision; and expected that it would gain him the credit of having determined the King of Prussia, the world not being aware that his resolution had been previously formed. The Swedish minister softened these expressions, and used them as his own. He was immediately recalled. The Emperor of Russia, too, was accused by Gustavus, of helping to stop the current of his anger, or at least of not having done his utmost to hasten the delivery of this insane letter; and to punish him, he positively refused to command the combined army. He also refused to send any of his troops ‘till he had in writing the King of Prussia’s sentiments,’ and ‘was so much irritated, that nothing could pacify him, till the Russian minister Alopius received the letter, and promised to send it.’

We have given this anecdote at length, because it marks, better than any general description, the kind of man whom the allies had to deal with, and the Swedes to suffer under. But there is scarcely a page of the narrative before us that is not illustrative of the same character,—varying between drivelling and madness, through all the stages of caprice, vanity, enthusiasm, and fury; but never passing the bounds of personal discretion, or exhibiting, even in its utmost extravagance, any symptoms of a rashness uncontrolled by fear. To appear a great man, was this weak Prince’s perpetual object; and to attain it, he was inclined to do just enough to set himself adreaming, and to give a slight pretext for issuing proclamations and bulletins. No better illustration of this can be conceived, than his proceedings on the occupation of Lauenburg. During

the negotiations with Berlin, and after having well ascertained that his troops would not be molested, he approached them towards Luneburg. He went into the most minute details himself, always fancying that he had a universal military genius, though ignorant of the very rudiments of war. ‘The Governor-General’ (we are told), ‘and others acquainted with the country, were not consulted concerning the order of march; and thus it often happened, that the troops were ordered to take up their quarters in villages which were no where to be found but on paper. Thus, the battalions of Guards, and the King’s regiment, were left without shelter on the 26th of November, and in the most dreadful weather. The same improvidence existed with regard to provisions; and those who were ordered to form magazines, were left ignorant where they were to be situated.’ p. 21.

After a delay of five weeks, arising from such miserable folly, the Swedish army were ordered to march; and a body of troops seized on Harburg, where they were commanded by the King to double the customs, and appropriate one half to the military chest. This occasioned many complaints, being directly contrary to the Treaty of Westphalia, which was so constantly appealed to in the Swedish proclamations. It was accordingly repealed, and the ‘measure’ abandoned, after yielding, with much difficulty, the sum of twenty-six rix-dollars, or about 4*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* to the Swedish conqueror. While he was thus carrying on his great plans in the North, that upstart creature, whom he had treated with such a dignified contempt under the name of Mr Buonaparte, took occasion to destroy the Austrian and Russian armies at Austerlitz. The immediate consequence of this discourteous and low-bred behaviour was, that the Swedish army was left alone upon the wrong bank of the Elbe, unsupported by either Russians, Prussians or English, and in the certainty, if it were worth any body’s while, of being surrounded and taken. The English had left Hanover to its fate; and their Minister represented to the King of Sweden the folly of making any farther attempt, under existing circumstances, to defend it. Gustavus considered that this was the fit moment for him to assume the title of ‘*Protector of the territory of Lauenburg.*’—‘For this reason’ (continues our author), ‘he required that the King of England should officially desire him to retreat. It was in vain to represent, that, by this step, the King of England would, as Elector of Hanover, appear to authorise the occupation of this country by Prussia. Gustavus Adolphus had resolved to await the determination of the Court of London, and, rather than retire, expose himself

‘ to an attack from the Prussians, who continued to advance. ‘ The only answer, therefore, which he made to such representations, was, “They may either wait or fight.” He himself had, however, the prudence to retire to Ratzeburg; leaving Count Löwenhjelm with less than 1800 men, with orders ‘ to fire on the Prussians, should they attempt to cross the ‘ Elbe.’ p. 24, 26.

His grand idea seems now to have been the securing his *new conquest of Lauenburg*. So he proposed that he should retain it till a general peace; and had formed a plan of declaring it a Swedish territory till then. He withdrew all his troops, however, except a few squadrons of horse, which he left under Count Löwenhjelm, in the full confidence of the Prussians not attacking them. But on receiving accounts of the offensive and defensive alliance between Prussia and France, and the consequent incorporation of Hanover with the former, Gustavus retired himself, and left his unfortunate squadrons, with a pompous proclamation, that any attack on them should be considered in the same light as if it had happened in the Swedish territories. The end of this strange piece of campaigning is thus described.

‘ The disgust which the King of Sweden had conceived on being deprived of the command of the Russians under General Tolstoy, was particularly manifested on their retreat. Their commander was informed of the position of the Swedes both in Mecklenburg and on the Elbe; and Count Löwenhjelm was strictly ordered to fire, the instant he saw a Russian advance. The Russian army must either make a circuitous march of several days, or pass the narrow neck of land occupied by the Swedes, which in that part was not an English mile in breadth. After many inquiries, Count Löwenhjelm at length learnt, that the motive for these orders was an apprehension which the King entertained, that a Prussian corps followed the Russians; but upon the Count’s being assured that this was not the case, the Russians were allowed to pass. The King could not be persuaded to recal his troops, although the King of Prussia declared his intention of occupying the German territories of the King of England, in consequence of an agreement with France; and although the Russian minister remonstrated against the longer occupation of a country which it was impossible to defend. At length the Prussians took possession of Lauenburg, and surrounded the little troop of Swedes, which did not exceed 300 men. The Swedes fired first; the Prussians abstained from taking an inglorious advantage of their superior strength, and treated the Swedes with the greatest delicacy. The Prussian commanders, in eight parleys, represented that their king did not wish to attack Sweden; and when the Swedes, finding themselves surrounded, attempted to force a passage, the Prussians opened their ranks, and paid them military

honours. After the troops had reached Wismar, an offer was made to return two dragoon horses which had been taken; but the King of Sweden insisted that they should be looked upon as prisoners of war. The English minister declared, that no blame could attach to his court in this affair, or its consequences, as he had often advised the Swedes to abandon Lauenburg, and the Swedes had first fired upon the Prussians. But nothing seemed to exasperate Gustavus Adolphus so much, as the little importance with which the Court of Berlin seemed to consider his declarations and opposition. He had in vain hoped and expected an attack on Pomerania, and would undoubtedly have declared war, could he have supported his declaration with an adequate force: but he was obliged to content himself with maritime hostilities.' p. 28-30.

It is perhaps necessary to inform the reader, that this Lauenburg, about which he has heard so much, consists of two hamlets, of extremely vile sandy soil, and a few dozen of the most indifferent houses or cottages. It belongs to Hanover; but even the persons most attached to that important country, are said scarcely to have been aware of its existence, until reminded of it by the sudden and violent liking for it now displayed by Gustavus (p. 33). He was resolved at all events, it should seem, to retain it; and he agreed to raise the blockade of the Prussian ports, on condition of the Prussian troops leaving Lauenburg. The war, which ended in the speedy destruction of Prussia, was now beginning; and Gustavus, and his armies, and his conquests, were too inconsiderable to occupy the attention of either party. As soon as the fate of Prussia was decided, his first impulse was to send his whole army to reinforce his handful of men in Lauenburg; but the apprehension of Pomerania being invaded, prevented him. He therefore sent orders to his troops to evacuate Lauenburg, and retreat towards Stralsund. But they were sent too late: For these troops had already been obliged to retire to Lubeck, and were there taken prisoners. When Gustavus was informed of their having begun their retreat, he despatched orders to his commander, to leave sixty dragoons in Lauenburg; with peremptory injunctions that they should 'not evacuate the country 'till they were surrounded and overpowered by the enemy.' This notable letter never reached its destination; but it was translated and communicated to the English minister. The capture of the army of Lauenburg (three hundred strong) only served to increase the Great Conqueror's hatred to Buonaparte. He refused all offers of accommodation, although the most favourable terms were proposed; it being clearly the interest of France to remain at peace with Sweden, and no less so of Sweden to be at peace with France. Among other offers was one,

of an increase of territory. Indeed, the interest of France always appeared so clearly to be in favour of augmenting the power of Sweden as a counterpoise to Russia, that the reader will find this point expressly stated in a former Number of our Journal (see Ed. Rev. for July 1807), where we suggested the probability of the two countries not remaining long hostile, and of Sweden being won over by an accession of territory, or a restoration, to speak more properly, of his former dominions. We did not certainly calculate on Gustavus persisting so long in his ineffectual schemes, nor on the catastrophe to which his obstinacy led.

As it turned out, however, the destruction of Prussia only made Gustavus resolve to prosecute the restoration of the Bourbons with new vigour; and as the English Ministers had at length discovered that they had to do with one, who, to use the language of our author, 'whatever were his accomplishments, was at least no hero,'—one who 'did not possess science to command, or courage to share the danger of the field,'—they refused to increase the subsidy. Gustavus, however, was a financier, as well as a warrior. He now chose to consider himself as having a claim upon Russia; and he stopt the Russian subsidy, then at Gottenburgh, on its way from England to St Petersburg. In the mean time, the French seemed resolved not to attack Pomerania, let Gustavus do his utmost to irritate them. They barely took a position within the frontier,—endeavoured to negotiate,—were refused,—and then offered an armistice, and to withdraw their forces. Every proposal was rejected with contempt. But the Hero of Lauenberg did not venture actually to attack them. They withdrew of themselves; and he then made a sort of attempt on their rear guard; took a few prisoners and stores, with an hospital; and, elated with his triumph, ordered *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches. The French being thus compelled to chastise him, turned round upon the Swedes and defeated them,—after a most gallant resistance by that brave army, who only wanted a chief of talents and courage to show themselves worthy of their descent;—and thus an armistice was forced on them, whether their ridiculous King would or no. There were various opinions and doubts as to this truce. Some criticized the terms of it; others regretted it had not, in the delicate state of the war, been delayed a short time. The Russians predicted the fall of Colberg as likely to follow; the English were discontented with it; but Gustavus, consistent to the last, was only offended at the instrument calling Napoleon Emperor and King. He ordered the words not to be used in the Swedish papers, and made his general inform the French

Marshal, that such expressions would not be tolerated in any future transaction.

We cannot afford room for attending so closely on the steps of this infatuated Prince, during the remaining part of his reign. The contemplation of folly, and unsupported extravagant pretension is, when long continued, a very disgusting task. We shall therefore content ourselves with selecting some traits not hitherto sufficiently noted by the public in his character and conduct.

The work before us, repeatedly, and without any hesitation, charges him with a deficiency of personal courage; nor is there any passage in his life, as far as the world are aware of, which tends to refute the charge. This must certainly be esteemed a circumstance of some weight, considering the opportunities which he had of exposing himself to danger, if not of signalizing himself. The following note relates to this subject.

‘During the retreat, the King sent to General Brune and proposed an armistice:—The General answered, that as the war had not yet lasted thirty-six hours, such a proposal was rather premature from one who aspired to imitate Charles XII.

‘Gustavus Adolphus was the first who reached Stralsund, and had not been exposed to the possibility of danger; yet he endeavoured to persuade some people that he had received a contusion in the leg from a musket-ball; and, as a proof of the fact, he exhibited a red spot on his leg, and a corresponding blemish on his boot, which refused to receive the usual polish. This story was sanctioned by the authority of an officious surgeon; but as it seemed to make little impression, it was soon forgotten.’ p. 57, 58.

His strange enthusiasm is said to have assumed the form of religious fanaticism. He got hold of a Commentary on the Revelations, which seems to have turned his brain. He persuaded himself that the letters of Buonaparte’s name composed the mystic number 666, the number of the Beast; that Napoleon was therefore the Beast whose dominion should be of short duration, and for whose discomfiture he himself was the chosen instrument of Providence. He was very particular in his directions to his ministers, &c. that his name should be written *Neapoleon*, because this spelling was required to support the calculation. He ordered one day 888 oaks to be cut down for the navy, in the royal park; and people were a good deal puzzled to find what might be the reason for this MEASURE, till they found in the Commentary that 888 is stated as a sacred number. When a Russian Prince was sent to treat with him at his *palace* of Lauenberg, he favoured him with the Apocalypse, and afterwards sent him a letter to Berlin containing nothing but a chapter on the Beast, translated into French from the Swedish Bible; and when he was reminded of the risk he ran in ordering the troops at Rugen to fire on the English, he answered, that nothing

could happen without the permission of Heaven. He also openly relied on supernatural assistance when the French unopposed were making their approaches to destroy Stralsund. With all this fanaticism he had so little of the real spirit of religion, that he was induced to listen to certain plans much against his will, merely because, from hatred to Denmark, he anxiously desired the success of the expedition to Copenhagen; and after the English convention had settled the evacuation of Zealand, he proposed as a very *honourable* mode of executing it, that the army should pass over to Scania, and from thence again invade the Island.

As soon as the treaty of Tilsit had put an end to the war in Germany and Poland, it might have been expected that Gustavus would undertake some enterprise, single-handed, against all the Continent;—but he contented himself with getting into a passion at the Emperor Alexander for giving Buonaparte the order of St Andrew. He resolved to send back the decorations of it which he had formerly received from Catharine; and wrote a letter to the Emperor enclosing a copy of his letter on a similar occasion to the King of Prussia. This notable epistle, however, was not sent;—nevertheless, in the course of a few months, after refusing every offer of accommodation with France, and cooperation with Russia, he contrived to plunge his unfortunate country into a war with that powerful neighbour, which threatened its existence as an independent state. The events of the campaign which ensued, and the near approach of an overwhelming force to the Swedish capital, though by a very circuitous route, are too well known to detain us here.

To the Russian war were added hostilities with Denmark; and, as if Sweden had not enough on her hands in other quarters, the King, by way of imitating Charles XII., must needs invade Norway. Yet in the midst of all this extended and voluntary warfare, he was wholly without any plan for conducting it; and when men of experience ventured to suggest the expediency of arranging some uniform and concerted scheme of operations, he only replied, that the necessary orders should be ready on every emergency!—The only step taken towards more active measures, was a demand of more money, and of an auxiliary force from England, which the past experience of Gustavus's *wisdom* and *vigour* might have taught our Government to refuse, had it been possible for us at any time, or under any circumstances, to resist the temptation of spending money, and intermeddling to a small extent with a little expedition. The work before us states, that the troops were demanded for the express purpose of cooperating in the

Norwegian expedition; that the English ministry, after much hesitation, in order 'to gratify in some measure the wishes' of Gustavus, agreed to send 10,000 men, on condition of their being under the separate command of their own general, and not being required to act at so great a distance from their shipping, as to interrupt the communication with it. Gustavus agreed at once to these terms; but at the same time sent orders to prevent the troops from landing, until General Moore, their commander, should agree to place them at the King's disposal, and not to reembark them without a certain notice. The notice was agreed to; but the English Government resolutely adhered to the condition of the separate command, and as resolutely prohibited the troops from embarking in a new attack on Zealand, the conquest of which was now become our *heroic* ally's most favourite project. Hence the animosity which speedily broke out against England—scarcely if at all inferior to this wise monarch's hatred of France.

The singular treatment of General Moore was the beginning of this rupture. Upon the wisdom of the plan which sent that gallant and most able person to Sweden, we shall make no comments. Our readers have seen with what kind of ally he was designed to cooperate; and they may probably be of opinion, that the authors of the scheme showed about as much judgment in adopting it, as they did fairness towards their predecessors in perpetually accusing them of imbecility and want of vigour for not having entrusted fleets and armies to Gustavus the year before—those accusers being certainly in full possession of all the passages in Gustavus's life which have now been described. But General Moore was sent; and as it would have evinced a folly quite equal to the Royal Swede's, if our Government had reposed any confidence in that infatuated Prince, the General was directed to proceed, so as to afford him no real assistance, and, without a miracle, no kind of gratification or satisfaction. This was the chief object of the expedition. It was merely to maintain a show of vigour at home, and (in the words of the work before us) 'to gratify in some measure the wishes' of Gustavus. It failed most signally; for the people of England, who paid for it, only knew of its arrival by hearing of its having produced a quarrel with the Prince whom it was sent to gratify; and they therefore received as little satisfaction from it as he did. Gustavus quarrelled with General Moore because he would not disobey the positive orders under which he acted, and surrender the guidance of the army to the insane or drivelling councils of the Swedes. The account of the interview in this volume is so singular, that we must pause a little upon it. Like other great Princes, Gustavus fancied he could carry every

thing by his own power of conference—‘ of talking folks over ’ as the phrase is ;—and he was pleased to draw up, or at least revise, a minute of an interview, which had completely failed indeed, but still redounded so much to his credit as a *talker*—as to deserve to be recorded among the greater exploits of his reign.

Gustavus had declared, that ‘ he never would permit the ‘ English to land ; and that he considered the very proposal as ‘ an insult, which he hoped never to hear again.’ The General, not quite approving of the plan of keeping his army on board of their transports until some symptoms of reason should appear in the King, expressed his resolution to sail for England, if they were not permitted to land. This determination being communicated through the British minister, an interview between the King and the General took place. The matters chiefly to be noted in this conference are, General Moore’s calm and steady behaviour, and the King’s obstinacy and impertinence, even by his own narrative. He plainly insinuates, that the General is acting contrary to his instructions, and demands a sight of these.

‘ *King*.—“ As you did not think yourself empowered to undertake any thing which I proposed, I have wished to see your instructions, and this you have refused.”

‘ *General*.—“ Your Majesty must be acquainted with them, by the communication of Mr Thornton.”

‘ *King*.—“ I have told you that I do not wish to see more of your instructions than what personally concerns me, or is interesting for me to know ; but as, in consequence of your instructions, you perpetually declined my proposals, it was necessary for me to be satisfied whether you had properly understood these instructions.”

‘ *General*.—“ The King, my master, shall judge whether I have transgressed my instructions or not ; and I am hurt that your Majesty should suppose me capable of acting contrary to the commands which I have received. I am answerable to the King, my master, for my conduct.” ’ &c. &c. p. 303-4.

‘ *General*.—“ I have had the honour to have long conversations with your Majesty on this subject, and I have taken the liberty to propose my own opinions.”

‘ *King*.—“ No: you have yourself proposed the defensive system.”

‘ *General*.—“ Sire, I cannot well recollect that. But as there are so many lights in which military operations may be viewed, I have ventured to propose some general ideas.”

‘ *King*.—“ Well ; and I have answered you, General, that it belonged only to me to determine in what manner my kingdom ought to be defended.”

‘ *General*.—“ Sire, I am only a soldier, obedient to the commands of the King, my master : it does not become me to enter in-

to an argument with your Majesty in the presence of other people. I shall with all respect receive your Majesty's commands; and, if your Majesty have none to give, I shall retire."

' *King*.—"Hitherto you have declined to receive my orders. I must also say, that it is from respect to the King, your master, that I have thought proper to speak to you in the presence of others. This affair might otherwise have been misunderstood, and represented in a manner derogatory to my friendship for the King of England, on which I set the highest value. It might have been reported that my opinions were entirely different from yours; that I obstinately followed my first plan; in a word, every thing which has happened might have been related in a manner very little conducive to the friendship between the two countries. I thought it therefore the best method to write to the King, and send him a detail of this conversation."

' *General*.—"Sire, I do not think that it becomes me to enter into any discussions with your Majesty."

' *King*.—"Allow me to say, that I do not think it becoming that you should oppose me in every plan of operation, without allowing me to know the real inclinations of the King, your master. But I now return to the attack of Norway." ' p. 305-7.

The King plainly insinuates that General Moore has been deceiving him; and reads some note of the British minister, which, he seems to think, proves it.

' *General*.—"These communications have been made to your Majesty by the British Government; and I cannot understand them in any way but one."

' *King*.—"Allow me to say, General, that neither you nor Mr Thornton can give any other explanation to this affair than has been already given; and I have too much regard for the friendship of the King of England to hazard its continuance from such circumstances."

' *General*.—"I have served the King, my master, since I was fourteen years of age, and am known to him by my services: I hope that he will not believe me capable of misrepresentation; and in this affair I have no interest to risk my good name. If it has not been permitted to me to cooperate with your Majesty's troops in the common cause, I beg your Majesty to believe that it has not been my fault. I rather think that the fault must be ascribed to misconception of the real meaning of the promises on both sides. I sincerely lament that it has not been in my power to manifest my zeal for the service of the King my master, and for the interest of your Majesty." ' p. 308-9.

The result of the conference was, that the General most civilly and respectfully represented the necessity of his return to England. The King begged him to delay at Gottenburg as long as possible. The General agreed to do so, that he might oblige his Majesty, and await fresh instructions; and he notified also,

that he should proceed to Gottenburg, and not remain in Stockholm. This was indeed announced in the courtly form of a request to be permitted to join his army at Gottenburg. But immediately after this interview, a closer attention to his instructions suggested to him the necessity of delaying as short a time as possible the return of the troops. This he announced in the most respectful manner; stating, that he should still proceed 'leisurely to prepare for his departure; and in the mean time, communicate the orders which might arrive.' Gustavus immediately broke out into the following vigorous and able note.

'Palace of Haga, 24th of June, 1808.'

'This is a new and unexpected insolence of General Moore, for which he cannot appeal to any instruction; as, during the interview, he desired and received my orders to remain with the troops under his command on the Swedish coast, till new instructions should arrive from England. General Moore, therefore, for this disrespectful conduct, shall be personally answerable to me; and for this reason shall receive my commands not to leave Stockholm without my permission, or being ordered home to England by the King his master.'

'GUSTAF ADOLPH.' p. 314.

The British minister of course protests, and sends home a courier with an account of this unheard-of arrest. The King, however, will not release General Moore without an apology: And on being told, that such a demand was out of the question, he said, he did not require actually an *apology*; but that General Moore should use certain expressions to explain his conduct, and should 'finally affirm, that it was not his intention to fail 'in his respect for the King.' And if he had succeeded in detaining our gallant countryman, no doubt he would have put forth a *bulletin*, describing his achievement; and probably have ordered an illumination for it. But, fortunately, the General contrived to get away, and sailed to England with his army, leaving Gustavus to look out elsewhere for new conquests. In the mean time, he was with great difficulty prevented from seizing on all the English vessels in the Baltic, and laying a general embargo on them in his ports; and nothing but the necessity of the subsidy, could have kept him from immediately declaring war against this country. He took an unconquerable dislike to the English minister, for obeying the instructions of his Court, and proposing to him that peace so essential to the interests of Sweden, but so odious to Gustavus, because it looked as if he could do nothing in war. Nor could any thing have appeased him, had not the English Admiral luckily captured a Russian vessel, and sent her flag as a present to Gustavus, who was infinitely mollified by this compliment, and sent it on as a present to the King of England!

Like every truly weak prince, Gustavus was perpetually interfering in all the departments of his government—and, in all, doing mischief. He could do every thing himself, and nobody else could do any thing. Nor would this have signified, had his attention been confined to those things which were suited to his capacity; as the details of patronage, the arrangement of his household, or the dresses of himself and his troops. On these subjects, indeed, especially the latter, he was busy in the extreme, like all mighty princes. After describing his regulations for a levy, the work before us adds, ‘ But nothing was of so much importance with the King, as the *uniform* to be employed; and one of the first orders concerning the new levies, long before they were organized, was to *new-model and ornament their hats.*’ (p. 179.) But unhappily he did not confine himself to such frivolities. After exhausting the country by a rigorous conscription, he took care to charge himself with the clothing department; and managed to leave the men sick and dying for want of clothes, while he was discussing the patterns.

‘ It was at the same time ordered, that the uniform of the new levies should resemble that of the regular army, but without a button-hole in the collar. This distinction was soon found to be too trifling; and it was now resolved to clothe the new levies in long coats. The King being at that time in the island of Aland, patterns were several times sent from Stockholm for his consideration; returned with the King’s remarks, and again sent back to Aland for final approbation. But while the King was thus anxiously employed in determining the shape of a coat, the new levies were left without clothes. The King soon altered his intention of being at the expense of the uniforms; and the voluntary subscription was considered as the proper fund for this purpose. But the sum raised by these means fell far short of the necessary amount; and the King now refused to defray any part of the expense. In a letter from Aland, his Majesty observed, “ that each district was of course expected to provide their own soldiers with whatever was necessary, by a voluntary subscription; and that, if deficiencies were to be supplied by the funds originally set apart for the war, avaricious people would have an opportunity of saving themselves at the expense of the public.” The governors of counties were also informed, that as every county was expected to clothe its own soldiers, no assistance would be afforded by Government. Some of the governors represented, that the contribution was no longer voluntary, but had now become a tax imposed upon the people, which they had not authority to levy. These scruples were answered by another letter from the King, in which he insisted, that the subscription was to be by no means considered as a tax: but the governors were desired to use their influence to procure the free gifts of the inhabitants of their counties. In these altercations the month of October passed away: the cloth-

ing and accoutrements were not even begun till November, nor any part of them delivered before the beginning of December. It is a melancholy consideration, that, by that time, from the want of clothes, and the severity of the season, many were in the hospitals, many were dead, and a few had enlisted in the regular regiments. The numbers of the new levies being thus much diminished, the counties entreated that they might not be obliged to furnish more uniforms than there were men to wear them.' p. 184-186.

Many things were, by way of vigour, despatch and secrecy, done by him, and, we presume, his little knot of courtiers, without even letting his ministers know of them; and their success was pretty nearly what might have been expected. Of these measures was the embargo on English shipping. He had long resolved to make peace with Denmark, that he might break with England; but the plan was to keep at war also with Russia and France.

'The order for an embargo on the English ships was not communicated to the Cabinet till the day after it was despatched; and then the King had already altered his mind. It was represented to his Majesty, that counter orders ought in that case immediately to be sent; but the King said, that there was no occasion to be so precipitate. The counter orders were therefore delayed eighteen hours after the courier who had been sent with orders for the embargo. But the King, in order to conceal his design even from his Ministers, had not required a proper pass for the first courier, who was thus delayed upon his journey, while the other who followed him, travelled with the utmost diligence. The embargo, therefore, only lasted five hours.' Note, p. 169, 170.

When every thing else was going wrong, it is to be supposed that the finances could not continue in a very flourishing state. Their situation was, in fact, as bad as possible. The ministers were afraid to explain the extent of the evil to him, because 'his opinion of the inexhaustible resources of his country, and 'pretensions of unlimited sacrifices from his people, made it be apprehended, that, were other means to fail, he would take some desperate step, either against the Bank, or the property of individuals.' However, in spite of all this care, he took to banking, and proposed a scheme of 'circulation by means of tokens.' Having referred his plan to a 'Committee of Finance' (for they had this among their other blessings), the honourable members were pleased to disapprove of it; and the King being enraged at them, and angry at the difficulties of the times, immediately dissolved them. A new Committee was named; and they having begun their labours (as such bodies are in the very indelicate practice of doing) with statements of distress, arrears, difficulties, &c. the King reprimanded them for so consuming their time, and desired they would set about dis-

covering new funds. Without pursuing further these sickening details, we shall extract the summary given in the work before us, of what immediately preceded the revolution to which they led. It seems that great pains had been taken to keep the people in the dark, as to the real state of the country, and the measures and conduct of the rulers. But the events soon opened their eyes.

‘ Affection for their King, is as natural to the Swedes, as hatred to an aristocracy; and the personal misconduct of the King was generally ascribed to the incapacity of his Ministers. The great political mistakes of Gustavus Adolphus, were little known to the Swedish public: all the sources of information were stopped. The importation of foreign books and journals was in general prohibited: those which were permitted to enter the country, were severely censured; and the liberty of the press was entirely annihilated. Through these and other means, public opinion was yet in favour of the King. Even the losses sustained in the commencement of the war, far from disheartening, rather fired the courage, and roused the resentment of the people; and the consequences of this animation were soon evident in the successes of the army.

‘ But towards the autumn of 1808, the opinions of men began to change. During summer, all the energies of the country were called forth, and excited to the utmost; and then allowed either to remain inactive, or were employed in the most injudicious enterprizes. It now became evident, that the personal hatred of Gustavus Adolphus to the French Emperor was the only cause of the war; and there was little reason to hope the termination either of the cause or of the effect. The soldiers began to dislike and despise a King who expected from them impossibilities, while he declined to share the toils and dangers which he imposed. Some acts of injustice irritated individuals; and the treatment of the new levies excited the resentment and compassion of the people at large. Many patriotic men expressed their conviction, that the time was now come when a revolution was absolutely necessary to save their country; but they suffered themselves to be persuaded that the attempt would yet be premature. It was hoped that the loss of Finland would abate the King’s ardour for war,—that he would himself be convinced of his error, and at last permit his dismembered country to enjoy a necessary repose. But such hopes were without foundation;—preparations were made for another campaign, and the most absurd plans of operation were proposed. The most alarming reports of the intended partition of Sweden began to prevail, but made no alteration in the King’s conduct. The imminent danger exalted in every man’s bosom the love of his country; and it now became the duty of every good subject to endeavour to save what yet remained of the ancient independence of Sweden, and to withdraw allegiance from a King who despised the welfare of his people.’ p. 201–203.

The Revolution was brought about, by a cooperation of many persons in Stockholm, united to save their country from this in-

evitable destruction—and of the Western army. Measures for effecting it had been for some time in agitation; and they were known to so many persons in the capital as to be the common topic of conversation. Yet so universally deserted was the unhappy King, that no one ever thought of giving him notice of these singular proceedings. When a Prince has justly offended his country—when the bulk of his people are ready to throw off their allegiance in self-defence—he is apt vainly to look towards his army, and to expect security from its disciplined fidelity. A confidence in its protection is also but too frequently one of the flattering visions which dance before his eyes, and beguile him to his ruin, while the danger is yet at a distance. But the history of the world presents us with no instance of a *native* army justifying such calculations, or forming an exception to the feelings and conduct of their countrymen at large. The first hint that Gustavus received of the Revolution was the arrival of a courier, to announce that the Western army had broken up from its quarters, and was marching towards Stockholm. We conclude these extracts, and this Article, with the following selection of passages, which contain a very spirited account of the Revolution.

‘ On Sunday, the 12th of March, an extra post arrived with the proclamation of the western army, and a full account of their proceedings. The King was panic struck. In the afternoon, he went from Haga to Stockholm. As soon as he entered the palace, the gates were shut,—guards were placed at the different entrances of the town, who were commanded strictly to examine every person who entered, and allow no one to leave Stockholm. In the evening, an account of the approach of the western army was sent to all the public establishments. The night was passed in despatching the most contradictory orders. All the great officers of state, were ordered to repair to Nyköping. The military were to depart from Stockholm, and one of the German regiments, with some artillery, was destined to oppose the western army. Baron Rozenblad, Secretary of State, was called from his bed, and ordered to raise as much money as he could, by the sale of bills on England; and he in vain represented that at such an hour, no business of that kind could be transacted. The commissioners of the Bank were commanded to assemble at seven o’clock in the morning, and the proper officers were ordered to use every effort to collect the greatest possible number of horses.’ p. 213, 214.

The departure of the King from Stockholm would have been the signal for a civil war—and the preparations for it were therefore calculated to call forth the instant exertions of the confederates to save their country.

‘ The reputation which Baron Adlercreutz had acquired in the

last campaign in Finland, pointed him out as the most proper person to lead the way in so dangerous an enterprize; and he willingly accepted the post of honour. The Baron had a conference during the night with some officers, whom he appointed to meet him in the morning at the palace. He himself, and several others, were commanded to attend the King at eight o'clock in the morning of the 13th March.

‘ The unusual circumstance of shutting the gates of the palace, occasioned some surprize even in the lower classes of inhabitants; but, with those who were in the secret, all was confusion. General Helvig, Master of the Ordnance, was commanded at his peril to have some artillery prepared to follow the King, although there were no horses proper for the purpose to be procured in Stockholm. The regiments in town were ordered to different places to be provided with ammunition and provisions; but were allowed so short a time, that the provisions could not be distributed. Baron Rosenblad was sent to the commissioners of the Bank to inform them of his Majesty’s desire to receive part of the money in their care, and to inquire of them whether they supposed the remainder to be in security. From this message, the King’s intention might have been guessed; but it became evident, when his Majesty afterwards said, that “ he might as well take the money as leave it to the rebels.” The commissioners answered, “ That they had received their trust from the States of the kingdom, without whose authority they did not conceive themselves at liberty to surrender any part of the property of the Bank, and that they did not suppose the Bank to be in any danger.” It was easy to foresee the consequences of this answer; but before Baron Rosenblad could return to the palace, the Revolution was accomplished.

‘ Baron Adlercreutz, Count Klingspor, Colonel Silfversparre, and many other officers, who had been informed of the intended Revolution, assembled in the palace at eight o'clock in the morning. Upon inquiry, Baron Adlercreutz was informed that only four of the life-guards remained in the palace, the rest having gone to prepare themselves for the journey. Little danger could be therefore apprehended from them, and about fifty officers were now in and about the palace, who were resolved to hazard the utmost extremity. The King had before ordered the gates to be shut, and no one was now permitted to leave the palace: officers were stationed in different parts, and a great number were assembled in the room adjoining the King’s bed-chamber. Count Ugglas was first called in to his Majesty. Soon after his Royal Highness Duke Charles arrived, and went in to his Majesty just as Count Ugglas came out. Baron Adlercreutz begged of the Count that he would remain; but he answered, that he had received orders from the King, which he must immediately execute. The Baron, however, insisted that the Count should not leave the palace, as a moment of infinite consequence now approached; and that the King must be

prevented from leaving Stockholm. The Count said that he had used every endeavour with the King, but to no purpose; and begged that any further remonstrance might be offered with caution. The Baron answered, that it was now intended to speak to the King in a manner which he hoped would be effectual. His Royal Highness then came out, and Count Klingspor was called in to his Majesty; and, during the conversation, strongly represented to the King the imprudence of leaving his capital. Baron Adlercreutz now judged that the eventful moment was arrived: he sent to desire those who were stationed at the gates, and other parts of the palace, to be watchful on their posts, and having assembled a number of officers, he entered the King's room. When the door opened, the King seemed surprised, and the Baron approached his Majesty, and began to address him.—He said, “That the public mind was in the utmost irritation from the unfortunate circumstances of the country, and particularly from his Majesty's intended departure from Stockholm: that the higher officers of state, and of the military, and the most respectable citizens, had encouraged him to represent the consequences to his Majesty, for which purpose”——The King here interrupted the Baron, loudly exclaiming “Treason! you are all corrupted, and shall be punished!” The Baron answered calmly, “We are no traitors, but wish to save your Majesty, and our country.” The King immediately drew his sword, and the Baron rushed upon him, and seized him round the waist, while Colonel Silfversparre took the sword from his Majesty. The King then vociferated, ‘They are going to murder me, help! help!’—They endeavoured to reassure the King; and he promised to be more composed, if they would return his sword,—a request which they endeavoured to evade; and when the King obstinately insisted upon it, he was told, that in this respect he could not be gratified, nor be permitted any more to interfere in the management of the kingdom.

‘His Majesty's outcries had alarmed some of the body-guard, who had just arrived, and servants of the palace, who endeavoured to force open the door; but not being able to succeed, they broke the p^r per pannel with pokers and their sabres. At this moment, Baron Adlercreutz commanded the door to be opened, and rushed into the middle of the crowd—seized a sabre from an huzzar—snatched from the Adjutant-General his staff of office, and holding it up before him, said that he now considered himself as Adjutant-General, and in that capacity commanded the guards immediately to retire. After some hesitation, this command was obeyed; and several officers who were not in the conspiracy were put under arrest.’ p. 215—21.

The guards assembled in considerable numbers; and there was a moment when their conduct in this crisis seemed doubtful. The Baron addressed them, and urged every thing that could be devised, to gain their concurrence, or at least prevail on them

to be passive spectators of the scene. But they remained undetermined—and the utmost that he could obtain, was a promise of remaining quiet. If they did nothing to favour the Revolution, they certainly did nothing to prevent it;—and the citizens of Stockholm themselves mounted guard at the Bank, and provided for the security of the town, and preservation of peace. In the mean time, the King contrived to escape from the room where he was confined; and the following singular account is given of the Baron's pursuit of him.

‘The King, through the door which the guards had demolished, saw the Baron advancing, and immediately escaped through the opposite door, which had been left unguarded, and locked it on the outside. The danger, which might arise from the King's escape, animated the exertions of the Baron, who leaped against the door, burst it open, and ran in pursuit of the King. In the next room, there is a spiral staircase open all round, which ascends to the floor above. The Baron, when he entered the room, perceived, on the last step, the King, who threw in the Baron's face a large bunch of keys, and immediately disappeared. The King had so much the advantage, that when the Baron arrived at the top of the spiral stairs, the King was no where to be seen. But, by accident, he took the same road as the King; and, meeting some servants in his way, he was directed by them in his pursuit: but he reached the court of the palace without having seen his Majesty. The King, in the mean time, had been so precipitate in his endeavour to escape, that he fell in the stair, and hurt his arm severely.

‘When the King's escape was discovered, the greatest confusion and dismay prevailed among the authors of the Revolution; and the most terrible consequences were apprehended. Every stair was crowded with people descending to the court of the palace, to endeavour to intercept his Majesty's flight. Greiff, keeper of the King's game, had precipitately descended the great stair, and was the first who reached the court, and perceived the King, with his sword in his hand, making towards the only gate which had been left open. As soon as Greiff overtook him, the King made a violent push at him; but with so tremulous and unsteady an aim, that the sword passed up the sleeve of Greiff's coat, only slightly wounding him. His sword being thus entangled, his breath gone, and his strength exhausted, the King was easily overpowered. Many had now come to Greiff's assistance; and the King, either unwilling to walk, or unable to support himself, was carried up stairs, and, by his own desire, taken into the white room. He was there set down upon the chair nearest the door, and exactly opposite to the portrait of the late unfortunate Queen of France, Marie Antoinette. The King, exhausted with his exertions, and disordered with indignation and disappointment, remained quiet the whole day.’
p. 223-25.

So little disposition did the people whom he had misgoverned testify in his behalf, even under circumstances of affliction; which are wont to appease resentment, and to excite pity towards our oppressors themselves, that 'not the slightest displeasure was shown, and the play was attended by an unusual number of spectators.'—The King was removed to another palace in the night. He there quietly signed an instrument of abdication, drawn up, it is said, by himself. Liberal provisions were made for him and his family.—They were safely conducted to a foreign country;—and they now reside, it is said, in Switzerland, to the infinite relief of Sweden, and to the remarkable confutation of the ancient saying, that there is but a short step from the prison to the grave of him who has lost a Crown..

We cannot close this subject without adverting to a charge which we doubt not will be brought against us by the creatures of the Court. It will be said that we have dealt rudely with fallen Majesty—and have not been disarmed, as we ought to have been, by the present unhappy state of the subject of this narrative. Why have we gone through our task without betraying any such emotions? Not surely because we felt less for the exiled monarch than those who would now insult him with their canting pity,—but because we felt more for the people whom his misrule had for so many years afflicted. Let others confine their lamentations to the guilty,—and forget, in a sort of animal sensibility, excited by the punishment, the more rational feeling of satisfaction at the performance of substantial justice. They whose pity lies in the right place will reserve it for the thousands whom his pernicious career has sacrificed to want and wounds and misery;—and, without shutting their ears to what may be urged in favour of the man, now that he is disarmed of his sceptre, they will rejoice that an instrument of such mischievous power in its abuse, has been torn, or rather gently taken, from hands incapable of holding it harmless.

ART. VIII. *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon, to the Death of Charles III. in 1788.* By W. Coxe, M. A. Archdeacon of Wilts. 3 vols. 4to. London. Longman & Co. 1813.

THE last age abounded more than the present in a valuable class of writers, who employed themselves in collecting, and arranging, and abridging the materials of history; an employment to which mere industry was very inadequate, and which required much more understanding than is often possessed by the pre-

tenders to greater things. At their head may perhaps be placed Dr Campbell, the Conductor of the *Biographia Britannica*, and Dr Birch, who, under the name of Tindal, was the continuator of Rapin. Pretensions to philosophy and eloquence in our times are so general, that few men of sufficient talents now confine themselves to these useful labours. Scarcely any individual has deserved better of modern English History than Mr Coxe. The publication of the Walpole Papers, and the abridgement of them under the title of a Life of Sir Robert Walpole,* was the first tolerable account of any part of our history, after the accession of the House of Hanover. The value of his Austrian history very much depended on English materials;—the extracts from the correspondence of British ministers at the Imperial court being the most interesting, and the only new part of the work. In another respect, however, it deserves commendation. It was the first English historical work which showed an acquaintance with the materials of European history extant in other languages, besides French and Latin. It is true that, even in that work, German authorities are by no means so much examined as they evidently ought to have been: But a reasonable example was set, which has not yet been followed. The present publication is nearly of the same character with the preceding; but as Mr Mitford suffered the last volume of his respectable history of Greece almost to degenerate into an Antijacobin pamphlet, it was not to be expected that Mr Coxe should have preserved his narrative wholly uninfluenced by contemporary events. The thought of Napoleon has obviously pointed some of his sentences against Louis XIV.; and the present Peninsular war has given a bolder and more popular tone to some passages of the history. Of this we of course do not much complain; but as all admonition must be commonplace, we shall perhaps be excused for reminding every candidate for the reputation of an historian, that the tincture of our own times, which is a characteristic excellence of a memoir-writer, is, in a literary as well as in a moral point of view, of all qualities the most repugnant to the historical mind; and that the factious spirit, and temporary allusions, which so much amuse the public, or gratify a party for a few years, are the very circumstances most sure to disgust and weary the readers of after times.

Mr Coxe's book is, generally speaking, composed of two parts. The first consists of ample selections from the French memoirs of the war of the Succession, from St Simon, Duclos, St Philippe, Irvailles, Berwick, &c.; and this part of it, though not new to those who are much conversant with the history of that eventful period, will probably convey considerable informa-

tion to the generality of English readers. The second is composed of extracts from the correspondence of the successive British ministers at Madrid, and forms the peculiar and characteristic merit of this work. The author has, with the most commendable industry, endeavoured to procure access to all the collections of papers which are spread over the kingdom; and his success has been such as to do honour to the good sense and liberality of the proprietors of these great collections. It affords a singular contrast to the splenetic complaint in the preface to the State Papers of Macpherson, who, according to his own account, was refused access to every private collection in Great Britain which he was desirous to examine:—though whether this refusal arose from the age being less liberal, or from the Editor being less respectable, may perhaps be made a question. At the head of Mr Coxe's benefactors, he places the Earl of Hardwicke, whose family, for more than half a century, by judicious collection and liberal communication, have contributed more to authenticate our modern history, than perhaps any other in Britain. The correspondence of Bubb Doddington, who was minister at Madrid, soon after the succession of the House of Hanover, contains some interesting passages; and when connected with the disclosures of his 'Diary,' may suggest some speculation on the causes which have rendered us inferior to some other nations in diplomatic dexterity, and on the inconsistency of the character naturally formed in the intrigues of a despotic court with the administration of free governments. The letters of Mr (afterwards Sir Benjamin) Keene, who resided at Madrid as Consul, Agent of the South Sea Company, Envoy and Ambassador from 1723 to 1757, are the most able, and relate to that part of recent Spanish history which is the least known.

'The late Earl of Hardwicke, who was an accurate judge of diplomatic merit, once purposed to publish an analysis of so valuable a portion of our diplomatic treasures, and thus spoke of Sir Benjamin Keene and his correspondence, in his intended preface:

"Sir Benjamin Keene was remarkable for a thorough knowledge of the secret springs of the Spanish cabinet. The portraits he has drawn are singularly striking and descriptive: And the sketch he has left of Ferdinand the Sixth and his queen Barbara; of the discordant characters of Carvajal and Ensenada; of the means which he employed to procure the disgrace of Ensenada, and the appointment of Wall, is the most interesting narrative of secret history that ever was given in the despatches of any ambassador. He was a perfect master of the forms of business in Spain, and always negotiated with temper, firmness, and address. He never miscarried for want of laying his stress on the proper argument, or misapplying the mode of enforcing it.

"His skill in the Spanish language contributed greatly to the success of his negotiations. He knew how to accommodate himself to the circumstances of the times, and to adapt his conduct to the temper of the court in which he resided, and of the ministers with whom he negotiated. Such justice is now done to the memory of Sir Benjamin Keene, that a comparison with him carries with it the eulogium of any foreign minister."

'To the kindness of my friend Benjamin Keene, Esq., nephew of the ambassador, I owe the advantage of being able to present to the public the information contained in this interesting correspondence. Indeed it was this advantage which first encouraged me to undertake the composition of these Memoirs.' Pref. p. xvi, xvii.

The collections of Lord Grantham and Mr Roseau, have opened part of the secret history of Spain, after the peace of Paris, and during the preparations for the American war. Lord Malmesbury and Lord Auckland are entitled to peculiar praise, for having conquered some of the most obstinate prejudices of diplomacy, by the communication, during their own lives, of important circumstances discovered by them in the course of their negotiations. If they had even ventured farther, they would have been justified by the example of the most accomplished of English public ministers. The whole negotiations of Sir William Temple were published within thirty years of the time in which they occurred. A longer period has already passed since the residence of Lord Malmesbury at Madrid, and almost as long since that of Lord Auckland. It is needless to add, that such communications only are here meant; as are accompanied by every reserve which the most scrupulous notions of public duty could suggest. The Marquis of Lansdowne has contributed valuable materials relating to the peace of 1782; and among the documents collected by Lord Holland, in his journey through Spain, there is one of such importance, that Mr Coxe has published it at full length—the representation of the Count de Florida Blanca to Charles III., containing an account of his own administration from 1777 to 1788,—the latest narrative by a prime minister, hitherto laid before the public, of the affairs which he had himself conducted.

It is indeed surprising, on many accounts, that so few papers relating to modern English history have been published. If there were no other reason for publication, it is evidently the only means by which such documents can be preserved. They naturally decay;—they fall into the hands of ignorant or negligent owners;—they are dispersed by marriage, and by the extinction of families; and, as long as they are confined to private custody, they are perpetually liable to destruction by accident. The well known destruction of the Somers papers at Mr Yorke's chambers, in

1751, (probably the greatest loss of materials which English history has ever sustained), is a remarkable proof of the inadequacy of any other scheme of preservation. Had the most important of these papers been placed beyond the reach of accident by printing, we should now have possessed authentic information of the real causes of all the great events which occurred from the Revolution to the Accession. The remains of classical antiquity were saved, by printing, from that destruction, which all the jealous regulations of libraries rather tended to accelerate than to avert; and the vouchers of our history, of which many are now perishing in private collections, can only escape the same fate by similar means. As long as the most important evidence of historical facts is to be procured only by obtaining access to collections of papers,—as long as it depends upon solicitation, upon connexion, upon influence, upon character generally known,—the means of writing history are necessarily confined to very few persons, and these by no means always the most likely to write it well. They are in a great measure withheld from the younger portion of men in the middle and inferior classes of life; from those who have commonly most activity of understanding, the strongest disposition to industry, and the most powerful incentives of ambition or enthusiasm. Mr Coxe deserves praise for having contributed to throw open these stores, without being influenced by those almost avowedly factious motives which actuated former collectors, and which have thrown a discredit, approaching to suspicion, over their collections. He has not, indeed, in the present work, published many papers at length; but his extracts or references will contribute to preserve, and render more useful, the collections from which they are made, by apprising all those into whose hands they may come, of their value, and by guiding the researches of future writers to valuable materials.

The work opens with a review of the history of Spain from the union of Castile and Arragon; and, like all other speculators on Spanish affairs, the author endeavours to account for the real or supposed decline of that monarchy, though, to say the truth, with not much better success than most of his predecessors. That the Spanish government, from the death of Philip II. gradually fell from the height of power and influence in Europe which it had enjoyed during the 16th century, is most certainly true. Much of this, as Mr Hume has observed, is to be ascribed to the personal character of its sovereigns and ministers; and part of the decline, it should be observed, is rather relative than absolute, being, in truth, rather the increase of the French power, than the diminution of the Spanish.

But that the Spanish nation had declined, is far from being so certain. There seems to be no proof that their numbers, industry, arts, enjoyments, knowledge, or virtue, were less in the 17th or 18th century than they had been in the 16th; and the contrary conclusion is more probable, as well as more agreeable to the little evidence which it is possible to procure on so difficult a subject, and from a country so unenlightened. 'The vast extension of the monarchy,' says Mr Coxe, 'was a principle of weakness; and the hidden influence of wealth produced a detrimental effect on the habits and morals of the people.' Both these remarks are instances of vague and crude speculation. Extensive dominion may, doubtless, weaken a government or a country. But there is no self-evident or universal connexion between weakness and extent. The only useful inquiry therefore is, how extensive dominion affects government in each particular case. It is a question of degree and circumstances. *How* did the possession of Naples, or of the inheritance of the House of Burgundy, or of Mexico, or of Portugal, enfeeble the Spanish monarchy, or diminish the happiness of the Castilians, or the Arragonese. Or why did not these dominions affect equally the spirit of the Catalans, or the enterprise of the Biscayans, or the industry of the Valencians? It is now rather too late to speak of the American mines as injurious. Such notions, or rather such phrases, are the remnants of the foolish commonplaces of the ancient Rhetors; of those times when Tacitus thought it philosophical to doubt whether 'the favour or the anger of Heaven had refused gold and silver to the Germans;'—a sentence, by the way, which occasioned the late Lord Monboddo to degrade Tacitus from his rank as a philosopher, for a doubt so favourable to these pernicious metals. Even those who maintain the equality of Bank paper to silver, and prove either the sincerity of their conviction, or the soundness of their understanding, by enacting penal laws, to prevent the consequence of their inequality, will not now assert that mines of gold and silver are more injurious to the industry or morals of a people than mines of coal or of iron.

Without venturing on a discussion which embraces the whole theory of European history, from the death of Philip II. to that of Louis XIV., we conceive, that, besides personal character, other causes which may be called accidental, contributed to the different fortunes of France and Spain. The Protestant insurrection broke out in a distant and insulated dependancy of Spain, where dismemberment was comparatively easy. The access to the Netherlands by land, was in a great measure at the mercy of France, and by sea it was liable to be intercepted by England,

and by the insurgents themselves, who quickly became the second maritime power of Europe. The religious wars, on the other hand, pervaded the central mass of the French monarchy: a circumstance which, however unfortunate it may seem in other respects, undoubtedly contributed to prevent dismemberment. The Calvinists of each province of France no more thought of separation from those of the others, than the Catholics. The effect of the loss of Holland was perhaps greater in reputation than in men or territory. This first example of a flourishing republic growing out of revolt, must have dispirited the Spaniards, and filled their neighbours with contempt for their weakness. But surely the principal cause of the debility of the Spanish government was the success of the precautions which they adopted for the security of their Constitution in Church and State. To preserve a Catholic Monarchy, Catholic Cortez, Catholic Judges, and a Catholic Army, was the grand object of their political wisdom. Philip II. declared that he would rather lose all his dominions than be the Sovereign of a single heretic. For this the Moors were expelled, and the Protestant heretics were prevented from passing the Pyrenees. The Inquisition, and the Expurgatory Index, secured the Altar and the Throne against all danger from seditious and blasphemous libels. Philip V., who had been taught by Mad. de Maintenon to practise fidelity and obedience to his wives, animated his piety by the spectacle of twenty Jews and Mahometans committed to the flames; who, as they might have avoided death by hypocrisy, must have been among the bravest and most honest of their race. The success of this policy was complete. The King of Spain, justly called the Catholic King, became the Sovereign of the most orthodox, and the feeblest of all the great monarchies of Europe.

We say nothing of the alternate fits of ambition and lethargy to which the clergy of an exclusive religion are liable—of the useful rivalry of talent between various sects—of their check upon each other's morality—of the progressive adaptation of their worship, and even of their doctrines, to the various classes and situations of human life—of the tendency of their mutual jealousy to secure their common submission to the civil magistrate—and of all the other general reasons which prove the folly of labouring to establish the domination of one solitary creed over the minds of an immense community.

But, independent of these general considerations, the Spanish system produced some evils peculiar to the time and the country. It precluded the people of Spain from the benefit of that salutary shock which the Reformation gave to every other nation in Europe,—to those where it was ultimately repressed, as well as to those where it prevailed. It shut them

out from all communion with the progressive reason of Europe. In no other country was this exclusive system so triumphant; for though all sects and states were then equally intolerant in their principles, the complete suppression of variety of opinion was peculiar to the Peninsula. The number of republics and principalities into which Italy was divided, in other respects a great national misfortune, rendered it difficult to carry into practice a prohibition of literary intercourse with other countries. The rivalry of these governments produced some of the usual advantages to learning, by patronages, and by the emulation of a little provincial patriotism. Their jealousy of each other, and more especially their dread of the temporal as well as spiritual power of the Pope, prevented them from combining in active persecution, and even introduced some connivance at nonconformity, as long as it was private and inoffensive. The Italian Scholars, being infidels more than heretics, gave in general little alarm or offence to the ruling powers, and seldom scrupled at any professions of faith, or conformity with the established worship.

Spain alone then affords an example of the effects which this system will produce when it is pursued consistently through all its practical consequences to Inquisitions and acts of Faith. And it deserves the particular consideration of Princes and Statesmen, that it proved as fatal to the military force and political greatness of the state, as to the virtue and happiness of individuals. The progress of all the European nations in wealth and strength, necessarily depended upon activity of mind, and upon the advancement of knowledge. The arts of navigation and war, the results of the most profound and sublime researches of science, can never long flourish where knowledge is not ardently and boldly cultivated by many minds. But where men are forbidden to inquire into that which most interests them, they will not be naturally allured by the properties of triangles, or the appearance of stars. A domineering establishment, indeed, soon usurps a jurisdiction over the parts of science the most remote from its province, and forbids their cultivation. It was no wonder that no mathematician should arise in Spain after the fate which Galileo experienced in the midst of the knowledge, politeness and mild administration of Tuscany. Vauban followed Descartes; and Cooke arose in the country of Newton. A general activity of mind can only be called forth by freedom of inquiry on subjects generally interesting. Part of that activity will afterwards be directed to sciences which, at first sight, appear to be as remote from utility, as destitute of attraction; but which have, in fact, proved subservient to the most important purposes of human life, whe-

ther of individual accommodation, or of political power. The arts of civilized war by sea and land, are indissolubly connected with the active cultivation and wide diffusion of knowledge, and consequently with the free exercise of reason. This connexion may appear to be suspended for a moment by various accidents. Intercourse with other states may, in some cases, imperfectly supply the place of what is wanting at home. The general improvement of the age may communicate itself to some countries only in their military system. Some may import military skill and science, to discipline and conduct their own barbarous population. But all these substitutes are inadequate, transient, and precarious. Spain wanted engineers, because she had no geometers;—and she had no geometers, because she had an Inquisition: She could scarcely even receive the services of many foreign officers, because she had an Inquisition. Her best resource, in the eighteenth century, consisted in a few unfortunate Irish gentlemen; and them she had, only because Ireland had a Protestant ascendancy, and was blessed with Clares and Fosters. The place of the Moriscoes might soon be supplied by the natural progress of population; but what could revive the spirit, the curiosity, the sense of security, the ardour of mental enterprize, which had been extinguished by the example of their expulsion? To make the Church of Spain safe, the mind of the people was emasculated. The nation became so nearly stationary, that, contrasted with the rapid progress of all its neighbours, it appeared to be retrograde. And the Government, which made the exercise of the understanding penal, found itself without statesmen, without officers, and without navigators; and fell into that state of wretched debility, which was a just retribution for its cowardly intolerance.

The character of Charles II. the last Prince of the Austrian dynasty, is instructive; and some curious particulars of it are taken from Harcourt's despatch to Torcy, in the Hardwicke State Papers, and from the lately published Memoirs of the Marechal de Tessé. In his last illness,

—the hypochondriac King was persuaded, that his malady was the effect of sorcery; and malicious reports were actively circulated, inculcating the Queen, the Admiral, and Oropesa. The authority of Portocarrero, united with that of the Grand Inquisitor, induced the Confessor to have recourse to the ceremony of exorcism. The dreadful expressions used on this awful occasion increased the weakness of a diseased mind, and the King sunk into a state of alarming despondency. Still, however, brooding over the apprehension of sorcery, he was persuaded to consult a woman of Cangas in the Asturias, who was supposed to be under the influ-

ence of a demon; and the credulous Confessor suffered himself to be charged with the dangerous commission.

‘The planners of the design were too adroit to be disappointed in the result of the appeal. The sorceress replied, that the King was affected by witchcraft, and named various persons as guilty of the crime. The Queen was irritated by this new imprudence of the Confessor, and even joined her opponents in procuring his dismissal. He was succeeded by Father Nicholas Torres, whose principles were so doubtful, that he is described as an adherent to both parties.’ I. 55, 56.

‘The infirm Monarch quitted the capital for the Escorial, in April 1700, to escape from the persecution of those who importuned him to nominate his successor; and to soothe his agitated mind, after the troubled scene to which he had been dragged, a reluctant spectator. In this retreat, he appeared to regain strength and spirits; and hopes were even entertained of his recovery. But the restless curiosity natural to disease, induced him to recur to a superstitious custom common in Spain, which had been resorted to by his father. He descended into the vault of the Pantheon, to visit the corpses of his deceased relatives, trusting that the intercession of their departed spirits would arrest the progress of his malady. The coffin of his mother being opened, the spectacle made little impression; but the body of his first wife appeared with few marks of dissolution, and with a countenance scarcely less blooming than when alive. The sight of features once tenderly beloved, and now triumphant over death, struck him with horror. He recoiled from the view, exclaiming, “I shall soon be with her in Heaven!” and hurried from the vault. The effect of this terrible emotion on a weak frame, was deep and irremediable. His morbid imagination continually brooded over the idea of dissolution; and he was haunted with the apprehension that the blooming appearance of his departed queen portended his own speedy decease.’ I. 57.

In the contest for a successor, the wretched King was alternately led by the French and Austrian parties; and the principal means of influence over his mind, consisted in an appeal to that abject and cowardly superstition which it would be most unreasonable to dignify by the name of Religion. He was harassed by scruples and apprehensions; but they had no sort of relation to the principles of justice, or the constitutional law of the monarchy, or the welfare of his own people, or the peace of Europe. The fear of future punishment alone occupied his thoughts, and formed the whole of his morality and religion. Influenced by this fear, to which he gave the name of Conscience, he determined on referring this question to Pope Innocent XII., who being an enemy of Austria, assured the King, that by the observance of treaties, and the adherence to solemn renunciations, ‘he should draw on his devoted head the vengeance of heaven.’

He finally yielded to the authority of the Pontiff, after fluctuations which deserve to be described.

‘ Still, however, the court and capital were divided into parties; and their clamorous disputes were heard even in the antichamber of the sick Monarch. Pressed on one side by the French, and importuned on the other by the Queen and Austrian partizans, the debilitated frame of Charles sunk under the struggle of contending passions; and a crisis in his disorder announced his approaching dissolution. With a view still farther to stimulate his tender conscience, Portocarrero exposed to him his awful situation on the verge of eternity; and persuaded him to receive the spiritual counsels of the most pious divines to assist his devotions, and prepare him to die with resignation. In the midst of those lugubrious ceremonies with which the Catholic Church appals the minds of the dying, these divines represented the danger his soul would incur, should he not dispose of his crown by will, and should entail on his country the horrors of civil war. They held forth the vengeance of an offended Deity, if he suffered himself to be swayed by mortal love or hatred; if he consulted the affections of that body, which must shortly moulder into dust. The Austrians, they urged, were not the relations, nor the Bourbons the enemies of his soul; and it was his duty to conform himself to the opinion of the majority of his Council, the disinterested advocates of justice, and the organs of the national voice.

‘ This trying scene decided the long pending struggle. Charles dismissed his attendants, and, in the presence of Portocarrero and Arias, dictated his final disposition to Ubilla, secretary of the Despacho, whom he constituted notary-public for the purpose. The testament was speedily drawn up, and on the second of October presented for his signature. It was read, and duly executed; and being attested by Ubilla, was enclosed in a cover, which was signed and sealed, according to custom, by the great officers of state. At this moment, the thought of having disinherited his family, wrung from Charles an affecting testimony of sorrow and regret. He burst into tears, exclaiming as he signed, “ God is the disposer of kingdoms!” And when the ceremony was concluded, he added, “ I am already nothing!” Two days afterwards, he added a codicil, confirming the will, and comprising some ulterior dispositions. In consequence of his total incapacity for business, he consigned the reins of government entirely to Portocarrero.’ I. 65, 66.

On the 3d of November he died, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign,—with very little more real authority, and scarce more vigour of mind or body in the last than in the first years of his nominal rule. By a will, however, executed in the last month of this protracted childhood, by the glimmerings of his (if possible) enfeebled understanding, he who, if he had been a private man, would scarcely have been

held capable of devising a cabbage garden, bequeathed the monarchy of Spain and the Indies to the Duke of Anjou, and entailed a bloody war of twelve years on the civilized world. Such examples of the extent and consequences of regal imbecility, are no reasonable objections to monarchy, till it can be shown that other forms of government are not liable to equal evils, though of a different kind. But they may somewhat abate the superstitious sycophancy of the vulgar; and Mr Leckie must really pardon us for doubting whether unlimited power was so great a blessing to Charles II. or his subjects, as that gentleman in his excellent work teaches that it must always prove. On the contrary, it does seem to us, that if the Arragonese or Catalans had succeeded in reforming and strengthening the Cortez, and in banishing the secret influence of confessors, the King would have had a good many more chances for the possession of common sense; the people would probably not have been transferred by will like a herd of cattle; and the legislature, by resisting the scruples of a misguided conscience, might have shown more true attachment to the monarch, as well as to the monarchy.

The war of the Succession is the only part of the internal history of Spain, before the present struggle, which is generally known, and indeed deserves to be very minutely studied.

We owe our information respecting it to the multitude of French statesmen, generals, and adventurers who followed Philip V., and to memoir writers at Paris, who considered the history and character of a French prince, though reigning at Madrid, as still belonging to France. Their accounts are in general very amusing; and few parts of history exhibit a more rapid succession of unexpected vicissitudes, or a more striking variety of singular personages. The subject was well suited to the writers who have undertaken it. It was not connected with any movements of popular opinion or enthusiasm; and it was neither attended by any peculiar honours, nor visibly followed by any political effects of considerable magnitude. Some of the generals were brilliant and romantic adventurers. As the war originated in the disputes of royal families, and the intrigues of courts, the narratives abound with pictures and anecdotes of one of the most singular courts of modern times.

Philip V. was more deficient in vigour of character than either in understanding or inclination towards good. He was educated with his brother the Duke of Burgundy, by Fenelon, during the gloom with which the austerity of Mad. de Maintenon's religion surrounded the Court of Versailles, in the old age of Louis XII. His education was conducted by a man

who united the finest genius to the most pure and tender mind, and who may be considered as the most perfect model of the gentler form of virtue that modern ages have produced. This admirable person was aided by a sagacious and experienced woman, familiar with the Court, and with affairs of State, and of a moral character as pure as the prudential ethics will usually be found to form. But their plan had the ordinary defect of systems of education contrived or conducted by persons more than commonly scrupulous and rigorous, who aim so eagerly at the banishment of faults, that they are apt to weaken the principles of excellence,—and who generally at last produce a feeble, timid, useless innocence, instead of the vigour and resolution necessary for the common duties of life, or of those magnanimous virtues which are often mixed with considerable faults, but which alone are capable of rendering signal and splendid services to mankind.

In pursuit of faultlessness, such systems regulate every part of the conduct of youth, with the uniformity and strictness of a camp or a cloister. The preceptor dictates all that is to be done, and the merit of the pupil is reduced to the blind obedience of a Carthusian or a Grenadier. He is trained neither to think or act for himself. Energy and sensibility are so constantly guarded against excess, that they are in danger of being extinguished; and the spirit and social feelings which a youth learns from his fellows, are foolishly sacrificed to the vain hope of avoiding the common frailties of humanity. The partizans of these ascetic and monastic schemes of education, in their pursuit of a faultless character, do not consider that the greatest of faults is to be void of excellence. Wonderful stories are indeed told of the prodigious success of Fenelon in amending the disposition of the Duke of Burgundy, or rather in transmuting a detestable monster into the best of human beings. That much was done, may easily be believed, without authorizing general confidence in the power of education to perform miracles. The chances against the existence of a man so nearly perfect as Fenelon, added to the chances against such a man finding his way into a Court, are too numerous to be conveniently represented by the powers of cyphers: And even he must have owed his success as much to his character as to his system. The same rules, and even the same understanding, could scarcely have produced the same effect, unless they had been aided by that spotless, meek, and yet ardent virtue which was sufficient to repel any impurity from its sphere. After all, we may suspect a little exaggeration in the accounts which we have received of the original depravity and subsequent excellence of the Royal pupil. The

Duke de St Simon, from whom we chiefly learn this marvellous reformation, was a lover of *effect*;—his portraits are all too striking, not to justify some suspicion that they are overcharged. If the young Prince had lived to reign, the truth of the account would have been brought to the test. Fenelon himself seems to have been fearful that his plan of education had produced the faults which naturally spring from it. ‘Religion,’ he writes to him, ‘does not consist in a scrupulous observance of little forms, but in the steady observance of the duties proper for one’s state: a great prince is not to serve God as a hermit, or even as an obscure individual. I must tell you the truth:—the public esteems you, respects you, forms great hopes of you; but the public *thinks you stern, timid, and scrupulous*, and that you have not the talent of uniting moderation with firmness in your decisions. You cannot regulate the Court or the Army, as you would a monastery.’ *

But whether the Duke of Burgundy would have justified the hopes of the world or not, it is too certain that the apprehensions of Fenelon were realized in the case of Philip. He indeed practised the rules which he had been taught, and conformed himself to the lessons he had received in the outward acts of morality as well as the observances of superstition. But the pusillanimous bigot could have no principles or sentiments of virtue; and in those cases of political morals, which cannot be defined by rules, he had no more restraint on his ambition, than those who were avowedly more unscrupulous.

His wife, Maria Louisa of Savoy, who ruled him by his scruples and his passions, was a young lady of no ordinary character. She was Regent of Spain at the age of fourteen; and in that character presided in the Council of State, for several hours of every day, during many months. She is even said to have shown attention, patience, and sense, at these meetings; of which she frankly confesses that she was heartily tired. Her letters are well written; but letters signed by princes are a very uncertain test of the talents of (what, by a convenient American innovation, is called) the Subscriber. Several of her sayings, which could hardly have been prepared for her, are smart and lively.

* Butler’s Life of Fenelon. A judicious and elegant Abridgement of M. Beausset’s charming book, which is too large and too theological for the common English and Protestant reader. Mr Butler’s little volume is peculiarly well adapted to be read by the young; and it is written with such cautious liberality, with so truly Catholic a spirit, that the bigot of Protestantism may put it into the hands of his son, without any fear that his religion will be shaken by a book so much calculated to improve his morals.

With whatever exaggeration her character is represented, she certainly was what we call a very clever girl. Perhaps, in a situation which required bold resolutions and persevering fortitude, more than comprehensive systems of policy, this handsome, ingenious, and spirited girl was a more useful Queen of Spain, than if she had been a veteran politician. She undoubtedly supported the spirit of Philip, or rather inspired him with her own; and the singularity of the situation of an affectionate and highminded beauty—a sort of Royal Maid of Orleans—probably helped to interest the Spaniards in her husband's cause.

The governess who was appointed by Louis XIV. to lead the Monarch, and to rule the monarchy, through her ascendant over the Queen, was the Princess Orsini; a person peculiarly adapted to govern a Court exposed to difficulty and danger; who united the resources, courage and abilities of an adventurer with the outward plausibilities of high birth and polished manners. The narrative of her adventures, is one of the most entertaining parts of the romance of public life. After having conducted the administration of Spain during the war, she ultimately failed in establishing herself as an independent Sovereign in the Netherlands, and in the still more ambitious project ascribed to her, of succeeding her pupil as Queen of Spain; and Philip, at least, allowed her to be driven from his dominions by his second wife, with circumstances of outrage and cruelty, too generally known to be stated here.

His conduct on this occasion, and on the disgrace of Albe-roni, was not quite so bad as that of his ancestor Louis XIII.; who, taking out his watch when he guessed that the axe was on the neck of his favourite *Cinq Mars*, said, '*Dear Friend must now make a sad figure.*' But they are among the innumerable examples of the hardhearted levity with which weak princes desert their minions; to say nothing of the joy which they often secretly feel at their emancipation from the power of a domineering minister. They show the immeasurable distance between favouritism and friendship.

The letters of the Princess Orsini, give us some curious glimpses of the interior of this strange Court.

'Good God,' she observed, to the Dutchess of Noailles, 'in what an employment have you placed me! I have not the least quiet, not even time to speak to my secretary. As to reposing myself after dinner, or eating when I am hungry, they are out of the question. I am too happy if I can catch a miserable repast rattling; and it seldom happens that I am not called away at the moment I sit down to table. Truly Madame de Maintenon would laugh, did she know the details of my charge. Tell her, I beg, that it is I

who have the honour to take the King of Spain's nightgown when he retires to rest, and to give it to him with his slippers when he rises. Thus far I should have patience; but every night, when the King goes to bed in the Queen's apartment, the Count of Benevente loads me with the sword of his Majesty, a * * * *, and a lamp, which I generally overturn on my clothes: this is too grotesque.

'The King would never rise did I not draw his curtains; and it would be a sacrilege, should any other person enter the Queen's chamber when they are in bed. Lately the lamp went out, because I had spilled half the oil. I knew not where the windows were, because it was night when we reached the place. I was near breaking my nose against the wall; and I and the King were a quarter of an hour running against each other in endeavouring to discover them. His Majesty finds me so useful, that he has sometimes the goodness to ask for me two hours before I would willingly rise. The Queen takes a share in these pleasantries: but I have not yet gained the confidence which she placed in her Piedmontese attendants. I wonder at it, because I serve her better than they; and I am sure they did not undress her and wash her feet so handily as I do.' I. 56, 57.

Twice, in the course of a century, English and French armies have contended in the Peninsula for the disposal of a Crown. In the first case the French, in the second the English, were supported by the majority of the nation; and in both, the foreign Generals made the same complaints of their Spanish allies. The expostulations of Louis XIV., at the very beginning of the war, are such as might have been addressed by Lord Wellington to the Regency at Cadiz in 1812. 'I support in all quarters the expenses of the war. *These expenses are immense*, from the distance of the countries whither I send my armies; and instead of deriving aid from Spain in the defence of her own states, I experience nothing but contradiction from her.' The same incapacity for the conduct of civil or military affairs, and the same proud repugnance to be guided by foreigners, were as remarkable in that struggle as in the present. They could neither brook the presence of the French Minister in the Council, nor do any thing without him. The following remarks of the Marechal de Tessé, have been almost literally repeated, during the last five years, by many a British officer who never heard of his name.

'Such is the short detail of the past; but if I wrote as diffusely as St Austin, I should never sufficiently describe by what premeditated contradictions the most faithful have been disgusted, and the most zealous discouraged. I have been compelled to leave at Cadiz, more than a hundred leagues from hence, two French battalions and a regiment of dragoons, because I was obliged to hurry away, and because Spanish lethargy had provided nothing. We shall see what the new reign or government will produce: it cannot be worse than

the past. The illness and delay of the Princess Orsini, throw me into despair. There are many things of importance which cannot proceed till she is at Madrid.

'A few hours later,' he wrote to Amelot, 'and Badajos would have been taken, to the joy of the garrison; because the Spanish troops were unpaid, and the officers highly discontented; because the necessary orders were badly given, and worse executed; and the spirit of insubordination universal.' He pressed for French officers in the garrisons; adding, 'I would not trust a Spaniard, however brave, with the defence of a steeple. They fight duels; but, as a body, and for their country, is an idea which never enters their heads.' I. 187, 188.

In Spain, says the Duke of Orleans, a general must be the chief of his own staff. The very eminent degree in which Lord Wellington's talents for superintending the supply of his army have contributed to his success, shows how little the state of the country has changed; which indeed, in this respect, partly depends on natural causes. General Carpenter, in a letter to Walpole, informs him, that the victories of Almenara and Saragossa are chiefly attributed to General Stanhope, who *hector*ed the Count and Marshal into these actions. In that war, as in this, the capital was successively occupied and deserted by the contending armies. The campaign of 1706 was distinguished by its extraordinary reverses. Victory led only to retreat. A despondency approaching to despair, and from which the firmest and calmest minds were not exempt, was followed by signal success.

'Philip within a few hours hoped to see his rival at his feet, and to extinguish the last embers of a revolt which had endangered his throne.

'At this moment of awful suspense, a British and Dutch squadron, charged with reinforcements and supplies, appeared in sight. In an instant the state of the contending parties was totally changed. The French squadron quitted the road, and retired towards Toulon; the combined fleets approached the shore; the troops were landed, and continued under arms the whole night, to repel an assault which was hourly apprehended from an impulse of desperation.

'The arrival of such a reinforcement, and the suspension of all communication by sea, discouraged the cautious and deliberative Tessé. He overruled the spirited resolution of Philip to prosecute the siege; and in the middle of the night made a precipitate retreat, abandoning his heavy artillery and stores, and consigning the sick and wounded to the humanity of the enemy. In the morning the sky was overcast with a total eclipse, from which the superstitious augured the eternal setting of the Bourbon sun.

'The retreating army had however to encounter more formidable

mischiefs than the sinister aspect of the heavens. They were severely harassed in their march through a broken and impoverished country by the daring attacks of Peterborough and Cifuentes; and being precluded from all communication with the central provinces, were reduced to force a tedious and dangerous way through the eastern Pyrenees into Roussillon. Philip himself arrived at Perpignan on the 19th of May.

‘ A retreat effected under such adverse circumstances, the danger which impended over the western frontier, and the effects which were apprehended from the return of Philip to Madrid, defeated, disgraced, and without an army, joined to the disasters which had already marked the campaign in Flanders, induced Tessé to recommend Philip to retire to Paris. Even Louis opposed his immediate return to Madrid. ’ I. 211–13.

But the obstinacy of the King, the magnanimity of the Queen, and the military talents of Berwick, again changed the scene. Fortunately the young sovereigns were not wise enough to see their danger. They acted with what, in tolerable circumstances, would have been presumptuous rashness; and listened only to the dictates of that extreme boldness which is the only resource of those bad situations, which are just short of absolute despair. ‘ The two armies, ’ says Berwick, ‘ made, if we may use the expression, a *tour round Spain*. ’ It is needless to point out to our readers the coincidence with the active, brilliant, and almost fruitless campaign of 1812.

The campaign of 1710 was equally characterized by its chequered fortunes. But Philip had learnt more firmness from the vicissitudes of nine years; and, supported by the magnanimity of the Queen, he gave more effectual aid to the genius of Vendôme. Even when the enemy were at Madrid, and his troops ‘ dispersed and undisciplined, ’ he asked Noailles, ‘ What permanent progress can they make, without strong places, without magazines, in the midst of a hostile people, at a great distance from the source of their supplies ? ’ The Queen and he declared, that, if driven from Spain, they would emigrate to America, and establish a Spanish monarchy in Mexico. As in the present war, so, in that of the Succession, the nobility gave frequent examples of inconstancy and treachery, while the people generally continued faithful. It was vain indeed to expect firmness from a body of wealthy grandees, who had been roused from the lethargy of those who are educated only to enjoy, neither by war, nor by political employment, nor by the struggles of a popular government. It must also be added, that they could estimate the peril, and measure the strength of their enemies, of which the multitude were fortunately incapable. They had less honour of foreigners; and it is possible that some

of them might perhaps have doubted whether the difference between a Bourbon and an Austrian king ought much to interest the feelings of a Spaniard, however important it might be to the security of the rest of Europe. The recurrence of the same phenomenon in our times, especially in Italy, with the remarkable addition that the people resisted the offer of democratical governments, and fought for the preservation of aristocracies, when the nobles had abdicated their power, may probably be referred to causes somewhat similar. Towns defended with unparalleled valour by their own population, or by very feeble garrisons, are among the peculiarities which have distinguished Spanish wars from the most remote antiquity, in the most dissimilar states of society, and even when the Peninsula was peopled by different races of men. No country can boast such a succession of extraordinary defences, at intervals so distant, as Saguntum, Numantia, Xativa, Barcelona, Saragossa, and Gerona. It is difficult to account for so long a prevalence of this peculiarity; but it may be generally observed, that when the populace are roused to the defence of their town, it will naturally be more obstinate, from attachment to their homes, from resentment at the evils which they for the first time suffer, from ignorance of the period beyond which resistance becomes vain, and from inexperience of the security with which they may trust to the faith of the enemy.

At the opening the war of the Succession, twenty thousand men formed the whole Spanish army, while that of France amounted to four hundred thousand. Five hundred men defended Sicily, and six companies constituted the army of Naples. Every instrument of military and naval war was in a state of proportionate feebleness. The frontiers were unguarded—the forts dismantled or ungarrisoned—the arsenals and magazines empty—the navy reduced to a few galleons for the conveyance of bullion from America—and half a dozen galleys at Carthagea to cruize against the Moors. Yet, in this wretched state, it cannot be doubted that the Spanish people powerfully seconded the French army in maintaining Philip on the throne. And in like manner, the resistance of Spain in the present contest has baffled every calculation founded upon the ordinary means and resources of military defence.

It may appear to some readers very strange, that we should have spoken of the necessary dependence of security and strength among civilized nations upon the progress of science and art, in an article on the history of Spain,—which may be thought to afford a complete refutation of such opinions. We have only time to offer a few hints on this subject.

It must be owned, that in a country with extensive tracts uncultivated, in which agriculture is rude, and affords only a scanty subsistence to the people—where there are no rich capitalists to gather and to store, to preserve domestic or to import foreign produce—where there are few roads and no canals—where communication is so difficult, that the establishment of one stage-coach is boasted of by a minister as a great political reformation—it must be in the highest degree difficult and dangerous for an invading army to carry on extensive operations; and that these results of rudeness present as formidable obstacles to its progress as the most admirable contrivances of scientific war. The absence of fortified places will doubtless render it easy to overrun, but difficult to retain, such a country. The difficulty will certainly be increased, if the inhabitants be ignorant, proud, superstitious, full of every prejudice against those who differ from themselves in religion, nation, language—and whom they are easily inflamed to consider and treat as scarcely human beings. What then, it may be asked, becomes of the connexion between security and the arts of civilization? The answer will not be very difficult; and the outline, at least, of it may be given in a short compass.

Let it in the first place be considered, that the advantages of rudeness and ignorance exist only in the very rare case of invasion. In every other condition of a state, in all other imaginable operations of war, it is capable of being effectually made, only where its subservient and ministering arts are highly cultivated. An army to be sent abroad, requires, as we know pretty well at present, every means of supply that the most improved and prosperous country can afford. A serious invasion requires, or, under the ancient system of Europe did require, a very extraordinary combination of circumstances; and, in a great state, has not occurred very often since the civilization of the West. The position of Poland, in a corner of Europe surrounded by the three first military powers, combined, with the disgraceful and criminal inactivity of France and England, to expose it to invasion; and neither the backward state of the arts, nor the bigotries and slavery of the people, saved it from partition.

To balance, therefore, the security from conquest, afforded by comparative barbarism against all the enjoyments of life, and all the permanent accession to military force, which arise from the progress of refinement, and the diffusion of knowledge, would be one of the most inaccurate of all calculations. And it must not be forgotten, that the same state of circumstances renders invasion more probable, which affords a sort of wretched security against its success. No states but those which

cannot make war abroad, are ever compelled to make it at home. France was defended against all Europe, not only by the ardour of a political fanaticism, which (whatever else may be said of it) could not have been kindled or spread without the use of means which are the produce of a very advanced civilization, but by the general possession of military habits and knowledge—by the aid of chemistry and geometry—and by a line of fortresses, which was one of the noblest monuments of human knowledge and skill.

The most dangerous march for an invading army in the world, is probably that from Damascus to the Persian Gulf; and no power is so secure from conquest as the Chief of the Wahabi. Surrounded by his deserts, he is unassailable. But as soon as he rushes from them, he is feebleness itself. His present number of subjects, and extent of dominion, now equal those of Mahomet, at the time of his death. But the present state of the world for ever confines him to his wilderness. A brick wall stops his hordes; and even the Turkish art of war is sufficient to hinder his progress. This is the perfection of that military security which arises from ignorance and wretchedness.

The recent brilliant success of imperfectly civilized nations in resisting invaders, has made so deep an impression, that it may be necessary to make one observation more on this subject. The contest between Charles and Philip was only apparently decided in the Peninsula. The event always really depended on the issue of the war in Flanders. *Amclot* observes, that if Louis XIV. had withdrawn his troops, Philip must have fallen. Two campaigns more in the Netherlands (perhaps one) must have enabled the Duke of Marlborough to prescribe the evacuation of Spain at the gates of Paris. If the army, of which the bones are scattered from Moscow to the Vistula, had been turned against Spain, what could have withstood its progress? Even now, until the French be driven beyond the Pyrenees, the fate of the Peninsula may be decided by a battle on the Elbe or the Rhine. The greatest military genius—the most brilliant heroism—the most splendid success, may contribute nothing towards our security, but an accession of national glory.

None of these remarks have the least tendency to lower the importance of the Peninsular war in the present state of Europe. Now that there is some balance to the power of France, and that we have *co-belligerents* at least, if not allies, it cannot be doubted that the war in Spain is one of the greatest objects of British policy. The Spaniards are a people who can neither conquer nor be conquered. They can neither defeat an invader, nor submit to his power. Unsupported bands of insurgents.

tearing and worrying the disciplined army of a victorious enemy, have only the power of retarding the moment of his final triumph. But if he be engaged in other hostilities, in such a balanced war as creates a division, and a chance of more against him, such bands become of importance as auxiliaries, and as symptoms of the unextinguishable spirit of the nation; and if the war be prolonged by the state of the rest of Europe, they may become, under skillful officers, the materials of a national army. The Succession war is a period of which statesmen ought now to study the history. It shows the peculiar character of war in Spain, which seems almost to deprive victory or defeat of their ordinary consequence. There is no country in which either confidence or dependence is less reasonable. But though it be true that history teaches us not to despair in the worst state of a Spanish campaign, it must also be owned to be an historical lesson, that the Peninsular war is but secondary, and must generally be governed by the event of the contest between the great military powers.

The adventures of Alberoni, and his imitator Ripperda, give some vivacity to the more peaceable and secure portion of the reign of Philip. One of the sins which most easily beset the hunters of anecdotes, and the collectors of papers, is a disposition to believe striking stories too easily, to overrate their own peculiar sources of intelligence, and to magnify the ability or virtue of the writers, or the heroes of the documents which they have discovered. Some degree of this fault is inevitable, and therefore, most venial. But in the account of Alberoni, we perceive more than the allowable degree of this foible. The spirited and elegant sketch of that adventurer by Mr Moore, had indeed given a very just representation of his character. He was the founder of a sort of dynasty of adventurer-ministers, which formed a characteristic feature of Spanish history under the Bourbon kings. The majority of them were foreigners; and all were suddenly raised from a class which seldom supplies the other monarchies of Europe with Prime Ministers. One foreign financier appeared in France, if a Genevese could be called a foreigner at Paris. But a long succession of foreign princes were raised in Spain by the total incapacity of the noble natives for public affairs.

A remarkable uniformity of character prevailed among all the Spanish Bourbons. Alberoni said of Philip V., that he wanted only a wife and a prayer book; and the same character seems to have distinguished all his descendants. The following picture by St Simon, of the manner in which Philip V. passed his day, will perfectly suit most of his descendants.

‘ At nine in the morning the *assa feta*, or first woman of the bed-chamber, drew aside the curtains, followed by a French valet, who carried a restorative cordial, composed of broth, milk, wine, two yolks of eggs, sugar, cinnamon, and cloves. While the king was drinking this cordial, the *assa feta* brought the queen some tapestry, or other work; and, having placed upon the bed some of the papers which lay on the chairs, retired with the valet. Their majesties then said their morning prayers. The prime minister, when there was one, or the secretary of state, then made his appearance, and transacted the necessary business; while the queen’s employment did not prevent her from giving her opinion. The minister retiring, the *assa feta* brought the king his night-gown and slippers, and his majesty passed into his dressing room, where he was assisted by three French valets, and two Spanish noblemen of his household. Being quickly dressed, he passed a quarter of an hour alone with his confessor, and then repaired to the queen’s toilette.

‘ On the king’s retiring to his dressing-room, the queen rose from bed, attended only by the *assa feta*, and these were almost the only few minutes in the four and twenty hours which she could call her own, and converse on confidential business unknown to the king. Hence the consequence and power of the *assa feta*, who was always a person in the highest confidence; and the importance of these precious moments when the queen could receive or return any message or letter. But as this time seldom exceeded half a quarter of an hour, without giving umbrage to the king, it is easy to imagine with what apprehensions letters or messages were received and returned, or with what precipitation the political conference was closed. The queen then repaired to her toilette, which was attended by the king, accompanied by two or three principal officers of his household, the infants, and their governors.

‘ At the conclusion of the toilette, their majesties repaired to the drawing room, to receive foreign ministers, and those grandees who requested a private audience. When any one was introduced, the queen affected to retire to the other end of the apartment; but the persons who came to be presented, well aware that the king related to her every thing which passed, and that she would be offended if a secret was attempted to be kept from her, always entreated her majesty to approach, or spoke sufficiently loud to be heard, if she persisted in keeping aloof. In all cases, however, Philip never gave an answer to any business of importance without having first consulted the queen in private, or without asking her opinion at the time of audience.

‘ After the audience, the king and queen heard mass, and sat down to dinner at twelve, where no one was admitted but those who had been present at her Majesty’s toilette. The king and queen had each their particular dishes. The queen, who loved eating, a great many; the king few, and these always the same: such as soup, fowls, boiled pigeons, and a roast loin of veal; neither fruit, sallad;

nor cheese, and rarely any pastry. He never confined himself to maigre, but was particularly fond of eggs, as well raw as dressed in different ways. They both drank champagne. After dinner they said their prayers; saw the minister, if he had any particular business to transact, mounted in a carriage together to take the diversion of shooting, which, though the only amusement of the king, was no less dull and melancholy than the rest of his life. A number of peasants, forming a large circle, forced the game into a particular spot, while the king and queen, stationed in an avenue, shot promiscuously at stags, wild boars, hares, and foxes, as they were driven along before them. In returning from shooting, they took a collation; the king, biscuits or bread, with wine and water; the queen, pastry, fruits, and cheese. Then they received the infants, and infantas, for about a quarter of an hour, and afterwards transacted business with the minister or secretary of state.

'This was the time in which the queen confessed once a week. She retired with the confessor into a cabinet adjoining; and if the king thought the confession too long, he would open the door and call her. The minister entering, they again said their prayers, or read some book of devotion till supper, which was exactly the same as the dinner. After supper, conversation or prayers *tête-à-tête* till they retired to rest.

'Once a week, when a public audience was given, and at Madrid always when the Council of Castile was assembled, the queen was able to receive any person of confidence unknown to the king; and it was in these conferences, and by means of the *assa feta*, that she deliberated on the dismissal and appointment of prime ministers, and on the best means of obtaining the king's compliance with any political business to which he appeared averse.' Vol. II. p. 274—277.

This singular race of submissive penitents, warm husbands, and mighty hunters, were all hypocondriacal, lethargic, and superstitious; incapable of business; exerting no energy but in bigotry,—no activity but in the chase,—and no sensibility but in that passion for their wives which was not of the most refined sort. They submitted to any minister who saved them the trouble of government, and whom their consorts suffered or patronized. The queen, the confessor, and the huntsman, were the only important persons in the eyes of a Spanish monarch. Ferdinand VI. is so much distinguished in this royal line, as to have received the appellation of *Ferdinand the Sage*. Under him the Court of Madrid approached one step nearer to the Courts of Asia; his principal favourite being *Farinulli*, a celebrated opera singer. *Maria Theresa*, a princess distinguished by her pride and austerity, neither disclaimed nor scrupled to pay court to *Pompadour* at Versailles, and *Farinelli* at Madrid. Ferdinand partook of that almost insane passion for the sports

of the field which characterized the dynasty; and being complimented by one of his courtiers on his skill in shooting, he answered, with a singular sort of frankness, '*It would be extraordinary if I could not do one thing well.*' His wife, the Infanta of Portugal, though otherwise a respectable princess, was haunted by the fear of death and of poverty. She endeavoured to conquer these apprehensions, by the extravagant indulgence of a passion for music and dancing, and by accepting large presents from her husband's ministers, and even from foreign ambassadors. With this melancholy, and oppressed by asthma and unwieldy corpulency, she could scarcely have been either a very cheerful companion, or a very graceful dancer; and her appearance was such, as to try the full force of those uxorious propensities which the king inherited from his father. M. de Noailles said of her, '*Son visage est tel qu'on ne peut la regarder sans pitié.*' Yet under these circumstances, and though 'without hope of succession, or talents for rule,'—'she swayed Ferdinand with as much power, and even less difficulty, as Elizabeth Farnese did his father,' as far as her 'own timid and irresolute' character would allow her to exert her influence. She confined herself chiefly to placing and displacing ministers, and to increasing her own power by fomenting discord in the exterior cabinet.

Of Charles III. we are indeed told, that he had talents which, if they had been properly cultivated, might have rendered him worthy of his high station. This opinion, however, seems to have been somewhat conjectural. The facts are, 'that he attached such importance to his exploits as a sportsman, that he kept in a diary a regular account of the victims to his skill. A short time before his death, he boasted to a foreign ambassador, that he had killed with his own hand 539 wolves, and 5323 foxes; so that you see,' said he with a smile, 'my diversion has not been useless to my country.' He was too modest to make any similar boast respecting his more serious occupations, if he could be said to have had any which deserved that name. There were, it seems, but three days in the whole year in which he did not go a shooting; and when he heard of a wolf, distance was counted for nothing. The two days of Passion Week, when he was kept from shooting, were the only time that Mr Townsend observed his placid temper to be ruffled; an observation from which we must infer, that as he is said to have been such an economist of time as to wear the same black breeches with all dresses, he never threw away two days upon the affairs of State. Under him, however, the undistinctly uxorious propensities of the dynasty seem to have

been in abeyance ; and his attachment to his wife, had so much more discrimination and preference for an individual, than that of his royal progenitors, that he long mourned her loss, and obstinately resisted the temptations to second marriage.

The discussions which occurred on Gibraltar, in the reign of George the First, are well known. An overture for the restoration of that fortress to Spain was made in 1757 by Mr Secretary Pitt ; and the elaborate despatch in which it was made is so remarkable, both for its contents and its characteristic manner, that notwithstanding its length, we venture to subjoin it. The composition of it is said to have occupied three days ; and it is the only considerable specimen of Lord Chatham's diplomatic correspondence which we believe to have been hitherto published.

' Mr Secretary Pitt to Sir Benjamin Keene.

(Most secret and confidential.) *Whitchall, Aug. 23. 1757.*

' Sir ;—The most important and confidential matter which I have the honour of the King's commands to open in this despatch to your Excellency, and his Majesty's orders and instructions herewith transmitted, cannot but affect you with the deepest sense of the great and particular trust which the King is most graciously pleased to repose in your known experience and long approved abilities. It is greatly hoped, that the state of your health will be found so well restored by the late use of medicinal waters, as to leave nothing more to desire, for the proper and ablest discharge of a commission of such high moment, and which peculiarly demands the utmost circumspection, vigilance, delicacy and address.

' It is judged the most compendious and sure method of opening and conveying to your Excellency, with due clearness and precision, the scope and end of the measure, to refer you to the minute itself, unanimously approved by his Majesty's servants, consulted in his most secret affairs ; and containing the sum and substance as well as the grounds of the King's royal intention in this violent and dangerous crisis.

' Their Lordships having taken into consideration the formidable progress of the arms of France, and the danger to Great Britain and her allies resulting from a total subversion of the system of Europe, and more especially from the most pernicious extension of the influence of France by the fatal admission of French garrisons into Ostend and Nieuport ; their Lordships are most humbly of opinion, that nothing can so effectually tend, in the present unhappy circumstances, to the restoration of Europe in general, and in particular to the successful prosecution of the present just and necessary war, until a peace can be made on safe and honourable terms, as a more intimate union with the Crown of Spain.

' In this necessary view, their Lordships most humbly submit their opinion to your Majesty's great wisdom, that overtures of a

negotiation should be set on foot with that Court, in order to engage Spain, if possible, to join her arms to those of your Majesty, for obtaining a just and honourable peace; and namely, for recovering and restoring to the Crown of England the most important island of Minorca, with all the ports and fortresses; as well as for re-establishing some solid system in Europe. And in as much as it shall be found necessary for attaining these great and essential ends, to treat with the Crown of Spain concerning an exchange of Gibraltar for the island of Minorca, with the ports and fortresses; their Lordships are most humbly of an unanimous opinion, that the Court of Spain should without loss of time be sounded with respect to their dispositions; and if the same shall be found favourable, that the said negotiation should be carried forward and ripened for execution with all possible despatch and secrecy.—Their Lordships are further of opinion, that satisfaction should be given to Spain on the complaints touching the establishments made by the subjects of England on the Mosquito shore and in the Bay of Honduras, since the treaty concluded at Aix la Chapelle in October 1748; that all establishments so made be evacuated.’

‘Your excellency being informed, by the perusal of the minute, of the views and consequence of the arduous and critical negotiation committed to your care, it becomes necessary for your guidance, to furnish you, by the several enclosures herewith transmitted by order of his Majesty, with such lights, informations, and intelligences, concerning either the fatal events already come to pass, or the accumulating of more desperate mischiefs, now meditating, and too probably depending, as will enable you to form yourself, far better than any deduction of mine can do, the melancholy picture of the present war.

‘Though his Majesty is so fully persuaded of your distinguished zeal for his service, that the suggestions of any considerations to animate you in this great work, are entirely superfluous: yet it is impossible for me to pass in silence, that affecting and calamitous part of the subversion of Europe: Namely, the French conquests and desolations in Lower Saxony, which affords the afflicting spectacle of his Majesty’s antient patrimonial dominions, transmitted down with glory in his most illustrious house, through a long series of centuries, now lying a prey to France. And, still further, the fatality of his Majesty’s army of observation, now retiring under the orders of his Royal Highness to Stade, exposed to the most alarming uncertainties, whether even the royal magnanimity of his Majesty, seconded by the valour and ability of his Royal Highness, can find means to surmount the cruel necessity of receiving the law of the conqueror.

‘As it would be needless to lead your Excellency further on in this gloomy track of mortifying reflections, I will only observe, before I pass to the execution of the plan now opened, that the day is

come, when the very inadequate benefits of the treaty of Utrecht, THE INDELIBLE REPROACH OF THE LAST GENERATION, are become the necessary but almost unattainable wish of the present; when the *Empire is no more, the ports of the Netherlands betrayed, the Dutch barrier treaty an empty sound, Minorca, and with it the Mediterranean, lost; and America itself precarious.*

‘ From this state of things, calamitous as it is, your Excellency has a fresh proof that nothing can ever shake his Majesty’s firmness, or abate one moment his royal concern for the glory of his crown, and the rights of his kingdoms. Nor can any events withdraw the necessary attention of his consummate wisdom from the proper interests of Europe, or divert his generous cares from endeavouring to prevent the final overthrow of all Europe, and independency amongst the Powers of the Continent. In this salutary view it is, that the King has, in his great prudence, come to a resolution of ordering the dispositions of the Court of Madrid in this alarming conjuncture to be sounded; and as the same shall be found favourable, a negotiation to be, without loss of time, opened on the grounds, and to the ends contained in the minute above recited.

‘ The King is pleased to repose such confidence in your ability, and perfect knowledge of the Court of Madrid, that he judges it unnecessary to send you particular orders and instructions, as to the method and manner of breaking this idea, or presenting it at the first view in lights the most likely to captivate the several characters and passions of the Court. It is hoped, however, that the Spanish dignity, and natural feelings of the Duke of Alva, may, on this occasion, coincide with the great transcendent interest of Spain, who can no longer indulge the little, false, selfish interest of a lucrative, but inglorious and dangerous neutrality, at the expense of the subjection of Europe, without weakly and shamefully renouncing her wise and so much boasted capital maxim, of reviving and re-establishing the independency and lustre of the Spanish Monarchy. Nor can Mr Wall fail to discern how particularly it imports a minister to embrace with ardour the national and darling points of honour of the Crown he serves. These considerations, amongst many others, give reasonable grounds to hope that the Court of Spain, whatever its present unpromising complexion may be, cannot suffer itself to be surprised and captivated by any alluring offer made, or to be made, on the part of France; it being self-evident that all such offers, however dazzling, can be nothing but the price of dependence, insecurity and dishonour.

‘ I must not here omit, in obedience to the King’s commands, to open further to your Excellency a very material concomitant branch of the measure in view, and naturally springing from it: which, as it concerns so nearly the interest and favourite wishes of the presumptive successor, may, it is hoped, in your hands, prove a source from which your address may possibly derive facility to

your negotiation, and add essential strength to the execution of a belligerent plan, should you be so happy as to succeed in so great a work. This favourite object of the King of the Two Sicilies, conformable to his non-accession to the treaty of Aranjuez, can be no other but to secure to his second son the eventual succession to the kingdom his Sicilian Majesty now enjoys, in case he shall hereafter mount the throne of Spain. The King deems it of the highest importance that your Excellency should endeavour to penetrate the disposition of the King and royal family, as well as of the Spanish nation, with respect to such a contingent event. And I am commanded by his Majesty to recommend the greatest address and circumspection in expressing and touching so delicate a matter, concerning which we are much in the dark, and which so intimately and personally concerns the interests, and affects the domestic passions, of so many Crowned Heads and Princes of Spain. With regard to the Court of Turin, from a situation and connexion so essential to any plan that concerns Italy, it is superfluous to observe, that every consideration dictates an extreme caution and reserve in bringing their name in question, till things shall be in some degree ripening. Whenever that shall be the case, the more the pride of Spain is left to take the lead, and call on the Powers of Italy to co-operate with her, the better probably the views of his Majesty may be answered, in rendering the condition of a firm and affectionate ally, the King of Sardinia, more advantageous to himself, and more beneficial to the future system of Europe. It may be useful to add here, that we understand, on very good grounds, the just umbrage the Court of Naples takes at the dangerous designs of the House of Austria, whose plan of power in Italy is visibly this; to render incommunicable the States of the Kings of the Two Sicilies and Sardinia, by cutting Italy in two; and possessing a contiguity of territory from the Tuscan Sea to Saxony, and to Belgrade.

I am now, before I close this long despatch, to discharge his Majesty's particular commands by recommending to you, in the strongest manner, to use the utmost precaution and circumspection in the overture of this conditional idea with regard to Gibraltar, lest it should hereafter come, although Spain shall decline the sole condition of such an intimacy, to be construed into a promise to restore that place to his Catholic Majesty. And you will take especial care, through the whole course of the transaction relating to Gibraltar, to weigh and measure every expression with the utmost precision of language, so as to put it beyond the possibility of the most captious and sophistical interpretation, to wrest and torture this insinuation of an exchange on the sole terms above expressed, into a revival and renewal of any former pretended engagement with respect to the cession of that place. And for greater and clearer indication on matters of this extreme importance, I am, though unnecessarily, expressly to acquaint you, that the King can, in no supposed case, ever

entertain the thought of putting Gibraltar into the hands of Spain, until that court, by a junction of their arms with those of his Majesty, shall actually and effectually recover and restore to the Crown of England the island of Minorca, with all its fortresses and harbours.

' With regard to that part of the minutes concerning the establishments made by British subjects on the Mosquito shore, and in the Bay of Honduras, you will observe, on the perusal of the inclosed copy of M. d'Abreu's last memorial on that subject, that notwithstanding the generality of that paper, yet towards the conclusion of the same, he expressly gives to understand, that his court would for the present content themselves with the evacuation of the Mosquito shore, and the recent establishments in the Bay of Honduras; which he has explained himself to mean, those made, as expressed in the minute, since the conclusion of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

' I am sorry to find it necessary at this time to mention again the King's great anxiety for the property of his subjects concerned in the Antigallican's prize, which, from the known equity of his Catholic Majesty, the King trusts will receive a decision agreeable to justice and the friendship subsisting between the two crowns.' III. 204—210.

During the negociations of 1782, the proposal for the cession of Gibraltar was renewed by France, and met with a favourable reception from Lord Shelburne, who believed ' that the removal of ' that chief and standing obstacle to a cordial reconciliation between Spain and England, must materially diminish the future ' influence of France over the Spanish councils.' The proposal was, however, ' vehemently censured by Mr Fox and the party ' in opposition; and their disapprobation was reechoed by the ' voice of the nation, to whom Gibraltar was doubly endeared ' by its late gallant defence.' This resistance of Mr Fox might have been ascribed to the prejudices of habitual opposition, if it were not the natural result of his general opinions on national honour, which he once, in language which has been charged with exaggeration, called the sole reason of just war. If, indeed, we understand national honour to denote the principle of a nation who, strictly observing the rules of justice herself, will neither do nor endure wrong; who neither brooks insult, nor betrays fear, and rises in pride as her enemies rise in strength; it is difficult to conceive a greater public interest than that of preserving the reality and the reputation of such a lofty spirit: and it requires no violence of expression to comprehend, under national honour, every object of legitimate hostility. It was natural that Mr Fox should be peculiarly tenacious of his principle, at a time of such weakness and danger as 1782: hence it is at

such moments that wise states are most jealous of their honour; and avoid, with the greatest care, any concession that resembles a confession of weakness. Perhaps the coarse instinct of the multitude respecting Gibraltar, is wiser than the calculations of politicians. The mere fact, that a commercial and maritime people should choose, at a great expense, to retain this unproductive rock as a sort of military ornament, and that they should be able to maintain the most renowned fortress in Europe against all the force of two mighty monarchies, for more than a century; may contribute, more than politicians are aware, to spirit at home, and character abroad. The very pride which the multitude feel in the dominion of Gibraltar, and the horror which they have more than once expressed at proposals to relinquish it, are proofs of its moral value. If, indeed, the Spaniards were effectually emancipated from French power, the moment might perhaps be favourable for soothing their pride, and conciliating their friendship by the cession of Gibraltar. It never ought to be given but when the gift may be thought perfectly free.

We are told by Mr Coxe (III. 298), on the authority of a despatch from Lord Rochford at Madrid, of 17th September 1764, that the Duc de Choiseul, and the Marquis Grimaldi, had formed ‘ a diabolical scheme to burn the docks and naval arsenals of Portsmouth and Plymouth; and French engineers were already on the spot to superintend the design. The two Ministers (for we do not implicate the Sovereigns) of France and Spain waited with impatience the signal of a conflagration which was expected to wither the naval strength of England, that they might renew hostilities.’ An Englishman, of the name of Milton, was said to be an agent; and two inhabitants of Portsmouth and Plymouth, whose names, as far as Lord Rochford could conjecture from French orthography, were Worley and Leynit, were supposed to have promised their aid.

• Mr Coxe tells us, that the periodical publications of 1765 alluded to the alarm and precautions occasioned by this plot; and he considers the conflagration partly executed by John the Painter as a renewal of this scheme. That Lord Rochford believed this story, must be admitted; but a charge so atrocious ought not to be received into history, without much stronger evidence than the anonymous testimony of a spy; which must have been the ground of the ambassador's belief. The attempt to exculpate Louis XV. and Charles III., is utterly ineffectual; for however courtesy or policy may relieve sovereigns from responsibility for acts of State, it is impossible that the French and Spanish Ministers could have hazarded a crime, of which the

detection must have produced war, without the consent of their masters. However atrocious the mission of John the Painter may have been, it took place during war; while the abomination of 1764 was projected in a period of profound peace and pretended friendship. There are no traces of the discovery of the English accomplices; and the alarm and precautions in our ports, might have originated in Lord Rochford's despatch alone. 'The mention' of 'a new kind of fire invented for the purpose,' is a very suspicious circumstance, and throws a discredit over the whole story. Such inventions are not, in the present state of knowledge, capable of being concealed. It seems, therefore, just to reject so horrible an accusation, so slightly supported; and this is most becoming a British writer, on a case respecting his own country, and where the charge affects her rivals and general enemies; particularly as it is repugnant to the character of the age, of the Duc de Choiseul, and of the Bourbon Princes. But if we believe this anecdote, we must confess ourselves unable to match it in all the scenes of the last twenty years; and we are compelled to own, that, in the morality of her Sovereigns and Statesmen, Europe had little to lose by any revolution.

In the Count de Florida Blanca's Apologetical Account of his administration, he claims the credit of having led the Russian Court into the plan of the Armed Neutrality, which was eagerly adopted by Catharine, but of which she soon grew weary, and which she used to ridicule under the name of '*the Armed Nullity*.' This was effected by detaining all neutral vessels in the Straits, under pretence of the blockade of Gibraltar; and by answering to the complaints of the neutral Ministers at Madrid, that if their Sovereigns would resist the similar claims of England, such pretensions would be relinquished by Spain. Whether the account be true, may be doubted. It is more reasonable to suppose, that Spain detained these ships in pursuance of those maxims which she, in common with all other belligerent powers, had invariably adopted; for Mr Coxe is mistaken in supposing, that France had before contended for the principles of the neutral system. No power had more uniformly professed, or more rigorously enforced, diametrically opposite maxims. The controversy is of too legal a character, to be precisely stated by popular writers of history.

The offer of the British Ministers, to purchase the interposition of Catharine by the cession of Minorca, is a fact little known; but the proposal seems perfectly agreeable to the general maxims of sound English policy. The possession of Minorca would have naturally rendered Russia more the ally of England, the

mistress of her communication with her new acquisition; and more the rival of the House of Bourbon, who considered themselves as the lords of the Mediterranean, and who must have viewed with jealous eyes the establishment of a new Power in their own sea.

ART. IX. *Report of the Finance Committee, and Trustees of the Royal Lancasterian Institution for the Education of the Poor.* London, 1812.

First Annual Report of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. London, 1812.

A Vindication of Mr Lancaster's System of Education, from the Aspersions of Professor Marsh, the Quarterly, British, and Antijacobin Reviews, &c. By a Member of the Royal Institution. London, 1812.

Schools for all, in Preference to Schools for Churchmen only: Or, the State of the Controversy between the Advocates for the Lancasterian System of Universal Education, and those who have set up an exclusive and partial System, under the Name of the Church and Dr Bell. London, 1812.

It surely speaks a strange language on the part of the Church of England, that her existence should at this moment be held up as inconsistent with two of the grandest objects to which the eyes of mankind can be directed—religious liberty and general education.

They who exert themselves to place her in this suspicious attitude, do no doubt deny that she is hostile to either:—And when was the time that persons in a dubious cause did not bestow a good name upon their own proceedings? But can they, who strain every nerve to hold a large portion of their fellow-citizens under unequal laws—that is, to a certain degree, to outlaw them, on account of religious opinions, be justly designated by any other name than *intolerant*? And can they, who rise up against the most efficient system for the instruction of the body of the people that ever was promulgated; who first endeavour to prevent entirely any such instruction; and, after that is found impracticable, exert themselves to supplant a more efficient by a less efficient system; in other words to prevent, if not all education, at least a great degree of it, be considered in any other light than that of its enemies?

We know very well, that many of the persons who oppose themselves to the best scheme of education, are men of pure, and even of philanthropic intentions. It is also perfectly true, that the steps which have been taken in the name of the Church, might at one time have been, regarded as a national advantage; and that they are bad, now only in so far as they tend to deprive the nation of a still greater good. But, in a matter like this, a difference in degree is every thing; and we entreat our readers to consider, but for a moment, the striking effects produced by a slight shade of superiority in the moral and intellectual training of a whole nation.

It is not necessary that they should compare a Turkish and a British population. Let them only reflect upon the state of the *Irish*, as compared with the *English* population,—both living under the same constitution,—both governed by the same laws, yet differing to so prodigious an extent in what they respectively contribute to the common good. Let them consider the population of *Scotland*, between whom and the English, though the difference is far less wide, the comparison is, perhaps, still more instructive. We desire our opponents to tell us, in what respect the circumstances of the English population have not been more favourable than those of the Scottish, except in the article of schooling alone? For we do not suppose it will be asserted, in the quarter to which we are addressing ourselves, that the *religious instruction* of the Scots has been better than that of the English, or its Church-establishment of a better description. Scotland was the poorest country. The lower orders in Scotland were a less regarded race. They had fewer political privileges; and the long continuance of the feudal system, had left there a more marked and degrading distinction between the productive classes and those immediately above them, than there is any conception of in England. All these causes of elevation to the minds of the English populace, were highly favourable both to their intellectual and moral virtues; and yet their inferiority to the Scots in both, has ceased to be a matter of dispute. On the subject of its consequences,—on the importance of such a difference, two facts speak a language which cannot be disregarded. 1st, There is no poor-rate in Scotland. In England, every eighth or ninth man is a pauper; and the poor's rate, which was a little under five millions ten years ago, is probably as much more than six at present. 2d, According to the criminal calendars of the two countries, for every single criminal in Scotland, in an equal quantity of the population, you have eleven in England. The account then stands thus.

Violations of the law *eleven times* less frequent in Scotland

than in England. In Scotland, the earnings of the labouring classes are adequate to their maintenance; in England, *not adequate*, by a prodigious and a growing deficiency. These are facts, one would imagine, that might make an impression even on those who care but little for the enjoyments of others, and who receive no pleasing emotion from the thought of conferring a new degree of mental health and vigour upon the most numerous class of their fellow-creatures; while those, on the other hand, who are capable of feeling the value of that inward happiness, which results from a mind lifted somewhat above the objects of mere animal pursuit,—qualified in some degree for the task of reflection,—and open to the innumerable delights which it brings, can require no extraneous motives to ensure their zealous concurrence in any scheme which is likely to confer such unspeakable advantages on so large a class of society. The reader will now be pleased to consider, what is the present state of the fact and the argument, as to this most momentous question.

A system of schooling had been organized for the poor, by which the progress of the pupils was accelerated, and the expense of the tuition reduced, to a degree which far exceeded all previous experience. The attention of the nation, too, was at length effectually excited. Schools, in which the children of *all* the poor were received, without distinction of sect or denomination, arose in various quarters. The progress of the work kept pace with the hopes even of the most sanguine of the friends of humanity; and it wanted only a certain combination of philanthropic men to have diffused the blessings of instruction in a very short space of time through the whole mass of the population.

While this important business was proceeding in this happy train, another set of men presented themselves, who said, we will oppose, and endeavour to put down these schools. And why? Because they are open to the children of *all* the poor, and none are excluded on account of religious distinctions. What we want is a set of schools in which religious distinctions shall form a principle of exclusion. We will establish schools, into which none shall gain admittance but children of Church-of-England men. The rest, a large proportion, may go without education, or get it where they please.

To most unprejudiced persons, the bare statement of those unquestionable facts must be sufficient: But we must hear attentively and impartially what can be said in favour of this latter plan. Nothing should be condemned rashly: and the more absurd and indefensible any thing appears, which is seriously urged as a ground for pernicious conduct, the more indispensable it is to avoid every appearance of a passionate, partial, or precipitate decision.

With regard to the strange contrast which is exhibited between the two systems,—to the appearance, at least, of a most illiberal bigotry and narrowmindedness on the one hand, and of a pure, comprehensive, and noble philanthropy on the other—the patrons of the exclusive plan observe a wonderful silence. A curious change appears to have taken place in the disposition of the two parties. Till lately, the Church always prided herself in having sobriety at least, and cool reason on her side; and was eager to hold up to contempt the jealous, unaccommodating, and illiberal views of the Sectarians. In the present instance, however, the two parties appear to have changed sides in every thing relating to bigotted zeal and calm ratiocination;—the spirit of separatism, and the spirit of conciliation.

It is almost equally remarkable, that they who hold themselves out as champions of the Church of England, have scarcely ventured to say one word upon the great advantages which are afforded by the liberal scheme for accelerating the communication of knowledge; and the lamentable extent of the obstructions opposed to it by the narrow and restrictive scheme: They have, in a manner, declined this whole branch of the argument—though of itself quite decisive, as we apprehend, of the whole cause. For we think it may be made out in the most satisfactory manner, not only that the system of exclusion will substitute a very slow to a very rapid diffusion of the blessings of education, but that it will ultimately arrest the great work altogether—that it will not merely make the machine move heavily, but after a little time will stop its motion entirely.

The restrictive system makes *two* schools, at the very least, necessary, (one for churchmen, and one for those who are not churchmen)—where, on the comprehensive plan, *one* would suffice. Now, it should always be remembered, that the sole difficulty of extending education universally, is the expense. But the exclusive plan, from this simple circumstance, is obviously an infallible contrivance for doubling the expense. *Divide et impera*, is an old device of politicians for the management of enemies; and we will confess we do not comprehend how it can ever be acted upon for purposes of friendship. Funds which might have an irresistible efficacy when united and skillfully applied, may be altogether unserviceable when divided, and one part of them employed in opposing the other. If the conquests of education are to be rendered coextensive with the population, through private resources alone, the *only* chance of success depends upon the extreme economy with which they are applied. A scheme for doubling the expense, and rendering it less efficacious, is, in other words, a scheme for strangling the measure

in the birth. If, on the other hand, we are to look to support from the public, the objection to the exclusive plan seems still more formidable. We do not think that any ministry which could at present be formed, is likely to possess so very little of the liberal spirit of the times in which we live, as to be favourable to a scheme which would burthen the nation at large, for a system of education adapted to churchmen only. We are sure, at any rate, that any such scheme would excite so much contempt and indignation, both in Parliament and out of it, that no ministry would ever venture to propose it: and, without paying any extravagant compliment either to the virtue or illumination of Parliament, we may predict, that any attempt to tax the nation—churchmen, and not churchmen—for the education of churchmen alone, would be treated as altogether oppressive and intolerable.

We are not perfectly sure that we ought to be sorry at the obstacles which oppose the transfer of education into public hands. It is not agreeable to experience, that what is managed by public functionaries is the best managed part of a nation's concerns. It is now a maxim of politics, which philosophy has extracted from experience, that wherever private interests are competent to the provision and application of their own instruments and means, such provision and application ought to be left to themselves. It was the opinion of Adam Smith, that all institutions for the education of those classes of the people who are able to pay for it, should be taken altogether out of the hands of public bodies, and left to the natural operation of that free competition which the interest of the parties desiring to teach and to be taught would naturally create;—and it is easy to see, that the same reasoning is applicable, in a great degree, even to the education of the poorest classes. But when it unfortunately happens that the mass of a people are exceedingly ignorant, and at the same time too poor to pay for instruction, it is obvious that something must be done to give the work a beginning. And with regard to the danger of training the people generally to habits of servility and toleration of arbitrary power, if their education be entrusted to Government, or persons patronized by the Government,—we can only say, that though we are far from considering the danger either as slight or chimerical, it is still so very great a good to have the faculty of reading and writing diffused through the whole body of the people, that we should be willing to run considerable risks for its acquirement, or even greatly to accelerate that acquirement. There is something in the possession of these keys of knowledge and of thought, so truly admirable, that,

when joined to another inestimable blessing, it is scarcely possible for any government to convert them into instruments of evil. That security is—the Liberty of the Press. Let the people only be taught to read, though by instruments ever so little friendly to their general interests, and the very intelligence of the age will provide them with books which will prove an antidote to the poison of their pedagogues. Bonaparte, indeed, or any other despot, may render the unhappy impressions which he makes during education indelible, because he can prevent the circulation of the books by which they might be counteracted. But grant, in any quarter of the globe, a reading people and a free press,—and the prejudices on which misrule supports itself will gradually and silently disappear. The impressions, indeed, which it is possible to make at the early age at which reading and writing are taught, and during the very short time that the teaching lasts, are so very slight and transitory, that they must be easily effaced wherever there is any thing to counteract them. In the tendency, for example, to free and manly thought which at this moment prevails in Great Britain, we do not believe, that, if every child in the kingdom were taught to read and write by a Tory clergyman of the Church of England, there would, on that account, be found in it one Whig or one Dissenter the less ;—perhaps there would even be more.

We are therefore, though with some hesitation, disposed to desire, in the present circumstances of England, assistance toward this grand work from the State, as far at least as to the erection of school-houses, and to the appointment of such small salaries as should be sufficient, and no more than sufficient, to secure the residence of a teacher, who should be chosen by the heads of families within the district, and paid in the main by his scholars. But, so long as the more powerful of the parties call out for schools upon the exclusive principle, no such plan can be realized. The exclusive principle is therefore, in every light in which the subject can be regarded, unfriendly to the general interests of education : and it is a mere deception to say, that, exclusive as it is, it is better than no system of education at all. At another time this might have been true ; and had the promoters of this limited and jealous measure of instruction tendered it to the benighted people when no other education was likely to be placed within their reach, we should have thought them entitled to the utmost gratitude. At present, however, the case is notoriously otherwise ; and we do not think we are going at all too far, when we say, that had the exclusive principle never been heard of,—had every man who has moved a step in its service remained dead to all concern about educa-

tion, every child who has received, or who shall receive tuition under its auspices, would have been educated without it. The whole operation of the exclusive principle, therefore, has been in counteraction; and all its effects upon education have been to retard and prevent it.

Infinitely, however, as we prize education, we still allow it to be conceivable that there may be objects to which it should be sacrificed. The Exclusionists say, they have found such an object. They say, it must be sacrificed to *Religion*. They do not, however, maintain exactly that the comprehensive system of education is incompatible with religion in general: and, though willing enough to take the benefit of such a sentiment, they will not, when brought to strict terms of debate, venture openly to deny that the Dissenters have *religion*. All Christian sects are now shamed out of the atrocious assumption of the *monopoly* of Divine favour. The spirit of the age, humanized by philosophy, will hardly permit the most bigotted among them openly to deny even those of the most opposite tenets all title to acceptance with their Maker, or to the joys which are promised by religion. Each pretends only to some advantages, and nothing more, in its modes of securing the Divine favour; and no one, hardly even the Roman Catholic, dares pronounce itself *assured* that its own mode is the best.

The whole scope of the objection then is, that the comprehensive plan of education, which has been shown to be the only plan by which such a population as that of England can ever be generally instructed, is opposed, not to the interests of religion, but to the interest of the Church of England. And here two questions naturally present themselves,—*first*, whether the Church is really exposed to any danger, by this plan of education; *secondly*, whether her protection from such a danger is a sufficient consolation or equivalent for the mischief which, under the shadow of her name, is sought to be done to education.

Whether the Church is exposed to any danger by educating the children of the labouring classes in seminaries open to all, has been treated so fully by the Tract entitled ‘*Schools for All*,’ that little remains for us, except to refer to it. It is very true, that in the Lancasterian schools, no attempt whatsoever is made to give any bias in favour of any particular religious system; and it is undeniable, that means may be adopted to *secure* the most perfect impartiality. It is therefore the most irresistible of all conclusions, that if, under this plan, the Church of England is really exposed to any danger, it must be, because she cannot stand upon even ground with other institutions, and cannot exist under equality of treatment. Nor can it be at all

doubtful, that those who anticipate her downfall from schools founded upon the principle of equality, are in the bottom of their hearts convinced, that this is her unfortunate condition. We, however, do not think so ill of her cause: and therefore it is that we feel persuaded, both that her interests have been mistaken, and her spirit misrepresented, by those noisy and ungracious advocates who have so officiously interposed with their aid against a danger to which her genuine friends and admirers never can suppose that she is exposed.

In confirmation of this view, it is peculiarly deserving of remark, that while so great, or at least so active, a portion of the members of the Church are in England exerting themselves, with so new and ominous an activity, in opposition to general education—in Ireland, *the very same church* should be acting upon the very opposite principle. In Ireland, it is laid down by the ‘Board of Education’ as the foundation of all their proceedings, that the resort of all to the same seminaries should, as far as possible, be encouraged and secured. In the Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of that Board, which has just been printed by order of the House of Commons, the very second paragraph says, ‘We have applied our efforts to the framing of a system which, whilst it shall afford the opportunities of education to every description of the lower classes of the people, may, at the same time, by keeping clear of all interference with the particular religious tenets of any, induce the whole to receive its benefits *as one undivided body, under one and the same system, and in the same establishments.*’

Surely it will not be pretended, that in England, where the majority of the people belong to the Church, this Church is in a more tottering condition than in Ireland, where it is said that not more than one-twentieth part of the population belong to it. Surely a great patriotic proceeding, which is not suspected of producing the slightest danger to the Church in Ireland, cannot actually be incompatible with its existence in England.

It should always be remembered too, that teaching the elements of literature, and teaching the elements of religion, are two different things; that they really have no more connexion, than any other two branches of education whatsoever; and that upon the principle of the division of labour, there is an obvious advantage in teaching them asunder. Wherever there are diversities of religious persuasion, therefore, the utility of separating letters, which *can* be taught in common to all, from religion, which *can not* be so taught, seems so extremely obvious, that it is difficult to comprehend, either how it should have been overlooked, or upon what principles it can be denied.

It is very remarkable that the selection of such religious readings as implied nothing offensive to any sect of Christians, which in the Lancasterian schools has been so violently reprobated as teaching what, by a strange abuse of the word has been called *abstract* Christianity, is the very expedient which is recommended by the Prelates, Clergymen, and other eminent characters, who compose the 'Board of Education' in Ireland. It is also remarkable, that the true and proper expedient for inculcating all that is peculiar and distinctive in the modes of religious belief, is the very expedient which is approved of, and proposed by the same distinguished members, lay and ecclesiastical, of the Church in Ireland. In the same Report of the Board of Education which we have already quoted, they say,

'In the selection of books for the new schools, we doubt not but it will be found practicable to introduce, not only a number of books, in which moral principles will be inculcated in such a manner as is likely to make deep and lasting impressions on the youthful mind, but also ample extracts from the Sacred Scriptures themselves, an early acquaintance with which we deem of the utmost importance, and indeed indispensable, in forming the mind to just notions of duty, and sound principles of conduct.

'It appears to us, that a selection may be made, in which the most important parts of Sacred history shall be included, together with all the precepts of morality, and all the instructive examples by which those precepts are illustrated and enforced, and which shall not be liable to any of the objections which have been made to the use of the Scriptures in the course of education.'—'The study of such a volume of extracts from the Sacred writings would, in our opinion, form the best preparation for that more particular religious instruction, which it would be the duty, and, we doubt not, the inclination also, of the several *ministers of religion*, to give, at proper times, *and in other places*, to the children of their *respective congregations*.'

The Board of Education in Ireland, composed entirely of members of the Church of England, and mostly of clergymen, decide thus clearly and unambiguously for the separation of instruction in letters, from instruction in religion;—declare that they should be carried on in *separate places*;—and that the *clergymen* of the respective congregations are the bounden, and the fittest, teachers of religion, to the children of their flocks. On the ground, then, both of unanswerable reason, and the highest and most unexceptionable example, we may venture to conclude, that the Church of England, if she is the best organ of religion, as her panegyrists say that they believe she is, has nothing to fear, but every thing to hope, from the most liberal plan of giving instruction to the poor.

If this first question however be well decided, there is really an end to the controversy; and it can scarcely be worth while to inquire into the comparative importance of a Church-establishment, and of general education; since it appears, that those two things are not opposed, but united in their interests. The impulse, however, in favour of education, has now been decidedly given; and the work *must* go forward, in spite even of greater obstructions than those which we are now lending our feeble aid to remove. Mr Edgeworth, in a letter annexed to the last Report of the Board of Education, attests this fact very strongly as to Ireland; and concludes with these remarkable expressions—‘ I cannot quit this subject without observing, that the poor are now uncommonly anxious to procure education for their children. As a proof of this I may mention, that in a number of private letters which I have lately had an opportunity of seeing, from young men abroad in different parts of the world, I have found most urgent entreaties to their parents or their wives, *to keep their children to school.*’

From observation and inquiry assiduously directed to that object, we can ourselves speak decidedly as to the rapid progress which the love of education is making among the lower orders in England. Even around London, in a circle of fifty miles radius, which is far from the most instructed and virtuous part of the Kingdom, there is hardly a village that has not something of a school; and not many children of either sex who are not taught, more or less, reading and writing. We have met with families in which, for weeks together, not an article of sustenance but potatoes had been used; yet for every child the hard-earned sum was provided to send them to school. From a quarter, worthy of our confidence, we are informed, that the number of letters which pass through the post-office, and, by the circumstances of their direction and superscription, prove that they are between persons in the lower ranks of life, has increased in a remarkable proportion during the last twenty years. Sunday newspapers are another extraordinary proof of the progress of reading, and the love of political information, among the lower orders of the people; however objectionable some of these publications may be thought. We are inclined also to think, though of this we cannot speak so positively, that the Evangelical and Wesleyan Magazines are chiefly read by the lower orders; and of these together, it is affirmed, that from fifty to sixty thousand copies are distributed every month. We certainly wish that this disposition to read were better directed; though we are informed, by persons who have paid some attention to the subject, that in point of rationality, and really useful in-

formation, the publications in question have greatly improved within the last four years.

Waging no war with the Church of England, to which, as a Religious Institution, we are willing to ascribe all the virtues with which her highest dignitaries have adorned her, we have no hesitation in declaring, that the *political* services which she has been said to render to the State, are so far from being worthy to be compared with the advantages of general education, that we should look upon the cessation of these services as an advantage of no small magnitude.

The 'alliance of Church and State,' when rightly interpreted, seems to mean merely the alliance of the majority with the majority, in order to keep down the minority,—which does not appear either to be a very just or a very necessary measure: And accordingly, the doctrine of this famous alliance, which was at one time crammed down our throats with so much vigour, and which some persons seem sufficiently disposed to revive at the present moment, has been so generally discredited of late years, that it may fairly be considered as abandoned by all the temperate and enlightened advocates of the Establishment. Dr Paley, for example, has stated unequivocally, that to 'make of the Church an engine or even an ally of the State, serves only to debase the institution;' and that 'the single end we ought to propose by an ecclesiastical establishment, is the preservation and communication of religious knowledge.' And to the same purpose Mr Burke, in terms still more direct and decided:—'An alliance,' says he, 'between Church and State, in a Christian commonwealth is, in my opinion, an idle and a fanciful speculation. An alliance is between two things that are in their nature distinct and independent, such as between two sovereign states. But in a Christian commonwealth, the Church and the State are one and the same thing.' To us, indeed, it appears more like a burlesque upon Government, than any thing else, to say, that the only way to secure the excellence of any political institution, is to connect it with a corporation of priests, dependent upon it by their interests, and consequently bound, as far as interest is concerned, to support it, when it invades the rights of the people, as well as when it protects them. We are extremely happy to find the clergy of the Church of England, with almost one accord, now renouncing and ashamed of this perilous doctrine, and declaring the sole and exclusive utility of their order to consist in the preservation of a pure faith, and good works among the people. No good government can ever want more than two things for its support: 1st, Its own excellence; and, 2dly, a people sufficiently instruct-

ed, to be aware of that excellence. Every other pretended support must ultimately tend to its subversion, by lessening its dependence upon these,—and consequently lessening the inducement to promote good government and general instruction.

We cannot conclude this article without observing, that the Report which has been published by the authors of the exclusive scheme, conveys hardly any information. It tells us indeed of meetings that were held, and speeches that were pronounced about the ‘excellence’ of the Church, and the ‘excellence’ of the Church Catechism, and the ‘advantages’ of religion; and it also tells us of large sums of money that were subscribed: But as to what has been done with that money, except buying of stock, our information is scanty indeed. We cannot indeed find out from the Report, that any school as yet owes its existence to the exertions of the ‘National Society’ (as it has christened itself), but one which is spoken of about Gray’s-Inn Lane: And, whether even that is actually opened, or only in a state of preparation, we are unable to discover. In an article of the Appendix, there is an account of several local subscriptions; and under the title ‘Schools’ as connected with those subscriptions, the names of about forty places are inserted: But in how many of these the schools are established, and in how many they are merely projected, does not appear. We observe, however, that they include all the old schools, in which the new methods have been adopted—and even those in which they were adopted before the ‘National Society’ had any existence; as those in Gower’s Walk, Whitechapel, and in Orchard Street, Westminster. Where so little pains are taken to give clear and precise information, we may be pretty sure that clear and precise information is not calculated to advance the credit of the Institution.

While the Exclusive Society, however, with their great means, have been accomplishing so little, the extension of the Lancasterian schools, under all the disadvantages of deficient means, has been great and cheering. Instead of one solitary school for 1000 children in the metropolis, no fewer than *three* Lancasterian schools, for 1000 children each, have been erected;—one in Spital Fields; one for Cripplegate, Aldersgate, Coleman Street, and St Luke’s; and a third for Farringdon Within and Without, and the parishes of St Sepulchre and Clerkenwell. The journey of Lancaster in Ireland, and his visit to Scotland, were the occasion of many schools. It is impossible on this head to be particular, because it is only incidentally that intelligence of new erections reaches the parent Institution in Lon-

don. However, a pretty satisfactory idea may be formed of its progress, from the fact, that the funds of the Institution are insufficient to breed masters in sufficient numbers to keep pace with the demand; and every month applications are received for teachers, with which it is impossible to comply.

This is an obstruction which it is impossible sufficiently to lament; and which the friends of education and of liberality cannot be called upon too earnestly to remove. The vast work of education is now brought to that happy state, that a very inconsiderable annual sum is wanted to render its triumphs universal. The minds of the people are prepared to second our endeavours; and the expense is reduced to a mere trifle. Surely the liberality of the propertied classes, when the burden is so small which they are called upon to bear, will not be the only thing wanting to the accomplishment of this great and philanthropic purpose. A sum far less than is annually expended in many a single workhouse, would ensure the erection of schools, on the comprehensive principle, in every district in the kingdom; would supersede the assistance of the Government; and would finally place the education of the great body of the people, on that foundation on which it must always be most desirable to place it,—the unconstrained support of those who have been brought to desire it.

ART. X. *The Resources of Russia, in the Event of a War with France; and an Examination of the prevailing Opinion relative to the Political and Military Conduct of the Court of St Petersburg; with a short Description of the Cossaks.* By M. Eustaphieff, Russian Consul at Boston. Third Edition. America, printed. London, Reprinted by John Stockdale, Piccadilly. 1813.

[*With a Copyright notice, entered at the District Clerk's Office in Massachusetts, in conformity to two acts of Congress 'for the encouragement of learning,' &c. &c. &c.*]

ON inspecting the title-page of this work, and observing the defensive securities with which Mr Eustaphieff has thought fit to surround it, it naturally occurred to us to inquire who Mr Eustaphieff was. He tells us that he is a Russian Consul at Boston; and we have been able to learn nothing more of him, except that, about five years ago, he was a chorister in the chapel of Count Woronzow in London. Though neither of these stations seemed particularly favourable for the acquisition

of statistical information about Russia, we turned with some impatience to the work which he had guarded with so much care from the piracy of American booksellers.

The account of his statistical treasures, however, is very soon rendered. They consist of statements of the revenue, population, mines, shipping, &c. &c. of Russia, taken from an elementary book of geography lately published at St Peterburgh—of the number of troops, regular and irregular, with which she can oppose an invading army, borrowed from the same authentic source of information—and of the means by which she can pay and subsist these troops within her territories. The conclusion which the learned author draws from this abstract of his *Gazetteer*, is, that Russia cannot possibly be conquered on her own soil:—a conclusion so extremely comfortable, that we are but little disposed to quarrel with it—although more captious critics might suggest, that Bonaparte forced his way to Moscow, last autumn, in spite of the *Gazetteer*; and that his progress was arrested, less by the troops regular and irregular of his Imperial Majesty, than by the severity of the season, and the conflagration of the Eastern metropolis. A good deal might be said upon these topics; but we really have not the heart to insist on them. And as the result of the campaign has been, that, somehow or other, the invader has lost his army, we think a zealous disputant—especially if he be a Russian—may be indulged, like his brother Cossacks of the war, in a few irregular advantages; and allowed to evade explaining minutely *how* so great a good has been achieved, or on what principle of national power Russia may rely for the successive discomfiture of similar attacks.

We should have but little to say, indeed, to Mr Eustaphie, if we had nothing to complain of but the want of originality, or authority, in his Russian statistics. Such as they are, they probably give most of his readers a better idea of the truth, than they ever had before; and we are very willing to excuse a national champion for partialities and exaggerations, which are so easily engendered between patriotism and ignorance. But this writer, we are sorry to say, comes before us in the character of an English ministerial pamphleteer; and, far as such a thing seemed to lie out of the way of a Russian Consul in America, the main scope of his work is undoubtedly to traduce and vilify the Administration that directed the affairs of this country in 1806, and the early part of 1807. We cannot say that we at any time approve of the interference of aliens in our domestic factions and party quarrels;—and most certainly there is nothing in the style or manner of Mr Eustaphie, which tends

to reconcile us to the calling in of such auxiliaries. He has adopted both the manner and the matter of our worst party newspapers; and has imitated his models with such complete success, that we have more than once been tempted to doubt his individuality even as a Russian Consul; and to suspect, that he must be some unprosperous member of the paragraphic corps, who has assumed this disguise, in order to disseminate in the New World the scurrilities which can no longer find readers in the Old.

At all events it must be admitted, that the charges against the Government of 1806 have not gained any thing, in point of temperance or dignity of manner, by the foreign residence and consular dignity of the person by whom they are renewed; and that his accuracy, consistency, and *decorum*, are barely on a level with those of his coadjutors of the London daily press. What shall we say, for instance, of the candour of a writer, who attacks a Ministry for the loss of Dantzick, when Dantzick was not taken until nearly three months after they were out of office?—What shall we think of his intellect or his information, when he insists upon the gross neglect of not relieving Dantzick *from England* in the middle of the winter?—What of his decorum and knowledge of character, when he tells us that Lord Hutchinson sent home *false* representations of the state of affairs, because he was disappointed of being made Commander in Chief of the Russian forces?—Or of his knowledge of English politics, when he gravely informs the Americans, that the Administration which he so much decries, was turned out of office on account of the peace of Tilsit,—though all the world knows that they were displaced on account of the Irish Catholics, and that the change of Ministry happened in March, and the peace of Tilsit in the July following? The whole work, indeed, is of the same stamp: nor should we have thought of entering into any examination of its contents, had it not been for reasons similar to those which we have stated in entering upon our late review of Mr Leekie. The most fatal sign of the times, perhaps, is that disposition to distrust and discredit all public characters, of which the spirit of servility never fails to take advantage, to detach the people from their natural leaders and protectors:—And, considering who the men were who conducted the Government in 1806, the third edition of a renewed attack upon them in 1812, is a symptom which ought not to be neglected. The vindication of calumniated ministers, too, becomes more of a public duty, the more we see of that system of recrimination which has been introduced of late years into our debates—which has crept from our debates into our councils—and seems now to be considered as one of the ordinary and

legitimate defences of an existing administration. The principle of this system, is, that if one set of ministers have mismanaged the public affairs—this is to give full warrant and sanction to their opponents, when they come into office, to mismanage them still more. Against such a principle, which converts the lowest species of polemic logic into the chief engine for directing the affairs of a mighty empire, we might be permitted to enter our protest, even if we were forced to admit the existence of the malversations, which were thus preposterously brought forward to match and excuse the malversations by which they have been followed. There is no room, however, for such an admission. And considering for how many fatal blunders the supposed blunders of 1806 have been proposed as a set-off and compensation, it is really of some consequence to inquire a little into the evidence of their existence;—more especially as we cannot unfold the system which regulated our foreign policy at that memorable period, without bringing into notice principles that ought never to be forgotten, and facts which appear to be but imperfectly known in the country which they principally concern. We have long wished, therefore, for an opportunity of explaining, in a few words, the true system of our foreign policy in 1806, and think it desirable that an intelligible account of it should be preserved somewhere among the accessible materials of our history.

If we are to trust to Mr Eustaphie and his followers, indeed, the origin of that system is to be found at once in the villany and baseness of a Jacobin connexion—a tenderness for France—a disregard of our national honour—and a desertion of our proper place in the great European commonwealth. This, however, will not go down we believe even among the American admirers of the Russian Consul at Boston: And we are sure that there is not a man in England who will feel any thing but contempt at the imputation of such sentiments to Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, Lord Fitzwilliam, and the late Mr Windham. Nay, the day is now past in which such calumnies, if indeed they ever were seriously listened to, can prevail against the honest fame of Mr Fox. The fact is, that that illustrious statesman, to the last moment of his life, never relaxed from that extreme jealousy of the power and preponderance of France, which he had imbibed in his youth; and indeed a great part of his opposition to the war of 1793, arose from his strong conviction of its tendency to increase that among the other evils against which it was directed. Wide and fundamental differences had indeed subsisted between himself and some of his best friends, as to the true policy of this country at the breaking out of the French Revolution; but all the

great questions to which those differences gave rise, had long been set at rest. Those of the Whig party who had sided with Mr Burke, now saw that the high tone with which they had set out, could no longer be maintained to any practical purpose;—and that tone indeed had been abandoned by the great body of the nation. The peace of Amiens had settled for ever the question of principle, in any future contest we might have with France: And nothing, therefore, stood in the way of a reconciliation which the public cause demanded, and for which their affections never were unprepared. Accordingly when, upon the death of Mr Pitt, they were called to the direction of the public affairs, they formed a Cabinet with Lord Grenville and Lord Sidmouth—thoroughly and cordially united on all the great principles both of peace and of war.

This important question of peace being thus finally disencumbered of all its revolutionary difficulties, and reduced to a question of terms between two established governments, Mr Fox, speedily after his acceptance of the Foreign Seals, and with the unanimous concurrence of the Cabinet, entered upon a negotiation on principles which will be found in the State Papers of that time,—and which being there recorded, are placed beyond the reach of cavil or misrepresentation. It is of importance however to remark, that, in his correspondence with Talleyrand, will be found the most distinct and peremptory assertion of the undoubted right of this country to take an interest and a share in every thing that affected the general interests of Europe,—and to bear a part, as of old, in its continental as well as its maritime concerns. Here Mr Fox cast anchor. From this birth he never was driven; and when he died, his successor kept the same station. It has indeed been affirmed, somewhere, by Buonaparte, that if this illustrious man had lived, the peace would have been concluded; thereby insinuating a disagreement between Mr Fox and his colleagues on the terms offered by France. Nothing, however, can be more remote from the truth.* Long before his death, Mr Fox was convinced that the negotiation was conducted on the part of France, in a spirit inconsistent with any sincere desire for a pacification. We have the testimony of all his colleagues to the perfect unanimity of the Cabinet upon this, and indeed every other point.

The basis, then, of their external policy was, that peace was desirable, and ought to be sought by negotiation, as well as by war. The principles asserted in the negotiation have been already alluded to; but as there were, from the beginning, considerable doubts of obtaining the object by that course of pro-

ceeding, it is of still more importance to ascertain what was the scheme of warfare by which it was, at the same time, and in the end perhaps exclusively, to be sought. And here we shall find, in spite of the imputations of Mr Eustaphie, and the faction whose organ he is in this country, not only that the general interests of Europe, and of Russia in particular, were most vigilantly and faithfully attended to, but that a great part of the disasters which occurred in the prosecution of those hostilities, are to be traced to the misguided and unsteady councils of Russia herself.

The object being to obtain, by war, a peace which should be honourable and safe for ourselves, it was necessary, of course, to consider what means we possessed for compelling the enemy to agree to such a peace, either in our own absolute and immediate possession, or in possession of any other State with which it was possible for us to cooperate. It was clear, however, that if this great object was to be pursued by England alone, it was indispensably necessary that the contest should be placed on such a footing, as might enable her to carry it on for a period of time greater than that to which France was likely to continue her resistance. Conquest and invasion, upon our part, were of course utterly out of the question, upon this scheme of unassisted hostility. We were desirous of peace; and anxious only that it should not be forced upon us on dishonourable and disadvantageous terms. The obvious, and, indeed, the avowed policy of the enemy was, to wear us out, by the waste of our population and finances;—and for that very reason, it was ours to abstain from such waste, and to make such an application of our resources, as might continue the pressure of war on our adversary, without leaving ourselves exhausted or unprovided, in the event of a protracted contention. No English statesman could venture any longer on the desperate and ruinous game of temporary expedients, and popular adventures. It was necessary to look to a long and stormy futurity; and to make sure of the means of resistance, if those of aggression were withheld. The season of enterprize was over. The war of Resources was begun; but of resource confined to English means, and drawn from the springs of our own power alone. This limitation as to means, however, did not exclude whatever accession to them we might chance hereafter to derive from the association of friendly states. It neither varied the ends for which we had cultivated connexions with the Continent, nor turned the current of our policy towards the sordid pursuit of what have been falsely called ‘British interests.’ But it taught us for the present not to look beyond ourselves for the means of security

or success—and consequently to consider our leading duties to be those of continued resistance and indefatigable opposition.

Keeping in view this policy, the Ministers of 1806 judged it highly inexpedient to trust out of their own hands the means of carrying on the species of war for which they were compelled to prepare, and which seemed likely to become the settled habit and condition of the country. They calculated their plan on the sure and inevitable progress of moral necessity. The tide which they had tasked themselves to stem, could not flow on-wards for ever, without some ebb or reflux. The career of ambition must in the end be checked by its own vastness and impetuosity; and the spirit of its leader was neither immortal nor likely to be hereditary. While they watched all advantages in the lapse of present time, therefore, they looked confidently on to futurity. ‘Time and the hours,’ they knew, would carry them through the roughest day. They had but to keep free the great springs of the national power during a period commensurate with the evil;—and the high duties they owed to their country and to mankind were discharged.

If, in these conceptions, there was nothing to captivate the imagination, or soothe the overweening pride of a people who had been feeding so long on provocatives, there was that in them which spoke to the reason and understanding of all who were in any degree aware of the character which the war had insensibly assumed. As part of the system then adopted, the financial plan of Lord Henry Petty, most erroneously described as shutting the door on the Continent, was received in those states of Europe which were then bending to the storm, as the groundwork of their future liberation. Tired of our paltry vapouring and impotent performance—of our insolent diplomacy and ridiculous expeditions—they saw, in the sober and steady demeanour of the new British Government, and in the provision it was making for years of expected resistance, ground for confidence sufficient to determine in a great measure their own system with regard to French connexion. Yielding, of necessity, to French preponderance for the moment, they refused all overtures to join with it, and looked steadily onwards with us to the advent of better times.

Such was the foundation of the policy which the Government of 1806 felt itself called upon to adopt, under the circumstances of the times in which it entered upon the administration of our affairs;—by no means forgetful or negligent of the aspect of things in the other states of Europe, but compelled, by that very aspect, to rely almost entirely on our own resources for our own present and future security,—and satisfied, the more they

looked to all that remained unbroken of the old European commonwealth, that nothing but the same steady and persevering system of conduct could save that little remnant for itself or its future associates.

In considering this part of the subject, let us for a moment accompany Mr Fox to the foreign office, and follow him over the sad traces of ruin and desolation exhibited in every page of its archives. The ancient system of Europe, with all its relations and alliances, lay before him a perfect wreck! What might be done towards its future restoration by time, by accident, by wise forbearance, was matter more of conjecture than even of speculation; but, as a mean of immediate action, the system itself was effete. A new system, of which France was the centre, was in a state of rapid and irresistible progression. Its foundations were laid, in a copartnership between France and all the great powers, to appropriate the spoils of their neighbours to their own use and benefit. There was scarcely a power in Europe which had not, in its turn, been tempted to come into this confederacy, by the bribe best suited to its circumstances at the time of offering it. Russia had been induced to become a party to that most iniquitous proceeding, known by the name of the German indemnities, by the vanity of acting a part in the settlement of the empire, as guarantee of the Germanic constitution. Austria had accepted of Venice as the price of one unworthy compliance;—and had again and again been tempted by the offer of the Ottoman territories bordering on the Bannat of Temeswaer. Hanover, just at this time, had been consigned over to Prussia; and in this way France was attaching other governments to herself, by a communion in crime, and binding up their destinies with her usurpations.

To go through the train of calamities which had enabled France to set up this system of Partition in opposition to the old system of Conservation, would be to give a history of the whole war of the Revolution, from its origin to the peace of Amiens, and from the breach of that peace until 1806. Far less will suffice for the vindication of the ministers who succeeded, in that year, to the disastrous inheritance left them by Mr Pitt. They had to go back no farther than to the coalition of 1805, and to the destruction it had left behind it. By the breaking up of that league, the materials for any union against France deserving the name of confederacy, were destroyed to their very elements. Of those materials, Austria had always been considered as the chief. But Austria, after a series of unexampled misfortunes, had withdrawn herself from a coalition into which the year before she had been precipitated against her better judgment, and had just con-

cluded a peace which deprived her of a third part of her remaining dominions, stripped her of her frontier, and made her dependent on France for her future existence even, as a power of the second order. This terrible lesson rendered her cooperation hopeless, even if it had been desirable in any project for a continental union against France. On the side of Prussia, matters were as desperate, if not worse. Prussia was the first ally of France after the Revolution. Rejoicing in the misfortunes of her Austrian rival, and speculating on her own future aggrandizement through a French connexion, she had yet, in a moment of anger for the violation of her territory, been tempted to join the coalition of 1805, and had actually signed a treaty to that effect with Lord Harrowby. But, quickly repenting of her rashness after the battle of Austerlitz, she disavowed her signature, entered into fresh engagements with France in the very palace of the Austrian monarch, with whom she had sent Haugwitz to negotiate a common alliance; and, in sign of her thorough repentance and allegiance, consented, at the instance of France, to rob the King of England of his Hanoverian dominions. The negotiations for the occupation of the Electorate were concluded about this very time.

Here was another mighty limb of the European community severed from the body to which it naturally belonged, and inoculated upon that of the enemy. All the States of the Rhine were separated in like manner from their natural chief, and embodied in the new system. There remained, therefore, to any English minister who should set about the formation of a new confederacy, to force France into his terms, no power that could take a principal share in it, except Russia. But this power alone, even when wound up to its highest pitch of exertion, would be unable to make any permanent impression on France. A Continental war, carried on by Russia against France, must at its best be no more than a war on the frontier. Whether, in the end of the day, the tempest should drive the one towards the Rhine, or the other to the Vistula, neither could come near enough to aim a decisive blow at the power and resources of his adversary.

Here we have the whole extent of the materials for offensive Continental warfare, which were delivered into the hands of the administration of 1806. Whatever might be the value, therefore, of an alliance with Russia, it is evident that it afforded no means whatever for breaking the power of France, or forcing her into an equitable pacification by means of aggressive or offensive hostility. With a view to a system of resolute and unaguanimous defence—of invincible and generous resistance in

the cause of European independence, it was beyond all doubt of the greatest and most incalculable importance. But the principle upon which it was in this view to be courted, necessarily pointed out both its precise limits and its attainable objects. It prescribed to the allies, on the one hand, the necessity of maintaining the closest union, and most inviolable concert on all points, until the common interests for which they were contending could be confirmed by a treaty of general peace, and there recognized as common interests. It limited them, on the other, to a general system of vigilant self-defence, and to the duty of standing well armed and ready, each according to his means, to take advantage of events.

What improvement in their plans for active warfare accident might bring about, neither could nor ought to have entered into the calculation of the two Cabinets in forming the scheme of their alliance. Accident indeed, although room must always be left for it in any scheme of action, can never prudently make part of the scheme itself. Such an accident did actually occur nearly at the close of the negotiations at Paris. France, in the affair of Hanover, had treated Prussia like the lowest of her vassals. Finding that this Electorate was likely to be of some value as an element in the compensations to be adjusted in the event of peace, she made no scruple of resuming her gift of it to Prussia in the former year; and accompanied her resumption by acts of insult and usurpation in other quarters, quite intolerable even to the humbled feelings of that degraded monarchy. Prussia incensed, flew rashly to arms; and then were seen and felt the full effects of those ill-contrived and jealous confederacies, which had ended in breaking down the old European system, and reducing the defence of every state and kingdom in it to a mere local struggle, unsupported by the efforts or even by the sympathies of its neighbours. Prussia broke with France, not only without the means of resisting her, but without a cause in which others could join. In a contest which of all others required the participation of England, with a view to success, she continued to rest her quarrel on the only ground on which it was possible that England and France could have a common interest. She went to war because France—no matter now for what reason—would not let her retain the territory which she had violently, and without a shadow of justice, seized from the King of England. She went to war without concert with Russia, and without offering even to Austria any explanation of her views to which that power could trust. She went to war with one half of her army in the interests of her enemy—with her fortresses unprovided for a week's siege—and while her councils

were still directed by Haugwitz, Lombard, and Lucchesini,—ministers devoted to the French connexion. Confident in her military strength; heedless of the mine which had been working under her monarchy ever since the peace of Basle, she scarcely would accept the proffered hand of Russia, held forth for her assistance: and when at length she did, she would enter into no explanations leading to a renunciation of the injustice she was practising against Great Britain.

The consequence of thus rushing single and unprepared into the field, was the loss of the monarchy in the first battle. Town after town, province after province, corps after corps, surrendered, with a rapidity that resembled rather the quiet transfer of power through lawful succession, than the progress of an invading foe. The unhappy king, with the wreck of his state, fled to the extremity of his dominions, and threw himself for relief upon the Russian army. This happened at the end of October 1806.

It was not the fault of England, that such assistance as the efforts of Prussia might derive from the re-establishment of peace with her, was not administered long before the commencement of her calamities. The government had encouraged Baron Jacobi to remain in England, notwithstanding the rupture, in the constant hope of some overture that might lead to a reconciliation; and it was not until the end of August, when that minister received peremptory orders from his Court to delay his departure no longer, that they gave up all hopes of seeing a change in her infatuated councils. So long and so obstinately indeed did Prussia persist in her inexplicable politics, that when Lord Morpeth, who on her own subsequent invitation had been sent to make peace with her, asked the minister Lucchesini, after the battle of Jena had taken place, but before the event of it was known, whether he was ready to enter into the negotiation, he was answered, that *'that would depend on the issue of the battle which had been just fought.'*

This mighty and overwhelming revolution, coming close at the back of the catastrophe which had laid Austria prostrate, reduced the Continental objects of a British and Russian connexion, still more within the line of a strict self-defence. No fault certainly should be found with the Emperor of Russia for the protection he afforded to his fugitive brother Sovereign. He was bound so to receive him, by his honour—by the remembrance of their common vows offered up at the tomb of Frederick—by the ties of family—by his affections—by the word of a gentleman. It became his interest too, as the war approached his own frontiers, to prevent a separate peace, and the incorporation of

what was left of the Prussian army with that of his enemy. But although this was both his duty and his policy, it cannot be denied that the war from this time assumed a shape that rendered the attainment of its purpose perfectly hopeless *through the means of Continental enterprise*. This, however, was not all. Our alliance with Russia itself became pregnant with another species of mischief; which brings us to a review and explanation of the causes that led afterwards to a total change of system at the court of St Petersburg.

The extension of the Russian frontier to the Danube, has been the darling object of the cabinet of St Petersburg, ever since the reign of Peter I. Temporary causes have often impeded its accomplishment; but the intention of acquiring that boundary never has been abandoned. Before the breaking out of the French Revolution, and when Austria was entire in her military greatness and resources, this object, although always considered by Austria with the utmost jealousy, was one nevertheless which admitted of a compromise, the proportions of which were capable of adjustment by a fair partition of European Turkey with Russia, and by the assistance which that power might afford her in her views upon Italy and Germany. France, indeed, was always decidedly hostile to the policy which led to the alliance between the Empress Catharine and Joseph II. in 1788; but for a long time previous to her Revolution, she appeared to have given up interfering in transactions so remote from her own limits. The successes, however, which have so rapidly poured in upon her since that event, by approximating her to European Turkey, have, in addition to her ancient interest in the affairs of that empire, given her the means, in concert with Austria or with Russia, of either preserving or subverting that strange sovereignty, and consequently invested her with a preponderating influence in any negotiations between those powers of which the partition of its dominions may become the object. On the other hand, the loss of the Netherlands by Austria—the extinction of her influence in Germany—the loss of her territories in Italy—and the utter subversion and dispersion of every particle of what constituted the old balance of power, by forcing her back upon her eastern provinces, gave her a peculiar, and indeed a vital interest, in every thing which should be transacted on the side of Poland and Hungary; while Russia, little affected in her separate pursuits, by the calamities which had bent all intermediate states to the dust, saw no reason to renounce the plans of her ancient policy, although considerations of forbearance towards Austria, or of deference to friendly powers, might induce her to suspend their prosecution. It was obvious, however, that

this deference would last no longer than while these powers were acting together in a common cause.

The advantages which such a state of things afforded to France, were too great and too obvious to be overlooked. The extent of her conquests over the rest of Europe had reduced her own particular interest in the preservation of Turkey comparatively to nothing; while, from the very same causes, that of Austria became vital and fundamental. The interest of Russia, we are far from saying her true interest, in extending herself to the Danube, remained the same as before, while the inducements to attempt it had acquired fresh strength from the severe losses which she had sustained in her European expeditions.

Such in 1806 was the position of France. Having subverted the general balance of Europe, she held in her hands the particular balance between the only remaining powers which could bring an army into the field against her. By the promise of assistance and guarantee, nay even by that of simple acquiescence, she could at any time, and at no expense to herself beyond the breach of her engagements with Turkey, offer the richest bribe, and the most tempting aggrandizement to Russia,—and be sure, that, if accepted, the possession of it would lay the foundations of eternal strife and division between that empire and Austria.

Advantages so considerable were not likely to be lost in the hands of Buonaparte: and the first use he made of them, was to place Russia in a state of war with Turkey. This was his obvious course, whether simply to make a diversion, or whether, with the longer view of engaging her in a pursuit, in which, by favouring her views at the proper season, he might contrive to detach her from her English system. Early, therefore, in the campaign of 1806, he sent a splendid embassy to Constantinople, for the purpose of instigating the Turks to break the treaty of triple alliance. He succeeded. The Porte, in violation of her engagements, deposed the Hospodars of Walachia and Moldavia, and appointed others in their room, notoriously in the French interest. The bait took at St Petersburg. A flame was raised in the Russian Cabinet. From the barren glory of protecting the minor States, and asserting the liberties of Europe, all eyes and hearts were turned to the richer prize which seemed now to be placed within reach; and orders were sent to General Michelson, to seize and secure Moldavia without delay.

The army under this General, and the troops ordered to join him, amounted to no less a force than 40,000 men. It was diverted from the service of the Vistula, where, by occupying and keeping possession of Warsaw, from whence Beningsen was

obliged to retreat almost as soon as he arrived there, it would have effectually checked the progress of the French arms for that winter. It was ordered to act before the effect of negotiation had been tried at the Porte, and totally without concert either with the English Ambassadors at St Petersburg, or at the Porte, or with the Government at home. It was sent to take possession of a country long considered by Austria as the Key to Transylvania and Hungary; and which could not be seen in the hands of Russia, without exciting at Vienna something of the same feelings with which, at London, we should see the Isle of Wight in the hands of France. We shall find, too, in its proper place, in what a peculiarly unlucky moment this rash act was communicated to that Court.

Here, then, were four invaluable points already gained for Buonaparte. First, a great military diversion on the line of his operations: Secondly, the engaging his enemy in a pursuit,—by favouring which, he might purchase her ultimate desertion of her allies, and consequent accession to his own cause: At all events, thirdly, the immediate offending and alarming Austria: And, fourthly, the dissatisfying England, who could neither see with indifference a friendly power despoiled of its dominions, nor its ally entering, at so critical a juncture, upon a new and distant war—leading, in any view, to consequences so fatal to the common interest.

The situation, indeed, in which the English Government was placed by this wanton act of mischief (to say no worse of it), was embarrassing in the extreme; but they lost no time in endeavouring to remedy it. They addressed the strongest remonstrances to the Court of St Petersburg against the whole proceeding; exhorting it instantly to trace back its steps, and to make use of the credit of Great Britain with the Porte to restore peace without delay. But, faithful, at the same time, to their engagements with Russia, and not insensible to the great importance of the object in discussion, they instructed their ambassador at Constantinople to insist upon the restoration of the Hospodars; and sent him a squadron to support his negotiations. They were not wholly unsuccessful at the court of their ally; who, in consequence of their representations, recalled the order first issued to Michelson to pass into Moldavia, and sent pacific overtures to the Porte. If these conciliatory dispositions were afterwards repented of by the Russian Cabinet, the fault was not with the British Government. They gained their point at the time. It is most true, however, that there existed a strong party in Russia, who still adhered to the old maxims which had governed her policy before she became

associated to the European system, to whom the abandonment of the Turkish expedition was far from pleasing. Having seized the spoil, great part of which was to be distributed among themselves, they thought only of securing it; and to secure it, no means appeared so certain as a peace with France. When their views had once taken that bent, they joined themselves to the regular French faction, and, with the help of Romanzoff, gradually brought round the Emperor to their side: And here was the first and main foundation of the change of system which followed.

These preliminary statements, leading to the consideration of the cause and origin of the Turkish war, and of the interests set in motion by that unfortunate event, must never be lost sight of, in examining the charges brought against the English Government for their supposed abandonment of Russia in 1806. They go, indeed, to the very essence of the cause; and form the greater part of the evidence on which that Government must either be condemned or acquitted. It does not suit the views of Mr Eustaphieff, however, or his patrons in this country, to take any notice of these important transactions; and, mainly ignorant of the state of Continental politics at the time, and unwilling to learn any thing that might disarm their factious malice of its shallow pretexs, they leave out of consideration the actual circumstances of the parties and of the times, and confine themselves to a broad vulgar clamour against the Government of that day, upon the two grounds of their not engaging in military diversions, and their refusing to assist Russia with money. In order to make these charges the stronger, Russia is represented at this time as nobly and disinterestedly risking her existence in support of the liberties of Europe; and it is ascribed to the neglect and parsimony of Great Britain, that she threw herself the next year into the arms of France.

We have heard of such imputations before. Just after the change in 1807, and in the midst of some of the most violent party heats ever known in this country, charges of this character, although in very vague terms, were thrown out by the new Ministers against their predecessors in office: But when, at the distance of a twelvemonth, the correspondence on which they were grounded was produced to Parliament, never surely did there come forth a case supported by such meagre materials. No man at this time of day can read the correspondence between Earl Grey, the Marquis of Douglas, Mr Stuart, and General Budberg, without seeing, that, under the head of Diversion, for instance, Russia herself literally does not know what to ask; and that the whole of the grave State-accusation brought again

Great Britain on this article, resolves itself into a few peevish complaints, full of the inconsistencies that always accompany groundless ill humour. Sometimes the demand is for ‘partial expeditions on the coasts of France and Holland, for the purpose of distracting the attention of the enemy, and impeding the march of the French reserves;’—and again—‘to prevent the concentration of the French troops from the banks of the Vistula.’ After this we are told, with something more of reason than consistency, that ‘partial and separate expeditions cannot influence the general operations in an impressive manner.’ To what part of the coasts of France or Holland an expedition could be sent, adequate to the object of ‘preventing the concentration of the French troops from the banks of the Vistula,’ or on what part of the German continent a landing could be effected in such force as to operate a diversion, in the military sense of the word—the Russian minister never once condescends to point out, during the whole of this correspondence; which, let it be remembered, as far as concerns the knowledge by the late Ministers of the wishes of the court of St Petersburg on this point of military diversion, begins only on the 2d of January 1807, and ends on the 8th of March. But while they leave us to settle this point as we can, they take care to hint pretty intelligibly what will be the turn of their future politics. They tell us ‘that the court of St Petersburg, being now abandoned to her own resources, was entitled to expect some efforts which might divert the attention of the French government, before they consent to enter into *any engagement which was likely to create future differences with that power, on a subject not immediately interesting to Russia.*’ Now, we beg our readers to recollect, that on the 8th of February 1807, the time at which this extraordinary communication was made to the Marquis of Douglas, Russia had 40,000 men, merrily marching on from conquest to conquest, on the Turkish borders, and that this *subject, not immediately interesting to Russia*, was nothing less than the defence of her own!

To have conveyed an English force to the Baltic, at any period between the 2d of January and the 8th of March, was physically impossible. Russia, therefore, had no right, on account of its omission, to complain of being ‘left to her own resources.’ Nor was her situation so desperate as to render a loud cry for help very creditable to her courage. She was not even hard pressed. The state of the French army was known to be such as to incapacitate it from making any serious impression on her for months to come. This was proved afterwards at the battle of Eylau, fought by Buonaparte on the 9th of Febru-

ary, to get possession of Königsberg, in which point he failed, after a loss that forced him to remain quiet in his quarters until June. In the mean time, the British Government was preparing the only operation in favour of Russia, which either the situation of the respective armies, or our limited military establishments rendered practicable, namely, a diversion in Pomerania. But, while the details of this expedition were arranging, his Majesty thought fit to call other Ministers to his counsels.

So much for the first imputation upon the selfishness and ingratitude of our English counsels in 1806. But it is said, that although military diversion might have been impracticable, pecuniary assistance might still have been afforded; and that although no service, strictly worth the six millions which she demanded, was likely to be performed by Russia, two or three millions might have been spared for the general purpose of keeping on good terms with his Imperial Majesty. That the Russian ministers would have thought such a sum very properly bestowed, can admit of but little doubt:—the other part of the proposition is not so clear. The use to be made of a subsidy so granted (for the distinction in this case, between a subsidy and a private loan guaranteed by Government is futile), was first to be considered. And here, the manner in which Russia had employed the sums granted to her in the preceding year, presented no great encouragement to continue them. From long experience of the interior administration of that Government, there was reason to doubt whether one-fifth of any sums which might be advanced, would reach the departments to which they were destined, or be applied in any way to the public service:—such was the disorder and speculation pervading almost all the inferior *burcaus*, and such the defective organization of their commissariat. The amount and condition, indeed, of the Russian army, at the time it was most wanted this year, would be sufficient of itself to confirm what, in other respects, has ever been notorious to every foreign minister resident at the court of Petersburg. Notwithstanding the millions advanced in virtue of the treaty of concert of 1805, and for the express purpose of enabling Russia to march an army of 80,000 to the frontiers of Prussia, and 60,000 to the frontiers of Austria, when Count Krusemark, at the end of September, arrived at St Petersburg, to claim the Emperor's assistance, and settle the advance of the troops, there was not, on all the Russian frontiers taken together, a disposable force of so much as 60,000 men. The deficiency of effective from nominal force, indeed, is no where so deplorable as in the Russian service; and, with regard to this parti-

lar period, it is scarcely necessary to add, that the motive for requiring this subsidy was another material consideration. General Budberg stated it to be the difficulty of paying the troops beyond the frontier. But there were no troops beyond the frontiers of Prussian Poland; a country in which, with the least care, all the Russian army might have been abundantly supplied from her own means. It, indeed, the project was to increase that army, so as to enable it to advance into Germany, and try its hand once more at the old adventure of delivering Europe, the question assumed a different shape; and it may easily be supposed that the utility of such an enterprize came within the deliberations of the English government. It may be presumed too, that an experiment which Mr Pitt, the year before, did not think fit to undertake without a confederated army of 500,000 men, and the assistance to be derived from the localities of Austria, and possibly of Prussia, could hardly present itself in a more practicable shape to his successors, when Russia had not 80,000 men in the field, after both Austria and Prussia had been struck out of the system of Europe, and when the confederation of the Rhine had given the half of Germany to Buonaparte. That England therefore, who, although bleeding at every pore, and suffering in every limb, was then, with a magnanimous and prospective policy, laying her plans for sustaining a protracted contest, and providing for a resistance, which in its steady energy might keep pace with the impetuous daring of her enemy—that England should be required to press upon the last springs of her exhausted circulation, in order to rake together a *complimentary subsidy*, for the use of such a government as we have been describing—that she should be summoned to bribe a power like Russia with a great sum of money, merely for buckling on her armour in her own defence—and finally, that Russia should urge us to do this, while she continued obstinately wasting her own armies, and squandering her own resources in pernicious foreign invasions, argued either a degree of confidence in English duplicity, that justified any possible demand, or a determination to ground on the refusal of this most exorbitant one, her abandonment of an alliance which began to be too narrow for her ambition, and her disavowal of a principle which measured out her fortunes by her justice.

Mr Eustachieve, however, and her other advocates, still presume to tell us, that Russia was fighting our battles, rather than her own; that she was not a principal in the war with France; and that it was therefore the more incumbent on us to exert all our resources in her service. It is fitting that such claims should be grounded on such pretences. By the treaty of con-

certain with England in 1805, Russia engages to liberate Hanover and the north of Germany—to reestablish Holland and Switzerland and the kingdom of Sardinia—to secure Naples and Italy—to set up a barrier to the future power of France—and not to lay down her arms but by consent of *ALL* the powers who shall become parties to the league. True it is, that the grander objects of this league were at an end by the peace of Presburg: But, even on its reduced scale after that event, Russia was still a principal in it *quoad* those objects which remained. Her original distance from the probable military operations of the French armies, makes no difference in her federal character and condition. If that circumstance deceived her into an undue security, and encouraged her to assume a lofty tone; while her preparations were neglected, she has nothing but her own presumption and improvidence to blame. When there are many principals in a league, the common battle cannot be fought at an equal distance from the capitals of each;—but every one should know, that the danger may ultimately draw nearer. If Austria had been victorious in the outset of the campaign, the Russian territory might not have been invaded. But Russia was, notwithstanding, just as much a principal in the war before, as after the fatal field of Austerlitz. She entered into it avowedly as a principal; and it would be altogether absurd indeed to suppose that she did so enter from any other view than that of her own interest and security. In relation to Great Britain, in particular, the allegation, that she was not a principal, is not only absurd, but indecent and ungrateful. Mr Eustachiev ought to have remembered, that Mr Fox, anxious as he was for peace with France, repeatedly and peremptorily rejected all treaty, and even all negotiation, except in full concert with Russia on all points. We read in the documents of the negotiation at Paris the objects of that concert—objects in which, of all the Continental powers, Russia was at that time *necessarily* the principal. M. Talleyrand, indeed, laboured hard to establish this very principle of the Russian apologists, in order to persuade Mr Fox that he might, consistently with his engagements with Russia, enter upon a separate negotiation. That artful diplomatist reasoned thus:—At the breaking out of the war between France and England, in 1803, France and Russia were at peace. In 1805, Russia entered into a confederacy with England and Austria, for purposes foreign to the separate existing war between France and England. In this confederacy, Russia could only be considered as an auxiliary; but the confederacy itself being now at an end, in consequence of the peace of Presburg, her quality auxiliary ceases with that which supported it. Russia,

fore, is no longer the ally of England, in a war between England and France. So stood the proposition. Mr Fox, however, was not to be bent from the onward course of honour by such dishonest ingenuity; and it was shortly afterwards confuted by the act of the Russian government itself, which refused to ratify D'Oubril's treaty, specifically *because* it failed of securing the general objects of the alliance.

It is comfortable, we confess, to see, that when Great Britain is to be vilified for a pretended desertion of a power, represented as so generously 'fighting our battles rather than her own,' this foul charge can only be sustained by a sophism from the shop of M. Talleyrand. But the use which was first made of this sophism, as well as the time at which it was first brought up, namely, at the beginning of February 1807, as appears from the Marquis of Douglas's despatches, will assist us materially to understand the tortuous politics of the court of St Petersburg. This French argument never was used by the Russian ministers, until they had begun to listen to French temptations—temptations which had been artfully thrown out by Savary, a few days after the battle of Austerlitz. None of the previous requisitions to Great Britain for subsidy, or diversions on the coast of France, were grounded on the notion of Russia not being a principal in the war. No such notion was hinted at during all that period. It was only after having failed of reconciling Austria to her proceedings on the Danube, as we shall soon see, that she put forward a principle which opened to her a way out of her English connexion, and enabled her, consequently, to get rid of the only remaining obstacle to her annexation of the Turkish provinces to her empire.

It never was denied that Russia had strong claims upon us for every sort of assistance which in prudence could be afforded to her, under the circumstances of unexpected embarrassment in which she found herself, from the rapid approach of the French armies: but as the extent of that assistance was to be regulated by our means, so was its nature to be determined by considerations of general policy and expediency. All our good offices at friendly courts, for instance—every thing that could be done through our credit and cooperation to soften animosities—to remove mistrust—to correct mutual errors—to palliate when we could not cure their effects—and thus, gradually to prepare their way for a real union of counsels with what remained of independent Europe, was undoubtedly her due. But it should be known also that this her due was paid her to its uttermost extent. Russia does not deny it. In the midst of all her accusations against Great Britain for neglecting her interests on

the two other points of Subsidy and Diversion, on this of diplomatic cooperation she never has complained. Even her manifesto is silent upon it. But in order to do justice to our own character, it will be necessary to advert to some part of our transactions at the court of Vienna: and this we conceive we can now do, without any risk of impropriety, as the time is passed in which the mention of them can affect any other interests than those of truth, or serve any other purpose than that of vindicating the character and consistency of our national counsels from foreign or factious aspersions.

From the moment of Mr Fox's accession to office, the state of the relations between Great Britain and Austria occupied his most serious attention. Here he found every thing to repair. The calamities with which the Austrian monarchy had been afflicted from the very first years of the war of the Revolution, had cooled her affections towards Great Britain. The coalition of 1805 completed this estrangement. Drawn slowly and reluctantly into the schemes of that day, she had paid the whole penalty of their failure; and, besides the loss of a third part of her dominions, had been left, by the peace of Presburg, without a frontier for the protection of the remainder. It will not, therefore, be wondered at, that a great part of the Austrian and Bohemian aristocracy, whose estates were the first exposed to the visits of a French Commissary, should have required the abandonment of a system which they considered as the source of all their present evils, and of much future danger. Looking only to the stability of the French government; seeing that it had once more put on the forms of royalty; and making no difference between a Bourbon and a Buonaparte, there were not wanting those who, in addition to the peace they had obtained, called openly for a cordial alliance with France, and the re-establishment of the treaty of 1756. These dispositions, concurring with the interests of the old proprietors and claimants of estates in the Netherlands, of which it had been the policy of the French government not to grant out the whole in forfeitures, and with that of the time-serving politicians who abound in every court, were greatly forwarded at this time by a violent degree of personal irritation, caused by the publication of Sir Arthur Paget's despatches. Of the chief of these despatches, as an able diplomatic paper, it is impossible to speak too highly. It was written at the end of October 1805; and, together with an undisguised exposition of the then state of affairs, contains a forcible and an honest narrative of the causes which led to the disasters of the campaign. Such a statement was alike necessary for the information of government, and for Sir Arthur's

personal vindication from all share in the transactions which he describes: But that it should have been laid entire upon the table of the House of Commons—that it should have been printed *verbatim* from the decyphered original, thereby furnishing a key to the disclosure of the whole of the correspondence carried on in that cypher by all our ministers in every court of Europe,—is one of those incredible actions which at first stupify more than they offend us, and which call forth the loud burst of indignation only after we are thoroughly convinced that the act was really committed in cool blood by men, administering, with every appearance of seriousness, the sacred functions of the British government.

In the situation produced by these events, it was no easy matter to re-establish any sort of confidential intercourse with the Court of Vienna; still less that degree of it which was necessary for the communication of common views, or the participation in common counsels. Mr Fox, indeed, was too well aware of the distresses of Austria, to think of persuading her to break the treaty of Presburg: But, viewing the conditions of that treaty, and—what to him appeared—her indifference under their pressure, he certainly did think that she was not quite aware of her danger. Yet to impress even this opinion upon her counsels to any purpose, required a degree of mutual good understanding, which Mr Fox had entirely to create. Austria was to be convinced that the *system of rousing* was at an end; that England had at last become sensible of the extent of her sacrifices, and would require from her no efforts that might expose her to further losses; while, on the other hand, she was to be encouraged by the well-grounded hope—a hope in perfect conformity with the principle of abstaining from all attempts to push her on to her undoing—that if further sacrifices were exacted from her, and they should be such as she should feel herself under the necessity of resisting, England would always be ready to come to her relief.

The policy of Austria at this time was to make the best of the peace of Presburg. Severe as were its conditions, it was still a deliverance from war; and it was only through the re-establishment of her finances, and the improvement of her military system, that she could hope, for any length of time, to secure even her independence. With regard to England, all she required of us was, to interfere in her concerns as little as possible; and then, only by our good offices, to facilitate friendly intelligence between herself and other powers. Whether this was or was not her true policy, we had no choice as to the part assigned us in it: but even in this part, small as it might appear in com-

parison with the preponderating influence which we had been accustomed so long to exert in her counsels, there was room enough for the exercise of patience, vigilance, foresight, and of all the qualities that belong to wise administration. Much confusion prevailed in the relations of the several states of Europe with each other: But it was not irreparable; and the cure was, at any rate, worth attempting. Austria had at this time matter for high complaint, and even resentment, against Russia. She had also to complain of Prussia. Yet the evils which both these powers had contributed so largely to inflict upon her, were still within the remedy of moderate and healing counsels; and it was our interest, in every view, to promote the oblivion of these differences. Ill as Prussia was behaving towards us in the affair of Hanover, it was only through her union with Austria in the defence of Germany, that that power could hope to find repose in the peace of Presburg.

In the differences between Austria and Russia, we had a still nearer interest; and, it might be hoped, greater means of contributing to their removal. Let us see then how the politics of Russia enabled us to assist Austria in removing them, and in thus preserving and securing the harmony of that defensive system through which alone she could hope at any future time to associate herself with Europe in a common concert.

The port and territory of Cattaro were convenient to Russia in her views on Dalmatia and the Adriatic. Austria, however, had ceded that place to France by the treaty of Presburg. The French Commissioners, empowered to take possession, not being on the spot on the day appointed to receive it, a Russian and Montenegrin force contrived to seize, and persisted in spite of every representation to retain, it. The first consequences of this ill timed proceeding, were, that Buonaparte seized Ragusa,—refused to restore Brannau, the Austrian frontier fortress on the side of Bavaria,—threatened to occupy Trieste and Fiume,—and, what was still worse, made this act a pretence for keeping that very army in Germany, which a Russian negotiator, four months afterwards, signed a separate treaty at Paris to remove, and which afterwards conquered Germany and the Prussian monarchy. Threat followed threat, insult succeeded to insult, remonstrance to remonstrance in the correspondence between the three Courts, on this unlucky subject; until at last Austria was under the necessity of issuing orders for the advance of a body of troops to attack and drive out the Russian garrison; and thus found herself on the brink of a new war either with France or Russia, or perhaps with both.

without having done any one act which could in the slightest degree provoke the hostility of either.

The effect of this misunderstanding, on any plan of common concert—if Russia looked forward to such a plan—requires no comment. But it was a mere trifle, compared to her almost incredible conduct towards Austria immediately after the battle of Jena. It has already been seen by what a course of fatal errors Prussia had precipitated herself into a war with France, without either concerting her measures with other powers, or preparing for her own defence. Yet the part to be taken by Austria when Buonaparte should carry the war into Poland—as he was about to do, after the battle of Jena—was not of less importance either to Europe or to herself. If she remained neuter, she saw Prussia, and all the north of Germany, together with Saxony and Prussian Poland; pass into the hands of Buonaparte. If she should attempt to arrest his progress, and fail, she was undone for ever. And where had she to look for concert?—Prussia had already begun to negotiate;—Russia had not passed her frontiers;—It was even doubtful how she would act in the existing emergency. The business of Cattaro had interrupted all confidential intercourse between the two Courts; and no overture, of any kind soever, had been made since the Prussian preparations, which could lead Austria to a certain knowledge of the future system of the Court of St Petersburg.

In this critical, and indeed decisive juncture, what was the conduct of that Cabinet?—Will it be credited when told?—Yet we can affirm it to be the fact, that the very first accounts received by the Austrian government from that Court, and written *after* the battle of Jena was known there, not only announced no determination on the part of Russia to come forward effectually to the succour of the Prussian monarchy, or even to increase her efforts for the defence of Poland, *but contained an official notification that the Russian army on the Dniester had been ordered to march into Moldavia!!!*

The dismay, the disgust, the indignation excited at Vienna by this intelligence, was beyond all description: and its immediate consequence was, the compliance with every demand of Buonaparte. A corps of 60,000 men had been assembled in Bohemia to protect the frontiers, and, in spite of every representation from the French ambassador, had been kept in readiness to advance. They were now disbanded. Facilities for the transport and subsistence of the French army were granted,—all hope of concert vanished at once,—and the common cause, ever the victim of separate interests, received a blow from which it has not recovered to this day.

To remedy this mischief, was quite out of the question. All that could be done, was to prevent it from spreading farther, and throwing Austria entirely, and with her whole weight into the arms of France. Such efforts as could be made upon the spot, however, were not wanting to explain, to excuse, and even to justify, by the apparent necessity of the case—grounded on the motions of Sebastiani at the Porte—this unfortunate proceeding. These efforts succeeded for the time; and matters, if not remedied, did not become worse. Soon afterwards, the Russian Government, apprized by this time of the sentiments of the British Cabinet—aware perhaps, itself, of the folly of lighting up a war in Turkey while the French were advancing into Poland—and clearsighted enough to see its consequences at the court of Vienna, in addition to all other causes of complaint from that quarter, had at last authorized an overture, with a view of engaging Austria to join in the common defence. In this overture, all matters of grievance were brought forward in an amicable manner; the prospect of great advantages to Austria was held out as the price of her accession; assurances were given, that the Emperor of Russia would bring his whole forces into the field; and explanations were offered for the entrance of the Russians into Moldavia: The whole, however, was accompanied with an intimation, not very unlike a menace, that if this invitation was not complied with, ‘*the system of the Russian Cabinet might take an opposite direction.*’ This, let it be well remembered, was stated to the Court of Vienna so early in December, as to make it clear that the instruction for it must have been given in the very first days of that month. Now it appears, from the papers presented to Parliament, that the application for a loan from England was not received by Lord Howick until the 1st of December; nor the requisition for diversions on the coasts of France and Holland until the 2d of January 1807;—consequently, Lord Howick’s answers to these proposals could not have influenced the instruction under which Austria had been previously threatened with this ‘*opposite direction*’ of the Russian system.

Here, however, was a moment, the first that had offered, in which the intervention of the British Government appeared likely to be of effectual service to her ally. The chance was eagerly seized. The Russian propositions were supported with decision and zeal. The time appearing to be arrived, at which Austria might declare herself with greater advantage than at any future period of the war, not a moment was lost in offering her the most ample and effectual support, in the event of her acceding to the Russian invitation. On the question which had

excited the deepest resentment and jealousy, namely, the invasion of Moldavia, its necessity was again defended: But it was represented, that the occupation of those territories could only be temporary;—that the close and intimate union between Great Britain and Russia, of which the integrity of Turkey formed an essential article, afforded ample security that no permanent annexation of those territories could be intended;—that to remove every doubt, however, the British Government was ready at that moment to enter with Austria into an express guarantee of the Turkish provinces.

When the part taken by the British Government, both at Vienna and Constantinople, on this question of the invasion of Turkey, is considered, it will be difficult to conceive by what means the interests of our imprudent ally could have been more effectually served and supported. If our interposition at this moment failed of persuading Austria to join us in the war, it succeeded, at least, in softening to a great degree her resentment against Russia. So greatly, indeed, did it prevail in this respect, that when, shortly afterwards, proposals were made to Austria by France for an alliance, grounded on the affairs of Turkey, they were not only rejected, but a disposition was evinced to refer all differences with the Court of St Petersburg to the mediation of Great Britain.

These favourable sentiments were so diligently improved by intermediate explanations, that at length a step was taken by Austria, of a nature to lead to the most beneficial results, and to afford a fair prospect either of a peace secured on the basis of an effective balance of power, or her eventual cooperation with the allies.

In the month of February, Austria, alarmed at the prospect of being forced into the war, in spite of all her endeavours to keep neutral, began to throw out wishes to become the mediator of a general peace. An overture to this effect was sent to Talleyrand at Warsaw; but, as Buonaparte was then with the army, no immediate answer was returned to it. M. Talleyrand, it is true, did not fail to express the never-ceasing desire of his master for universal peace; but still insisted on the principle of separate negotiation. Early in March, the Emperor of Russia's dispositions in favour of the Austrian proposal were made known at Vienna; upon which Talleyrand was again pressed for an immediate declaration of the intentions of France; and, in demanding the communication of them, Austria opened to the French minister the basis which she meant to propose for the general pacification of the Continent. It was as follows.

1. That the affairs of Germany should be made the subject of an entirely new arrangement.

2. That the state of Italy should likewise be subject to a new revision and settlement.

3. That the affairs of Turkey should be adjusted according to former treaties.

4. That Poland should be left as before the war.

5. That England should be admitted a party to the negotiations.

It was easy to see, that a mediation proceeding in good earnest, on such a basis, and supported, as it was intended to be, by an extensive armament, would be sure of ending in favour of the confederates, if the negotiations to which it led the way were conducted with ordinary discretion. That one was about to commence, there was every reason to believe. Talleyrand had agreed, that the general objects above enumerated presented a reasonable basis for negotiation. Buonaparte was still smarting under his losses at Eylau; and shortly afterwards, the official notice having arrived, that he was ready to accept of her intervention, Austria addressed, on the 3d of April, a formal offer of mediation to all the belligerents.

It would astonish any man not accustomed to Russian politics, to observe the course adopted by that power, on an offer which she knew to have been made in the true spirit which it professed, and which presented the only method through which it was either fair to demand, or possible to secure, the long-desired cooperation of Austria. But, unfortunately, there was a price to be paid for this cooperation, which did not suit that speculating and ambitious Cabinet. One of the articles in the Austrian basis, was the integrity of the Turkish dominions: and Russia was not prepared so easily to relinquish the part of them upon which she had actually seized. At the pressing instances of the British Government, she had indeed authorised her ambassador at Constantinople to agree to such terms of accommodation as Mr Arbuthnot could effect. But the case was now altered: She had gotten possession of almost the whole of Moldavia and Wallachia, and was already looking forward to secure that acquisition by an understanding with France. In the calculation of her ministers, the contingency of Austrian cooperation, on the rejection by France of an overture, one main article of which was the preliminary dereliction by Russia of all future views upon those provinces, was not to be compared with the chance of retaining them in even the worst issue of military operations,—or with the certainty that France, as the price of detaching Russia from England, would be ready to consent to her annexing them definitively to her dominions. By the guidance of this policy, accordingly, Russia shaped her

course. Although she had, at first, agreed to accept the mediation when it should be offered, she now returned a cold and evasive answer; and, instead of meeting the views of Austria, she called categorically upon her to accede to the convention of Bartenstein, which she had herself entered into with Prussia on the 14th of April. By this demand, she not only required of Austria instantly to change her character of mediatrix into that of belligerent, but to accede to a convention, embracing objects in which she had no interest,—and, although containing likewise an article in favour of Turkey, rendered dependent for its execution on her accession to all the others, for which it was well known that she was not prepared. Austria saw through the manœuvre. This convention contained demands so high, and so unsuited to the means of the confederates, that it was evident to her they were not serious in advancing them,—but that the whole was a contrivance to get rid of her intervention, grounded as it was upon sacrifices that Russia was not prepared to make. The consequence was obvious. Austria rejected the invitation, and fell back into those habits of shyness and jealousy towards the Court of St Petersburg, which it had been the object of such long and persevering exertion on the part of the British Government to remove.

There remain only the Turkish war, and the expedition to Constantinople,—and we have done with the charges against the foreign administration of 1806.

The matchless ingratitude of imputing separate purposes to Great Britain in her attack upon Egypt, was well answered by the British Counter Declaration of December 18th, 1807. That paper, after ably and satisfactorily exposing the falsehood of the assertion contained in the declaration of war, to which it is an answer—that Russia had been ‘fighting our battles rather than her own,’—goes on thus—‘The war with the Porte is still more singularly chosen to illustrate the charge against Great Britain, of indifference to the interests of her ally; a war undertaken by Great Britain, *solely at the instigation of Russia*, and *solely* for the purpose of maintaining Russian interests against the influence of France.’ Being at war with the Porte for the interests of Russia alone, it seemed sufficiently obvious that to conquer, and hold, one of the principal provinces of the enemy’s empire, from whence his capital derived the chief part of its daily food, would be no inefficacious aid to the Russian operations on the Danube. It was greatly to be apprehended also, and information was not wanting to justify the apprehension, that the newly acquired influence of Sebastiani would succeed in obtaining the consent of the Porte to the re-

occupation of Egypt by the French. Each of those motives, and still more the two united, pointed out the propriety of taking possession of the principal port of Egypt, provided the force to be employed in that expedition should not be wanted for some more eligible service: And though we are accused, in the Russian manifesto, of not having sent this force to take Naples, it is perfectly notorious that this idle and ridiculous notion was put into the heads of the Russian ministers by their envoy at the Court of Palermo, a man notoriously devoted to the Queen.

But the defence of what is called the *Expedition to Constantinople*, stands on other grounds. In fact that defence is already made. The motives and the policy of this measure are to be found in the preceding narrative of the causes which had so fatally operated to perpetuate the disunion of Europe. In these will be seen, not the justice and expediency alone of supporting an ally, according to the terms of a treaty, but the necessity that then existed of removing a cause of discontent between Russia and Austria, which was leading them on from jealousy to discord, and from discord to war. The restoration of the Hospodars afforded the only basis on which these differences could be composed; and England, when she procured the order for it in November, through her ambassador Mr Arbuthnot, gained a most important triumph. Nor is there any reason to doubt that their actual restoration would have taken place, if, in consequence of the orders hastily issued to Michelson on the first news of their deposition, that general had not marched his army into Moldavia. When the account of his march reached Constantinople, all was to begin over again; and to begin under the sad auspices of the destruction of the Prussian monarchy.

The passage of the Dardanelles, and the sailing up to Constantinople by the British fleet under Sir Thomas Duckworth, has been unaccountably mistaken for a mere military expedition, and as such has been condemned for some supposed military faults, such as neglecting to occupy the forts along the straits by a body of troops. No military man, however, who has ever seen those forts, will sanction such a censure. They are all open on the land side, commanded in every direction, untenable against the martial population of the surrounding country, and without the means of supporting their garrisons, who must have drawn all their supplies from their ships, as long as they could keep up any communication with them. But it never was with a view of conquest or diversion that the British fleet appeared before Constantinople. It came to enforce the demands of the British ambassador, who, calculating that

would have a better chance of success by negotiating from on board the fleet, than by negotiating on shore, with the fleet to support him, had quitted the Porte to search for Sir Thomas Duckworth, and had returned with the squadron to propose his terms. Now, whether this was, or was not, the most judicious course to take, or whether the ambassador had any choice, are matters absolutely foreign to the general question of the wisdom of the proceeding itself; and all that the Government at home could possibly be required to make out, may be summed up in the five following points:—*First*, that the object should be worthy the effort; *secondly*, that the means should be equal to enforcing it; *thirdly*, that the means should be of a nature adapted to the end desired; *fourthly*, that the orders for employing them should be so distinct and positive, as to leave no room to doubt when and how they were to be executed; and, *fifthly*, that no time should be lost, either in issuing the orders, or in despatching the force. If their proceedings shall be found to answer to all those conditions, it is conceived that they must stand acquitted, even in the eyes of Mr Eustaphieff and his English abettors. We shall run them shortly over.

1. The object of the expedition was to procure that to be done by the Turkish government which, in its immediate consequences, would have restored a most beneficial treaty of defensive alliance between Great Britain, Russia, and the Porte; have destroyed the intrigues and influence of France; have set at liberty a considerable Russian army to act against France in Poland, at the most critical instant of the campaign; and terminated the differences between the Courts of Vienna and St Petersburg.

2. The means were an English fleet; and the proof of their adequacy to the end proposed is, that the fleet silenced and passed the Turkish forts at the Dardanelles, and along the Straits; arrived to within a very few miles of the seraglio; and *might have anchored under its walls without the smallest obstacle.*

3. The proof that these means were adapted to the end desired, is furnished from evidence acquired since the transaction has lost its interest as an affair of party, and is become matter of history. Both the ambassador who accompanied the squadron, and his successor who negotiated the peace two years afterwards, have borne testimony to this point; and in particular the latter, who had the opportunity of verifying the facts upon the spot, stated in Parliament, that when the British squadron appeared in sight, the Sultan sent a message to the French ambassador, Sebastiani, to tell him frankly, that much as he wished to keep well with his master, Napoleon, he would not for his

sake expose his capital to be destroyed ; and that in consequence of his having resolved to grant the terms demanded by the English, one of which was, the departure of the French embassy, *he had sent the Ambassador his passports, and required him to lose no time in making use of them.* Sebastiani prepared to obey the order, and told the French merchants to shift for themselves as well as they could ; when, to the surprise of every body, the English squadron changed its course, and instead of sailing straight up to the Seraglio Point, bore away for the Princes' Islands, and took a station three miles from any spot from whence offensive operations could be undertaken. There the squadron was kept wind-bound for 12 days. A negotiation was indeed begun ; but the opportunity for action being lost, of course it failed.

4. On the distinctness of the orders given by Lord Howick to Mr Arbuthnot, there never has been a controversy. He was to *require* the removal of Sebastiani ; but he was to *insist peremptorily* on the restoration of the Hospodars, and the passage for Russian ships of war with stores and transports through the canal of Constantinople, according to treaty. . He was told, that peace or war would be the consequence of the answer of the Porte ; and that, if satisfaction on these two points should be refused, he was to declare his mission at an end, and signify to the British admiral that hostilities were to commence.

5. With regard to time, these orders, with a squadron to enforce their execution, followed, within six days, Lord Howick's first despatch to Mr Arbuthnot, written *immediately* on his being made acquainted with the state of affairs at Constantinople ;—a despatch in which Mr Arbuthnot was distinctly informed, that his whole preceding conduct in support of Russia had been approved, and that both orders and squadron would be sent to him in four or five days from the date of it. By the papers laid before Parliament, it appears that Mr Arbuthnot received this first despatch on the 22d of January, but that he did not stay to receive the second ; having judged it expedient to quit the residence in the night of the 29th. Whether, in this, he was right or wrong, is nothing to the present question. The Government could do no more than they did : they could but send him a force, adequate to the object to be attained—adapted in its quality to the end desired—accompanied by precise instructions how to use it ;—and it has been seen that they did send it in six days after they had received the information that rendered the measure necessary.

Here we close our remarks on the conduct of foreign affairs during the short administration of 1806, so far as they concern

the charge brought against Great Britain of abandoning Russia, and, with Russia, the common cause of Europe. We think it has been clearly proved, that Russia separated herself from this common cause, by the pursuit of objects incompatible with it in every shape, and in every sense. But we cannot dismiss the subject, which is become doubly interesting at the present hour by the events which have recently occurred, and the prospects which are opening before us, without some observations on the policy to which the slightest reflection upon the transactions we have developed obviously and irresistibly points. A Revolution, we can call it by no other name, has taken place in the military state of Europe, by the destruction of the mightiest combination of its armies that it ever put forth against a single state; and we see that state, in return, advancing to avenge its own injuries; and, we will hope, to restore peace to the world, on solid and equitable foundations. Let not our hopes, however, incline us to reject our knowledge. The days of magnificent promise, and of sanguine expectation, are again arrived—and with them the hazard of rash enterprise and ruinous disappointment. Without discouraging Russia from the pursuit of her present path—without suffering a doubt of her motives to arrest our hand, wherever we can extend it with effect, let us not, in the cordiality of our present exultation, disdain the lessons of the past. If the time be favourable to the reestablishment of our connections with the Continent, it is highly necessary that we should fix some definite principles on which they may rest, that the true benefits to be derived from their renewal may not be lost in visionary projects and unfruitful triumphs, or be utterly cast away as soon as a moment of reverse shall rekindle those passions and jealousies and interests, which a moment of good fortune has extinguished.

It is for this reason that we must be more than ordinarily cautious in our advances on this doubtful ground: and, without depriving our system of the power of expansion, necessary to embrace any advantages which may present themselves in times so full of uncertainty, we should do well to take our ideas of good rather low,—so that all we may effect beyond them may be counted as clear gain. There is no other state but Russia that can yet be said to be out of hazard of French conquest and occupation—and we shall do well, therefore, to look to Russia alone in our present projects for the restoration of the ancient system of Europe. Then we should take great care to stipulate for nothing we cannot be sure may be performed. England and Russia cannot deliver the world—But they can maintain their alliance in spite of it. A treaty for such an alliance, taking for its principle of joint war and joint peace, would appear

therefore to be sufficient, in the present state of things, to constitute a foundation on which any political edifice of larger dimensions, might hereafter be raised. If an alliance be formed with her upon a more extended scale, and embracing objects exposed to the risk of failure, such failure will inevitably, as in former instances, draw along with it the loss of the whole alliance; and we shall have nothing but the coalition of 1805 acted over again:—Whereas, if our alliance is limited to a community of relations in war and in peace, but rendered strong enough to endure until France shall be forced to recognize it,—whether we fail or not in reducing France to accede to the whole of our demands, we are sure of success in the destruction of that system of Continental exclusion through which alone she can seriously affect our existence: For, let it ever be recollected, that the efficacy of what is called the Continental System, depends upon its completeness in all its parts. It is indeed the deepest and most mischievous contrivance ever yet devised for the gradual extinction of England. If then Great Britain and Russia can maintain their intercourse, it matters *comparatively* but little at what period they make their treaty with France. By the very fact of a joint treaty, signed between the allies as one party, and France as another, the Continental System is at an end: and ‘the world is all before us,’ as well as before our enemy.

But a still more important consideration remains. We should enter into no concert with any power whatever, to the stipulations of which, *all* States called Independent may not accede without prejudice to themselves. Any treaty or engagement, therefore, involving, or leading to acts of partition of other countries, would, in the present moment, be the height of absurdity, as well as wickedness. It is only from the voluntary union of the principal States of Europe, produced by a sense of their wrongs, and a just hope of redress, that the world can expect relief. If Russia is influenced by a remote hope of adding to the acquisitions she has made since the peace of Tilsit—if Sweden tells us that she will not stir without some prospect of compensation for the robbery committed upon her by Russia in the seizure of Finland—and fixes that compensation in the states of a power that asserts her right, and expresses her readiness to embark with us in the great work in hand,—from that moment the principle of disunion is planted in our confederacy—and the same errors that have already dissolved five of these incoherent masses, will, by sure consequence, destroy the sixth.

These principles are not only good for Great Britain, making her engagements with Russia;—they are those

must govern Russia in her contracts with every other state. By this time, she must be well aware that without Austria it is idle to talk of making any durable impression on the French power. Let her look to this in her arrangements with Prussia and Saxony; in her plans for Poland; in her speculations towards the Danube and the Mediterranean; and beware of consolidating the Austrian and French interests, and converting what is now perhaps but a mere family alliance, into an effective national union.

We are aware that these notions are much too moderate for some of our high-flying politicians, whom the Russian successes have again brought forward upon the scene. It may be so;—but we have an old-fashioned veneration for Experience, and still are steady followers of the divinity of Prudence. We believe also, that so much substantial good is truly within our reach, as to feel a more than common share of dislike to all gaudy projects that may lead us out of the path which conducts to it.

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No. XLII. will be published in July.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW;

JULY, 1813.

N^o. XLII.

ART. I. *Correspondance, Litteraire, Philosophique et Critique. Adressée à un Souverain d'Allemagne, depuis 1770 jusqu'à 1782. Par le Baron De Grimm, et par Diderot. 5 Tomes. 8vo. pp. 2250. Paris, 1812.*

THIS is certainly a very entertaining book—though a little too bulky—and, the greater part of it, not very important. We are glad to see it, however; not only because we are glad to see any thing entertaining, but also because it makes us acquainted with a person, of whom every one has heard a great deal, and most people hitherto known very little. There is no name which comes oftener across us, in the recent history of French literature, than that of Grimm; and none, perhaps, whose right to so much notoriety seemed to most people to stand upon such scanty titles. Coming from a foreign country, without rank, fortune, or exploits of any kind to recommend him, he contrived, one does not very well see how, to make himself conspicuous for forty years in the best company of Paris; and at the same time to acquire great influence and authority among literary men of all descriptions, without publishing any thing himself, but a few slight observations upon French and Italian music.

The volumes before us help, in part, to explain this enigma; and not only give proof of talents and accomplishments quite sufficient to justify the reputation the author enjoyed among his contemporaries, but also of such a degree of industry and exertion, as entitle him, we think, to a reasonable reversion of fame from posterity. Before laying before our readers any part of this miscellaneous chronicle, we shall endeavour to give them a general idea of its construction—and to tell them all that we have been able to discover about its author.

Melchior Grimm was born at Ratisbon in 1723, of very humble parentage; but, being tolerably well educated, took to literature at a very early period. His first essays were made in his own country—and, as we understand, in his native language—where he composed several tragedies, which were hissed upon the stage, and unmercifully abused in the closet, by Lessing, and the other oracles of Teutonic criticism. He then came to Paris, as a sort of tutor to the children of M. de Schomberg, and was employed in the humble capacity of reader to the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, when he was first brought into notice by Rousseau, who was smitten with his enthusiasm for music, and made him known to Diderot, the Baron d'Holbach, and various other persons of eminence in the literary world. His vivacity and various accomplishments soon made him generally acceptable; while his uniform prudence and excellent good sense prevented him from ever losing any of the friends he had gained. Rousseau, indeed, chose to quarrel with him for sitting down one evening in a seat which he had previously fixed upon for himself; but with Voltaire, and D'Alembert, and all the rest of that illustrious society, both male and female, he continued always on the most cordial footing; and, while he is reproached with a certain degree of obsequiousness toward the rich and powerful, must be allowed to have used less flattery toward his literary associates than was usual in the intercourse of those jealous and artificial beings.

When the Duke of Saxe-Gotha left Paris, Grimm undertook to send him regularly an account of every thing remarkable that occurred in the literary, political, and scandalous chronicle of that great city; and acquitted himself in this delicate office so much to the satisfaction of his noble correspondent, that he nominated him, in 1776, his resident at the court of France, and raised him at the same time to the rank and dignity of a Baron. The volumes before us are a part of the despatches of this literary plenipotentiary; and are certainly the most amusing state papers that have ever fallen under our observation.

The Baron De Grimm continued to exercise the functions of this philosophical diplomacy, till the gathering storm of the Revolution drove both ministers and philosophers from the territories of the new Republic. He then took refuge of course in the court of his master, where he resided till 1795, when Catharine of Russia; to whose shrine he had formerly made a pilgrimage from Paris, gave him the appointment of her minister at the court of Saxony—which he continued to hold till the end of the reign of the unfortunate Paul, when the par-

loss of sight obliged him to withdraw altogether from busi-

siness, and to return to the court of Saxe-Gotha, where he continued his studies in literature and the arts with unabated ardour, till he sunk at last under a load of years and infirmities in the end of 1807. He was of an uncomely and grotesque appearance—with huge projecting eyes and discordant features, which he rendered still more hideous, by daubing them profusely with white and with red paint—according to the most approved *costume* of *petits-mâtres* in the year 1748, when he made his *débüt* at Paris.

The book embraces a period of about twelve years only, from 1770 to 1782, with a gap for 1775 and part of 1776. It is said in the title-page to be partly the work of Grimm, and partly that of Diderot,—but the contributions of the latter are few, and comparatively of little importance. It is written half in the style of a journal intended for the public, and half in that of private and confidential correspondence; and, notwithstanding the retrenchments which the editor boasts of having made in the manuscript, contains a vast miscellany of all sorts of intelligence;—critiques upon all new publications, new operas, and new performers at the theatres;—accounts of all the meetings and elections at the academies,—and of the deaths and characters of all the eminent persons who demised in the period to which it extends;—copies of the epigrams, and editions of the scandalous stories that occupied the idle population of Paris during the same period—interspersed with various original compositions, and brief and pithy dissertations upon the general subjects that are suggested by such an enumeration.—Of these, the accounts of the operas and the actors are the most tedious,—the critical and biographical sketches the most lively,—and the general observations the most striking and important. The whole, however, is given with great vivacity and talent, and with a degree of freedom which trespasses occasionally upon the borders both of propriety and of good taste.

There is nothing indeed more exactly painted in these graphical volumes, than the character of M. Grimm himself;—and the beauty of it is, that as there is nothing either natural or peculiar about it, it may stand for the character of all the wits and philosophers he frequented. He had more wit, perhaps, and more sound sense and information, than the greater part of the society in which he lived—but the leading traits belong to the whole class; and to all classes indeed, in similar situations, in every part of the world. Whenever there is a very large assemblage of persons who have no other occupation but to amuse themselves, there will infallibly be generated acuteness of intellect, refinement of manners, and good taste in con-

versation ;—and, with the same certainty, all profound thought, and all serious affection, will be discarded from their society. The multitude of persons and things that force themselves on the attention in such a scene, and the rapidity with which they succeed each other and pass away, prevent any one from making a deep or permanent impression ; and the mind, having never been tasked to any course of application, and long habituated to this lively succession and variety of objects, comes at last to require the excitement of perpetual change, and to find a multiplicity of friends as indispensable as a multiplicity of amusements. Thus the characteristics of large and polished society, come almost inevitably to be, wit and heartlessness—acuteness and perpetual derision. The same impatience of uniformity, and passion for variety which give so much grace to their conversation, by excluding all tediousness and pertinacious wrangling, make them incapable of dwelling for many minutes on the feelings and concerns of any one individual ; while the constant pursuit of little gratifications, and the weak dread of all uneasy sensations, render them equally averse from serious sympathy and deep thought. They speedily find out the shortest and most pleasant way to all truths, to which a short and a pleasant way can readily be discovered ; and then lay it down as a maxim, that no others are worth looking after—and, in the same way, they do such petty kindnesses, and indulge such light sympathies, as do not put them to any trouble, or encroach at all on their amusements,—while they make it a principle to wrap themselves up in those amusements from the assault of all more engrossing or importunate affections.

The turn for derision again arises naturally out of this order of things. When passion and enthusiasm, affection and serious occupation have once been banished by a short-sighted voluptuousness, the sense of ridicule is almost the only lively sensation that remains ;—and the envied life of those who have nothing to do but to enjoy themselves, would be utterly listless and without interest, if they were not allowed to laugh at each other. Their quickness in perceiving ordinary follies and illusions too, affords great encouragement to this laudable practice ;—and as none of them have so much passion or enthusiasm left, as to be deeply wounded by the shafts of derision, they fall lightly, and without ranking, on the lesser vanities, which supply in them those master-springs of human action and feeling.

The whole style and tone of this publication affords the most striking illustration of these general remarks. From one end of it to the other, it is a display of the most complete heartlessness, and the most uninterrupted levity. It chronicles the deaths of half the author's acquaintance—and makes jests upon

them all ; and is much more serious in discussing the merits of an opera dancer, than in considering the evidence for the being of a God, or the first foundations of morality. Nothing, indeed, can be more just or conclusive, than the remark that is forced from M. Grimm himself, upon the utter carelessness, and instant oblivion, that followed the death of one of the most distinguished, active, and amiable members of his coterie;—‘ tant il est vrai que ce qui nous appellons *la Société*, est ce qu’il y a de plus léger, de plus ingrat, et de plus frivole au monde ! ’

Holding this opinion very firmly ourselves, it will easily be believed that we are very far from *envying* the brilliant persons who composed, or gave the tone to this exquisite society ;—and while we have a due admiration for the elegant pleasantry, correct taste, and gay acuteness, of which they furnish, perhaps, the only perfect models, we think it more desirable, on the whole, to be the spectators, than the possessors of those accomplishments ; and would no more wish to buy them at the price of our sober thinking, and settled affections, than we would buy the dexterity of a fiddler, or a ropedancer, at the price of our personal respectability. Even in the days of youth and high spirits, there is no solid enjoyment in living altogether with people who care nothing about us ; and when we begin to grow old and unamuseable, there can be nothing so comfortless as to be surrounded with those who think of nothing but amusement. The spectacle, however, is gay and beautiful to those who look upon it with a good-natured sympathy ; and naturally suggests reflections that may be interesting to the most serious. A judicious extractor, we have no doubt, might accommodate both classes of readers, from the ample magazine that lies before us.

The most figuring person in the work, and indeed of the age to which it belongs, was beyond all question *Voltaire*,—of whom, and of whose character, it presents us with many very amusing traits. He receives no other name throughout the book, than ‘ The Patriarch ’ of the Holy Philosophical Church, of which the authors, and the greater part of their friends, profess to be humble votaries and disciples. The infallibility of its chief, however, seems to have formed no part of the creed of this reformed religion ; for, with all his admiration for the wit, and playfulness, and talent of the philosophic pontiff, nothing can exceed the freedoms in which Mr Grimm indulges, both as to his productions, and his character. All his poetry, he says, after *Tancréd*, is clearly marked with the symptoms of approaching dotage and decay ; and his views of many important subjects he treats as altogether erroneous, shallow, and contemptible.

He is particularly offended with him for not adopting the decided atheism of the *Système de la Nature*, and for weakly stopping short at a kind of paltry deism. 'The Patriarch,' says he, 'still sticks to his *Remunerateur-Vengeur*, without whom he fancies the world would go on very ill. He is resolute enough, I confess, for putting down the god of knaves and bigots, but is not for parting with that of the virtuous and rational. He reasons upon all this, too, like a baby—a very smart baby—it must be owned—but a baby notwithstanding. He would be a little puzzled, I take it, if he were asked what was the colour of his god of the virtuous and wise, &c. &c. He cannot conceive, he says, how mere motion, undirected by intelligence, should ever have produced such a world as we inhabit—and we verily believe him. Nobody can conceive it—but it is a *fact* nevertheless; and we see it—which is nearly as good.' We give this merely as a specimen of the disciple's irreverence towards his master; for nothing can be more contemptible than the reasoning of M. Grimm in support of his own desolating opinions. He is more near being right, where he makes himself merry with the patriarch's ignorance of natural philosophy. Every Achilles however, he adds, has a vulnerable heel—and that of the hero of Ferney is his Physics.*

M. Grimm, however, reveals worse infirmities than this in his great preceptor. There was a Mademoiselle Raucour, it seems, who, though an actress, enjoyed an unblemished reputation. Voltaire, who had never seen her, chose one morning to write to the Marechal de Richelieu, by whom she was patronized, that she was a notorious prostitute, and ready to be taken into keeping by any one who would offer for her. This imputation having been thoughtlessly communicated to the dainesel herself, produced no little commotion; and upon Voltaire's

* This is only true, however, with regard to Natural History and Chemistry; for as to the nobler part of Physics, which depends on science, his attainments were equal perhaps to those of any of his age and country, with the exception of D'Alembert. Even his astronomy, however, though by no means "mince et raccourtie," had a tendency to confirm him in that paltry Deism, for which he is so unmercifully rated by M. Grimm. We do not know many quatrains in French poetry more beautiful than the following, which the Patriarch indited *impromptu*, one fine summer evening—

'Tous ces vastes pays d'Azur et de Lumiere,
'Tirés du sein du vide, et formés sans matiere,
'Arrondis sans compas, et tournans sans pivot,
'Ont à peine eûté la dépense d'un mot.'

being remonstrated with, he immediately retracted the whole story, which it seems was a piece of pure invention; and confessed, that the only thing he had to object to Madlle. Raucour was, that he had understood they had put off the representation of a new play of his, in order to gratify the public with her appearance in comedy;—‘and this was enough,’ says M. Grimm, to ‘irritate a child of seventy-nine against another child of seventeen, who came in the way of his gratification!’

A little after, he tells a story which is not only very disreputable to the Patriarch, but affords a striking example of the monstrous evils that arise from religious intolerance, in a country where the whole population is not of the same communion. A Mons. de B. introduced himself into a protestant family at Montauban, and after some time, publicly married the only daughter of the house, in the church of her pastor. He lived several years with her, and had one daughter—dissipated her whole property—and at last deserted her, and married another woman at Paris—upon the pretence that his first union was not binding, the ceremony not having been performed by a Catholic priest. The Parliament ultimately allowed this plea; and farther directed, that the daughter should be taken from its mother, and educated in the true faith in a convent. The transaction excited general indignation; and the legality of the sentence, and especially the last part of it, was very much disputed, both in the profession and out of it;—when Voltaire, to the astonishment of all the world, thought fit to put forth a pamphlet in its defence. M. Grimm treats the whole matter with his usual coldness and pleasantry;—and as a sort of apology for this extraordinary proceeding of his chief, very coolly observes, ‘The truth is, that for some time past, the Patriarch has been suspected, and indeed convicted, of the most abominable cowardice. He defied the old Parliament in his youth with signal courage and intrepidity; and now he cringes to the new one, and even condescends to be its panegyrist, from an absurd dread of being persecuted by it on the very brink of the tomb. Ah! Seigneur Patriarche! he concludes, in this true Parisian accent, Horace was much more excuseable for flattering Augustus who had honoured him, though he destroyed the republic, than you are, for justifying, without any intelligible motive, a proceeding so utterly detestable, and upon which, if you had not courage to speak as became you, you were not called upon to say any thing.’ It must be a comfort to the reader to learn, that immediately after this sentence, a M. Vanrobais, an old and most respectable gentleman, was chivalrous enough, at the age of 70, to marry the deserted

widow, and to place her in a situation every way more respectable than that of which she had been so basely defrauded.

There is a great deal, in the first of these volumes, about the statue that was voted to Voltaire by his disciples in 1770.—Pigalle the sculptor was despatched to Ferney to model him, in spite of the opposition he affects to make in a letter to Mad. Necker, in which he very reasonably observes, that in order to be modelled, a man ought to have a face—but that age and sickness have so reduced him, that it is not easy to point out whereabouts his had been; that his eyes are sunk into pits three inches deep, and the small remnant of his teeth recently deserted; that his skin is like old parchment wrinkled over dry bones, and his legs and arms like dry spindles;—in short, ‘*qu’on n’a jamais sculpté un pauvre homme dans cet état.*’ Phidias Pigalle, however, as he calls him, goes upon his errand, notwithstanding all these discouragements; and finds him, according to M. Grimm, in a state of great vivacity. ‘He skips up stairs,’ he assures me, ‘more nimbly than all his subscribers together, and is as quick as lightning in running to shut doors, and open windows; but, with all this, he is very anxious to pass for a poor man in the last extremities; and would take it much amiss if he thought that any body had discovered the secret of his health and vigour. Some awkward person, indeed, it appears, has been complimenting him upon the occasion; for he writes me as follows—‘My dear friend—Though Phidias Pigalle is the most virtuous of mortals, he calumniate me cruelly; I understand he goes about saying that I am quite well, and as sleek as a monk!—Such is the ungrateful return he makes for the pains I took to force my spirits for his amusement, and to puff up my buccinatory muscles to recommend myself to him!—Jean Jacques is far more puffed up, however, than me; but it is with conceit, from which I am free.’—In another letter he says,—‘When the peasants in my village saw Pigalle laying out some of the instruments of his art, they flocked round us with great glee, and said, Ah! he is going to *dissect* him—how droll!—so one spectacle you see is just as good for some people as another.’

The account which Pigalle gives of his mission, is extremely characteristic. For the first eight days, he could make nothing of his patient,—he was so restless and full of grimaces, starts and gesticulations. He promised every night to give him a long sitting next day, and always kept his word;—but then, he could no more sit still, than a child of three years old. He dictated letters all the time to his secretary; and, in the mean time, kept blowing peas in the air, making *pirouettes* round his chamber, or indulging in other feats of activity, equally fatal to the views

of the artist. Poor Phidias was about to return to Paris in despair, without having made the slightest progress in his design; when the conversation happening by good luck to turn upon Aaron's golden calf, and Pigalle having said that he did not think such a thing could be modelled and cast in less than six months, the Patriarch was so pleased with him, that he submitted to any thing he thought proper all the rest of the day, and the model was completed that very evening.

There are a number of other anecdotes, extremely characteristic of the vivacity, impatience, and want of restraint which distinguished this extraordinary person. One of the most amusing is that of the *Congé* which he gave to the Abbé Coyer, who was kind enough to come to his castle of Ferney, with the intention of paying a long visit. The second morning, however, the Patriarch interrupted him in the middle of a dull account of his travels, with this perplexing question, 'Do you know, M. L'Abbé, in what you differ entirely from Don Quixotte?' The poor Abbé was unable to divine the precise point of distinction; and the philosopher was pleased to add, 'Why, you know the Don took all the inns on his road for castles,—but it appears to me that you take castles for inns.' The Abbé decamped without waiting for a further reckoning. He behaved still worse to a M. De Barthe, whom he invited to come and read a play to him, and afterwards drove out of the house, by the yawns and frightful contortions with which he amused himself, during the whole of the performance.

One of his happiest repartees is said to have been made to an Englishman, who had recently been on a visit to the celebrated Haller, in whose praise Voltaire enlarged with great warmth, extolling him as a great poet, a great naturalist, and a man of universal attainments. The Englishman answered, that it was very handsome in M. De Voltaire to speak so well of Mr Haller, inasmuch as he, the said Mr Haller, was by no means so liberal to M. de Voltaire. 'Alas!' said the Patriarch, with an air of philosophic indulgence, 'I dare say we are both of us very much mistaken.'

On another occasion, a certain M. De St Ange, who valued himself on the graceful turn of his compliments, having come to see him, took his leave with this studied allusion to the diversity of his talents, 'My visit to day has only been to Homer—another morning I shall pay my respects to Sophocles and Euripides—another to Tacitus—and another to Lucian.' 'Ah, Sir!' replied the Patriarch, 'I am wretchedly old,—could you not contrive to see all these gentlemen together?' M. Mercier, who had the same passion for fine speeches, told him one day, 'You outdo every body so much in their own way, that

‘ I am sure you will beat Fontenelle in longevity.’ ‘ No, no, Sir!’ answered the Patriarch, ‘ Fontenelle was a Norman; and, you may depend upon it, contrived to trick Nature out of her rights.’

One of the most prolific sources of witticisms that is noticed in this collection, is the Patriarch’s elevation to the dignity of temporal father of the Capuchins in his district. The cream of the whole, however, may be found in the following letter of his to M. De Richelieu.

“ Je voudrais bien, monseigneur, avoir le plaisir de vous donner ma bénédiction avant de mourir. L’expression vous paraîtra un peu forte: elle est pourtant dans la vérité. J’ai l’honneur d’être capucin. Notre général qui est à Rome, vient de m’envoyer mes patentes; mon titre est: *Frère Spirituel et Père Temporel des Capucins*. Mandez-moi laquelle de vos maîtresses vous voulez retirer du purgatoire; je vous jure sur ma barbe qu’elle n’y sera pas dans vingt-quatre heures. Comme je dois me détacher des biens de ce monde, j’ai abandonné à mes parens ce qui m’est dû par la succession de feu madame la princesse de Guise, et par M. votre intendant; ils iront à ce sujet prendre vos ordres qu’ils regarderont comme un bienfait. Je vous donne ma bénédiction. Signé *VOLTAIRE*, Capucin indigne, et qui n’a pas encore eu de bonne fortune de capucin.” p. 51, 53.

We have very full details of the last days of this distinguished person. He came to Paris, as is well known, after 27 years absence, at the age of 84; and the very evening he arrived, he recited himself the whole of his *Irene* to the players, and passed all the rest of the night in correcting the piece for representation. A few days after, he was seized with a violent vomiting of blood, and instantly called stoutly for a priest, saying, that they should not throw him out on the dunghill. A priest was accordingly brought; and the Patriarch very gravely subscribed a profession of his faith in the Christian religion—of which he was ashamed, and attempted to make a jest, as soon as he recovered. He was received with unexampled honours at the Academy, the whole members of which rose together, and came out to the vestibule to escort him into the hall; while, on the exterior, all the avenues, windows, and roofs of houses, by which his carriage had to pass, were crowded with spectators, and resounded with acclamations. But the great scene of his glory was the theatre; in which he no sooner appeared, than the whole audience rose up, and continued for upwards of twenty minutes in thunders of applause and shouts of acclamation that filled the whole house with dust and agitation. When the piece was concluded, the curtain was again drawn up, and discovered the bust of their idol in the middle of the stage, while the favourite actress placed a crown of laurel on its brows, and recited some verses, too

words of which could scarcely be distinguished amidst the tumultuous shouts of the spectators. The whole scene, says M. Grimm, reminded us of the classic days of Greece and Rome. But it became more truly touching at the moment when its object rose to retire. Weakened and agitated by the emotions he had experienced, his limbs trembled beneath him; and, bending almost to the earth, he seemed ready to expire under the weight of years and honours that had been laid upon him. His eyes, filled with tears, still sparkled with a peculiar fire in the midst of his pale and faded countenance. All the beauty and all the rank of France crowded round him in the lobbies and stair-cases, and literally bore him in their arms to the door of his carriage. Here the humbler multitude took their turn; and, calling for torches that all might get a sight of him, clustered round his coach, and followed it to the door of his lodgings, with vehement shouts of admiration and triumph. This is the heroic part of the scene;—but M. Grimm takes care also to let us know, that the Patriarch appeared on this occasion in long lace ruffles, and a fine coat of cut velvet, with a grey periwig of a fashion forty years old, which he used to comb every morning with his own hands, and to which nothing at all parallel had been seen for ages—except on the head of Bachaumont the novelist, who was known accordingly among the wits of Paris by the name of ‘Voltaire’s wigblock.’

This brilliant and protracted career, however, was now drawing to a close.—Retaining to the last, that untameable spirit of activity and impatience which had characterized all his past life, he assisted at rehearsals and meetings of the Academy, with the zeal and enthusiasm of early youth. At one of the latter, some objections were started to his magnificent project, of giving a new edition of their Dictionary;—and he resolved to compose a discourse to obviate those objections. To strengthen himself for this task, he swallowed a prodigious quantity of strong coffee, and then continued at work for upwards of twelve hours without intermission. This imprudent effort brought on an inflammation in his bladder; and being told by M. De Richelieu, that he had been much relieved in a similar situation, by taking, at intervals, a few drops of laudanum, he provided himself with a large bottle of that medicine, and with his usual impatience, swallowed the greater part of it in the course of the night. The consequence was, as might naturally have been expected, that he fell into a sort of lethargy, and never recovered the use of his faculties, except for a few minutes at a time, till the hour of his death, which happened three days after, on the evening of the 30th of May 1778. The priest to whom he had made his confession, and another, entered

his chamber a short time before he breathed his last. He recognized them with difficulty, and assured them of his respects. One of them coming close up to him, he threw his arm round his neck, as if to embrace him. But when M. le Curé, taking advantage of this cordiality, proceeded to urge him to make some sign or acknowledgement of his belief in the Christian faith, he gently pushed him back, and said, 'Alas! let me die in peace.' The priest turned to his companion, and with great moderation and presence of mind, observed aloud, 'You see his faculties are quite gone.' They then quietly left the apartment;—and the dying man, having testified his gratitude to his kind and vigilant attendants, and named several times the name of his favourite niece Madame Denis, shortly after expired.

Nothing can better mark the character of the work before us, and of its author, than to state, that the despatch which contains this striking account of the last hours of his illustrious patron and friend, terminates with an obscene epigram of M. Rulhiere, and a gay critique on the new administration of the opera Buffa! There are various epitaphs on Voltaire, scattered through the sequel of the volume:—we prefer this very brief one, by a lady of Lausanne.

* *Ci gît l'enfant gâté du monde qu'il gata.* *

Among the other proofs which M. Grimm has recorded of the celebrity of this extraordinary person, the incredible multitude of his portraits that were circulated, deserves to be noticed. One ingenious artist, in particular, of the name of Huber, had acquired such a facility in forming his countenance, that he could not only cut most striking likenesses of him out of paper, with scissars held behind his back, but could mould a little bust of him in half a minute, out of a bit of bread, and at last used to make his *dog* manufacture most excellent profiles, by making him bite off the edge of a biscuit which he held to him in three or four different positions!

There is less about *Rousseau* in these volumes, than we should expect from their author's early intimacy with that great writer. What there is, however, is candid and judicious. M. Grimm agrees with Mad. de Staël, that *Rousseau* was nothing of a Frenchman in his character;—and accordingly he observes, that though the magic of his style, and the extravagance of his sentiments procured him some crazy disciples, he never had any partisans among the enlightened part of the nation. He laughs a good deal at his affectations and unpardonable animosities,—but gives, at all times, the highest praise to his genius, and sets him above all his contemporaries, for the warmth, the ele-

gance, and the singular richness of his style. He says, that the general opinion at Paris was, that he had poisoned himself;—that his natural disposition to melancholy had increased in an alarming degree after his return from England, and had been aggravated by the sombre and solitary life to which he had condemned himself;—that mind, he adds, at once too strong and too weak to bear the burden of existence with tranquillity, was perpetually prolific of monsters and of phantoms, that haunted all his steps, and drove him to the borders of distraction. There is no doubt, continues M. Grimm, that for many months before his death he had firmly persuaded himself that all the powers of Europe had their eyes fixed upon him as a most dangerous and portentous being, whom they should take the first opportunity to destroy. He was satisfied that M. de Choiseul had projected and executed the conquest of Corsica, for no other purpose but to deprive him of the honour of legislating for it; and that Prussia and Russia had agreed to partition Poland upon the same jealous and unworthy considerations. While the potentates of Europe were thus busied in thwarting and mortifying him abroad, the philosophers, he was persuaded, were entirely devoted to the same project at home. They had spies, he firmly believed, posted round all his steps, and were continually making efforts to rouse the populace to insult and murder him. At the head of this conspiracy, of the reality of which he no more doubted than of his existence, he had placed the Duc de Choiseul, his physician Tronchin, M. D'Alembert, and our author! —But we must pass to characters less known or familiar.

The gayest, and the most naturally gay perhaps of all the coterie, was the Abbé *Galiani*, a Neapolitan, who had resided for many years in Paris, but had been obliged, very much against his will, to return to his own country about the time that this Journal commenced. M. Grimm inserts a variety of his letters, in all of which the infantine petulance and freedom of his character are distinctly marked, as well as the singular acuteness and clearness of his understanding. The first is written immediately after his exile from Paris in 1770.

“ Madame, je suis toujours inconsolable d’avoir quitté Paris; et encore plus inconsolable de n’avoir reçu aucune nouvelle ni de vous, ni du paresseux philosophe. Est il possible que ce monstre, dans son impassibilité, ne sente pas à quel point mon honneur, ma gloire, dont je me fiche, mon plaisir et celui de mes amis, dont je me soucie beaucoup, sont intéressés dans l’affaire que je lui ai confiée, et combien je suis impatient d’apprendre qu’en fin la pacotille a doublé le cap et passé le terrible défilé de la révision : car, après cela, j’é serai tranquille sur le reste.

* Mon voyage a été très heureux sur la terre et sur l’eau ; il a

même été d'un bonheur inconcevable. Je n'ai jamais eu chaud, et toujours le vent en poupe sur le Rhône et sur la mer : il paraît que tout me pousse à m'éloigner de tout ce que j'aime au monde. L'héroïsme sera donc bien plus grand et bien plus mémorable, de vaincre les éléments, la nature, les dieux conspirés, et de retourner à Paris en dépit d'eux. Oui, Paris est ma patrie ; on aura beau m'en exiler, j'y retomberai. Attendez-vous donc à me voir établi dans la rue Fromenteau, au quatrième, sur le derrière, chez la nommée., fille majeure. Là demeurera le plus grand génie de notre âge, en pension à trente sous par jour ; et il sera heureux. Quel plaisir que de délirer ! Adieu. Je vous prie d'envoyer vos lettres toujours à l'hôtel de l'ambassadeur.

"Grimm est-il de retour de son voyage ?"

Another to the Baron Holbach is nearly in the same tone.

"Que faites-vous, mon cher baron ? Vous amusez-vous ? La baronne se porte-t-elle bien ? Comment vont vos enfans ? La philosophie, dont vous êtes le premier maître d'hôtel, mange-t-elle toujours d'un aussi bon appétit ?

"Pour moi, je m'ennuie mortellement ici ; je ne vois personne, excepté deux ou trois Français. Je suis le Gulliver revenu du pays des Hoyinhymis, qui ne fait plus société qu'avec ses deux chevaux. Je vais rendre des visites de devoir aux femmes des deux ministres d'état et de finances ; et puis je dors ou je rêve. Quelle vie ! Rien n'amuse ici : point d'édits, point de réductions, point de retenues, point de suspensions de paiemens : la vie y est d'une uniformité tuante ; on ne dispute de rien, pas même de religion. Ah ! mon cher Paris ! ah ! que je te regrette !

"Donnez-moi quelques nouvelles littéraires, mais n'en attendez pas ~~en~~ revanche. Pour les grands événemens en Europe, je crois que nous en allons devenir le bureau. On dit, en effet, que la flotte Russe a enfin débarqué à Patras, que toute la Morée s'est révoltée et déclarée en faveur des débarqués, et que sans coup ferir ils s'en sont rendus maîtres, excepté des villes de Corinthe et de Napoli de Romanie ; cela mérite confirmation. Quelle aventure ! Nous serons limitrophes des Russes ; et d'Otrante à Pétersbourg il n'y aura plus qu'un pas, et un petit trajet de mer : *Dux femina facti*. Une femme aura fait cela ! Cela est trop beau pour être vrai."

The next is not such pure trifling.

"Vous avez reconnu Voltaire dans son sermon ; moi je n'y reconnais que l'écho de feu M. de Voltaire. Ah ! il rabâche trop à présent. Sa Catherine est une maîtresse femme, parce qu'elle est intolérante et conquérante ; tous les grands hommes ont été intolérans, et il faut l'être. Si l'on rencontre sur son chemin un prince sot, il faut lui prêcher la tolérance, afin qu'il donne dans le piège, et que le parti écrasé ait le temps de se relever par la tolérance qu'on lui accorde, et d'écraser son adversaire à son tour. Ainsi le sermon

sur la tolérance est un sermon fait aux sots ou aux gens dupes, ou à des gens qui n'ont aucun intérêt dans la chose : voilà pourquoi, quelquefois, un prince séculier doit écouter la tolérance ; c'est lorsque l'affaire intéresse les prêtres sans intéresser les souverains. Mais en Pologne, les évêques sont tout à la fois prêtres et souverains, et, s'ils le peuvent, ils feront fort bien de chasser les Russes, et d'envoyer au diable tous les Dissidens ; et Catherine fera fort bien d'écraser les évêques si cela lui réussit. Moi je n'en crois rien ; je crois que les Russes écraseront les Turcs par contre-coup, et ne feront qu'agrandir et réveiller les Polonais, comme Philippe II. et la maison d'Autriche écrasèrent l'Allemagne et l'Italie, en voulant troubler la France qu'ils ne firent qu'ennoblir : voilà mes prophéties."

"Votre lettre du 8 juin n'est point gaie ; il s'en faut même beaucoup : vous avouez vous-même que vous n'avez que quelques lueurs de gaieté ; je crains que cela ne tienne au physique, et que vous ne vous portiez pas bien : voilà ce qui me fâche. Pour moi, je fais tout ce que je puis pour vous égayer, et ce n'est pas un petit effort pour moi : car je suis si ennuyé de mon existence ici, qu'en vérité je deviens homme d'affaires et homme grave de jour en jour davantage, et je finirai par devenir Napolitain, tout comme un autre."

Another contains some admirable remarks on the character of Cicero, introduced in the same style of perfect ease and familiarity.

"Est-ce donc là, ma belle dame, une lettre sublime, écrite à son aise, dans le repos ? Une lettre où vous ne faites que transcrire une rapsodie de Voltaire qui combat une rapsodie de Linguet ! Et de vous, de vos amis, des miens, de vos maux, de votre digestion, des affaires publiques, de la santé de mademoiselle Helvétius, et de tout ce qui serait vraiment sublime, vous ne me dites mot. Le cul au lait du marquis est donc oublié ? Je vois ce que c'est ; vous voulez avoir une lettre de moi, et savoir à quoi vous en tenir au juste sur le compte de Cicéron. Le voici donc :

"On peut regarder Cicéron comme littérateur, comme philosophe et comme homme d'état. Il a été un des plus grands littérateurs qui aient jamais été ; il savait tout ce qu'on savait de son temps, excepté la géométrie et autres sciences de ce genre. Il était médiocre philosophe : car il savait tout ce que les Grecs avaient pensé, et le rendait avec une clarté admirable, mais il ne pensait rien et n'avait pas la force de rien imaginer. Il eut l'adresse et le bonheur d'être le premier à rendre en langue Latine les pensées des Grecs, et cela le fit lire et admirer par ses compatriotes. Comme homme d'état, Cicéron, étant d'une basse extraction, et voulant parvenir, aurait dû se jeter dans le parti de l'opposition, de la chambre basse ou du peuple, si vous voulez. Cela lui était d'autant plus aisé, que Marius, fondateur de ce parti, était de son pays. Il en fut même tenté, car il débuta par attaquer Sylla et par se lier avec les gens du parti de l'opposition ; à la tête desquels, après la mort de Marius,

étaient Claudius, Catilina, César. Mais le parti des grands avait besoin d'un jurisconsulte et d'un savant, car les grands seigneurs, en général, ne savent ni lire ni écrire ; il sentit donc qu'on aurait plus besoin de lui dans le parti des grands, et qu'il y jouerait un rôle plus brillant. Il s'y jeta, et dès-lors on vit un homme nouveau, un parvenu mêlé avec les praticiens. Figurez-vous en Angleterre un avocat dont la cour a besoin pour faire un chancelier, et qui suit par conséquent le parti du ministère. Cicéron brilla donc à côté de Pompée, etc., toutes les fois qu'il était question de choses de jurisprudence ; mais il lui manquait la naissance, les richesses ; et surtout n'étant pas homme de guerre, il jouait de ce côté-là un rôle subalterne. D'ailleurs, par inclination naturelle, il aimait le parti de César, et il était fatigué de la morgue des grands qui lui faisaient sentir souvent le prix des bienfaits dont on l'avait comblé. Il n'était pas pusillanime, il était incertain ; il ne défendait pas des scélérats, il défendait les gens de son parti qui ne valaient guère mieux que ceux du parti contraire."

We shall add only the following.

" Le dialogue des tableaux du Louvre intéresse peu à cinq cents lieues de Paris ; le baron de Gleichen et moi, nous en avons ri : personne ne nous aurait entendus. Au reste, à propos des tableaux, je remarque que le caractère dominant des Français perçe toujours ; ils sont causeurs, raisonneurs, badins par essence. Un mauvais tableau enfante une bonne brochure ; ainsi vous parlerez mieux des arts que vous ne les cultiverez jamais. Il se trouvera au bout du compte, dans quelques siècles, que vous aurez le mieux raisonné, le mieux discuté ce que toutes les autres nations auront fait de mieux. Chérissiez donc l'imprimerie, c'est votre lot dans ce bas monde. Mais vous avez mis un impôt sur le papier. Quelle sottise ! Plaisanterie à part, un impôt sur le papier est la faute en politique la plus forte qui se soit commise en France depuis un siècle. Il valait mieux faire la banqueroute universelle, et laisser au Français le plaisir de parler à l'Europe à peu de frais. Vous avez plus conquis de pays par les livres que par les armes. Vous ne devez la gloire de la nation qu'à vos ouvrages, et vous voulez vous forcer à vous taire ! "

" Ma belle dame, s'il servait à quelque chose de pleurer les morts, je viendrais pleurer avec vous la perte de notre Helvétius ; mais la mort n'est autre chose que le regret des vivans ; si nous ne le regrettons pas, il n'est pas mort : tout comme si nous ne l'avions jamais ni connu ni aimé, il ne serait pas né. Tout ce qui existe, existe en nous par rapport à nous. Souvenez-vous que le petit prophète faisait de la métaphysique lorsqu'il était triste ; j'en fais de même à présent. Mais enfin le mal de la perte d'Helvétius est le vide qu'il laisse dans la ligne du bataillon. Serrons donc les lignes, aimons-nous davantage, nous qui restons, et il n'y paraîtra pas. Moi qui suis le major de ce malheureux régiment, je vous crie à tous : serrez les lignes, avancez, feu ! On ne s'apercevra pas de notre perte.

Ses enfans n'ont perdu ni jeunesse ni beauté par la mort de leur père ; elles ont gagné la qualité d'héritières ; pourquoi diable allez-vous pleurer sur leur sort ? Elles se marieront, n'en doutez pas : *cet oracle est plus sûr que celui de Calchas.* Sa femme est plus à plaindre, à moins qu'elle ne rencontre un gendre aussi raisonnable que son mari, ce qui n'est pas bien aisé, mais plus aisé à Paris qu'ailleurs. Il y a encore bien des mœurs, des vertus, de l'héroïsme dans votre Paris ; il y en a plus qu'ailleurs, croyez-moi : c'est ce qui me le fait regretter, et me le fera peut-être revoir un jour. "

The notice of the death of *Helvetius*, contained in this last extract, leads us naturally to turn to the passage in *M. Grimm* in which this event is commemorated ; and we there find a very full and curious account of this zealous philosopher. *Helvetius* was of Dutch extraction ; and his father having been chief physician to the Queen, the son was speedily appointed to the very lucrative situation of Farmer-general of the Finances. He was remarkably good tempered, benevolent and liberal ; and passed his youth in idle and voluptuous indulgence, keeping a sort of seraglio as a part of his establishment, and exercising himself with universal applause in the noble science of dancing, in which he attained such eminence, that he is said to have several times supplied the place of the famous Dupré in the ballets at the opera. An unhappy passion for literary glory came, however, to disturb this easy life. The paradoxes and effrontery of *Maupertuis* had brought science into fashion ; and no supper was thought complete at Paris without a mathematician. *Helvetius*, therefore, betook himself immediately to the study of geometry ; but he could make no hand of it ; and fortunately the rage passed away before he had time to expose himself in the eyes of the initiated. Next came the poetical glory of *Voltaire* ;—and *Helvetius* instantly resolved to be a poet—and did with great labour produce a long poem on happiness, which was not published however till after his death, and has not improved his chance for immortality. But it was the success of the President *Montesquieu's* celebrated *Esprit des Loix*, that finally decided the literary vocation of *Helvetius*. That work appeared in 1749 ; and in 1750 the farmer-general resigned his post, married, retired into the country, and spent ten long years in digesting his own book *De l'Esprit*, by which he fondly expected to rival the fame of his illustrious predecessor. In this, however, he was woefully disappointed. The book appeared to philosophers to be nothing but a paradoxical and laborious repetition of truths and difficulties with which all good thinkers had long been familiar ; and it probably would have fallen into utter oblivion, had it not been for the injudicious clamour which was raised against it by the bigots and devotees of the court. — Poor *Helvetius* !

tius, who had meant nothing more than to make himself remarkable, was as much surprised at the outcries of the godly, as at the silence of the philosophers; and never perfectly recovered the shock of this double disappointment. He still continued, however, his habits of kindness and liberality—gave dinners to the men of letters when at Paris, and hunted and compiled philosophy with great perseverance in the country. His temper was so good, that his society could not fail to be agreeable; but his conversation, it seems, was not very captivating; he loved to push every matter of discussion to its very last results; and reasoned at times so very loosely and largely, as to be in danger of being taken for a person very much overtaken with liquor. He died of goit in his stomach, at the age of fifty-six.

Nobody makes a better or a more amiable figure in this book, than Madame GEOFFRIN. Active, reasonable, indulgent, and munificent beyond example for a woman in private life, she laid a sure claim to popularity by taking for her maxim the duty of 'giving and forgiving;' and showed herself so gentle in her deportment to children and servants, that if she had not been overcome with an unlucky passion for intrigue and notoriety, she might have afforded one exception at least to the general heartlessness of the society to which she belonged. Some of the repartees recorded of her in these volumes, are very remarkable. M. de Rulhiere threatened to make public, certain very indiscreet remarks on the court of Russia, from the sale of which he expected great profits. Madame Geoffrin, who thought he would get into difficulties by taking such a step, offered him a very handsome sum to put his manuscript in the fire. He answered her with many lofty and animated observations on the meanness and unworthiness of taking money to suppress truth. To all which the lady listened with the utmost complacency; and merely replied, 'Well! say yourself how much more you must have.' Another *mot* of hers became an established canon at all the tables of Paris. The Comte de Coigny was wearying her one evening with some interminable story, when, upon somebody sending for a part of the dish before him, he took a little knife out of his pocket, and began to carve, talking all the time as before. 'Monsieur le Comte,' said Mad. Geoffrin, a little out of patience, 'at table there should only be large knives and short stories.' In her old age she was seized with apoplexy; and her daughter, during her illness, refused access to the philosophers. When she recovered a little, she laughed at the precaution, and made her daughter's apology—by saying, 'She had done like Godfrey of Bouillon—defended her tomb from the Infidels.' The idea of her ending in devotion, how-

ever, occasioned much merriment and some scandal among her philosophical associates. We cannot resist the temptation of inserting the following wicked letter of Galiani on the occasion.

“ M. de Clermont, hier au soir, m'étonna et me surprit d'abord en me soutenant que ces maladies et ces rechutes de madame Geoffrin avaient été causées par des excès de dévotion qu'elle avait commis pendant le jubilé. En rentrant chez moi j'ai rêvé sur cette étrange métamorphose, et j'ai trouvé que c'était la chose du monde la plus naturelle. L'incrédulité est le plus grand effort que l'esprit de l'homme puisse faire contre son propre instinct et son goût. Il s'agit de se priver à jamais de tous les plaisirs de l'imagination, de tout le goût du merveilleux ; il s'agit de vider tout le sac du savoir, et l'homme voudrait savoir. De nier ou de douter toujours et de tout, et rester dans l'appauvrissement de toutes les idées, des connaissances, des sciences sublimes, etc. ; quel vide affreux ! quel rien ! quel effort ! Il est donc démontré que la très-grande partie des hommes, et sur-tout des femmes dont l'imagination est double (attendu qu'elles ont l'imagination de la tête et puis encore une autre), ne saurait être incrédule ; et celle qui peut l'être n'en saurait soutenir l'effort que dans la plus grande force et jeunesse de son âme. Si l'âme vieillit, quelque croyance réparait. Voilà aussi pourquoi il ne faudrait jamais persécuter les vrais incrédules, et je vous ajouterai qu'en effet ils n'ont jamais été persécutés. On ne persécute que les fanatiques fondateurs de sectes qui pourraient être suivis. Le fanatique est un homme qui se met à courir au milieu d'une foule, et d'abord tout le monde le suit. L'incrédule fait bien plus, c'est un danseur de corde qui fait les tours les plus incroyables en l'air, voltigeant autour de sa corde ; il remplit de frayeur et d'étonnement tous les spectateurs, et personne n'est tenté de le suivre ou de l'imiter. Ergo, madame Geoffrin devait finir par un bon jubilé. Je vous souhaite de finir de même ; ce n'est pas un mauvais souhait à votre santé. Vous me direz que c'est vrai, mais que ce n'est pas non plus un joli compliment à votre esprit. J'en conviens ; mais qu'est-ce que l'esprit en comparaison de l'estomac ? ”

The name of *Marmontel* occurs very often in this collection ; but it is not attended with any distinguished honours. M. Grimm accuses him of want of force or passion in his style, and of poverty of invention and littleness of genius. He says something, however, of more importance on occasion of the first representation of that writer's foolish little piece, entitled ; ‘ *Sérvain*. ’ The courtiers and sticklers for rank, he observes, all pretended to be mightily alarmed at the tendency of this little opera in one act ; and the Duc de Noailles took the trouble to say, that its object was to show that a gentleman could do nothing so amiable as to marry his maid servant, and let his cottagers kill his game at their pleasure. It is really amusing, continues M. Grimm, to observe, how positive many people are, that all

this is the result of a deep plot on the part of the Encyclopedistes, and that this silly farce is the fruit of a solemn conspiracy against the privileged orders, and in support of the horrible doctrine of universal equality. If they would only condescend to consult me, however, he concludes, I could oblige them with a much simpler, though less magnificent solution of the mystery; the truth being, that the extravagance of M. Marmontel's little plot proceeds neither from his love of equality, nor from the commands of an antisocial conspiracy, but purely from the poverty of his imagination, and his want of talent for dramatic composition. It is always much more easy to astonish by extravagance, than to interest by natural representations; and those commonplaces, of love triumphing over pride of birth, and benevolence getting the better of feudal prejudices, are among the most vulgar resources of those who are incapable of devising incidents at once probable and pathetic.

This was written in the year 1770;—and while it serves to show us, that the imputation of conspiracies against the throne and the altar, of which succeeding times were doomed to hear so much, were by no means an original invention of the age which gave them the greatest encouragement, it may help also to show upon what slight foundation such imputations are usually hazarded. Great national changes, indeed, are never the result of conspiracies—but of causes laid deep and wide in the structure and condition of society,—and which necessarily produce those combinations of individuals, who seem to be the authors of the revolution when it happens to be ultimately brought about by their instrumentality. The Holy Church Philosophic of Paris, however, was certainly quite innocent of any such intention; and, we verily believe, had at no time any deeper views in its councils than are expressed in the following extract from its registers.

“ Comme il est d'usage, dans notre sainte Eglise philosophique, de nous réunir quelquefois pour donner aux fideles de salutaires et utiles instructions sur l'état actuel de la foi, les progrès et bonnes œuvres de nos frères, j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser les annonces et bans qui ont eu lieu à la suite de notre dernier sermon.

“ Frère Marmontel fait savoir qu'il est allé loger chez mademoiselle Clairon, et qu'il compte donner incessamment un nouvel opéra-comique, intitulé *Silvain*, dont la musique est de M. Grétry. Nous lui souhaitons le naturel qui lui manque, afin qu'il plaise aux gens de goût. L'Eglise, faisant attention au rare génie dont le sort a doué M. Grétry, lui accorde les honneurs et droits de frère. En conséquence, nous le conjurons, par les entrailles de notre mère la sainte Eglise, de ménager sa santé, de considérer que sa poitrine est mauvaise, et de se livrer moins ardemment aux plaisirs de l'amour, afin de s'y livrer plus long-temps.

“ Frère Thomas fait savoir qu’il a composé un *Essai sur les Femmes*, qui fera un ouvrage considérable. L’Eglise estime la pureté de mœurs et les vertus de frère Thomas ; elle craint qu’il ne connaisse pas encore assez les femmes ; elle lui conseille de se lier plus intimement, s’il se peut, avec quelques unes des héroïnes qu’il fréquente, pour le plus grand bien de son ouvrage ; et, pour le plus grand bien de son style, elle le conjure de considérer combien, suivant la découverte de notre illustre patriarche, l’adjectif affaiblit souvent le substantif, quoiqu’il s’y rapporte en cas, en nombre et en genre.

“ Sœur Necker fait savoir qu’elle donnera toujours à dîner les vendredis : L’Eglise s’y rendra, parce qu’elle fait cas de sa personne et de celle de son époux ; elle voudrait pouvoir en dire autant de son cuisinier.

“ Sœur de l’Espinasse fait savoir que sa fortune ne lui permet pas d’offrir ni à dîner, ni à souper, et qu’elle n’en a pas moins d’envie de recevoir chez elle les frères qui voudront y venir digérer. L’Eglise m’ordonne de lui dire qu’elle s’y rendra, et que, quand on a autant d’esprit et de mérite, on peut se passer de beauté et de fortune.

“ Mère Geoffrin fait savoir qu’elle renouvelle les défenses et lois prohibitives des années précédentes, et qu’il ne sera pas plus permis que par le passé de parler chez elle ni d’affaires intérieures, ni d’affaires extérieures ; ni d’affaires de la cour, ni d’affaires de la ville ; ni de paix, ni de guerre ; ni de religion, ni de gouvernement ; ni de théologie, ni de métaphysique ; ni de grammaire, ni de musique ; ni, en général, d’aucune matière quelconque ; et qu’elle commet dom Burigni, bénédictin de robe courte, pour faire taire tout le monde, à cause de sa dextérité connue, et du grand crédit dont il jouit, et pour être grondé par elle, en particulier, de toutes les contraventions à ces défenses. L’Eglise, considérant que le silence, et notamment sur les matières dont est question, n’est pas son fort, promet d’obéir autant qu’elle y sera contrainte par forme de violence.”

We hear a great deal, of course, of *Diderot*, in a work of which he was partly the author ; and it is impossible to deny him the praise of ardour, originality, and great occasional eloquence. Yet we not only feel neither respect nor affection for *Diderot*—but can seldom read any of his lighter pieces without a certain degree of disgust. There is a tone of *blackguardism*—(we really can find no other word)—both in his indecency and his profanity, which we do not recollect to have met with in any other good writer ; and which is apt, we think, to prove revolting even to those who are accustomed to the license of this fraternity. They who do not chuse to look into his *Religieuse* for the full illustration of this remark—and we advise no one to look there for any thing—may find it abundantly, though in a less flagrant form, in a little essay on women, which is inserted in these volumes as a supplement or corrective to the larger work of M. Thomas on that subject. We must say, how-

ever, that the whole tribe of French writers who have had any pretensions to philosophy for the last seventy years, are infected with a species of indelicacy which is peculiar, we think, to their nation; and strikes us as more shameful and offensive, than any other. We do not know very well how to describe it, otherwise than by saying, that it consists in a strange combination of physical science with obscenity, and an attempt to unite the pedantic and disgusting details of anatomy and physiology, with images of voluptuousness and sensuality;—an attempt, we think, exceedingly disgusting and debasing, but not in the least degree either seductive or amusing. Maupertuis and Voltaire, and Helvetius and Diderot, are full of this. Buffon and d'Alembert are by no means free of it; and traces of it may even be discovered in the writings of Rousseau himself. We could pardon some details in the *Emile*—or the *Confessions*;—but we own it appears to us the most nauseous and unnatural of all things, to find the divine Julie herself informing her cousin, with much complacency, that she had at last discovered, that ‘quoique son cœur trop tendre avoit besoin d’amour, ses sens n’avoient plus besoin d’un amant.’

The following epigram is a little in the taste we have been condemning;—but it has the merit of being excessively clever. Madame du Chatelet had long lived separate from her husband, and was understood to receive the homage of two lovers—Voltaire and M. de St Lambert. * She died in childbirth; and the following dramatic elegy was circulated all over Paris the week after that catastrophe.

Mr de Chatelet.—Ah! ce n’est pas ma faute!

* *M. de Voltaire.*—Je l’avois prédit!

* *M. de St Lambert.*—Elle l’a voulu!

Crebillon the younger, is naturally brought to our recollection by the mention of wit and indecency. We have an account of his death, and a just and candid estimate of his merits, in one of the volumes before us. However frivolous and fantastic the style of his novels may appear, he had still the merit of inventing that style, and of adorning it with much ingenuity, wit and character. The taste for his writings, it seems, passed away very rapidly and completely in France; and long before his death, the author of the *Sopha*, and *Les Figaremens du cœur et de l’esprit*, had the mortification to be utterly forgotten by the public. M. Grimm thinks this reverse of fortune rather unmerited; and observes, that in foreign countries he was still held in estimation, and that few French productions had had such currency in London as the *Sopha*. The reason perhaps may be, that the manners and characters which the French at once

knew to be unnatural, might be mistaken by us for true copies of French originals. It is a little more difficult, however, to account for the fact, that the perusal of his works inspired a young lady of good family in this country with such a passion for the author, that she ran away from her friends, came to Paris, married him, and nursed and attended him with exemplary tenderness and affection to his dying day. But there is nothing but luck, good or bad—as M. Grimm sagely observes—in this world. The author of a licentious novel inspires a romantic passion in a lady of rank and fortune, who crosses seas, and abandons her family and her native country for his sake;—while the author of the *Nouvelle Heloise*, the most delicate and passionate of all lovers that ever existed, is obliged to clap up a match with his chambermaid!

Of all the loves, however, that are recorded in this chronicle, the loves of Madame du Deffant, and M. de Pont-de-Vesle, are the most exemplary; for they lasted upwards of fifty years without quarrel or intermission. The secret of this wonderful constancy is, at all events, worth knowing; and we give it in the words of an authentic dialogue between this venerable Acné and Septimius.

‘ Pont-de-Vesle?—Madame?—Où êtes-vous?—Au coin de votre cheminée.—Couché les pieds sur les chenets, comme on est chez ses amis?—Oui, Madame.—Il faut convenir qu’il est peu de liaisons aussi anciennes que la nôtre.—Cela est vrai.—Il y a cinquante ans.—Oui, cinquante ans passés.—Et dans ce long intervalle aucun nuage, pas même l’apparence d’une brouillerie.—C’est ce que j’ai toujours admiré.—Mais, Pont-de-Vesle, cela ne viendrait-il point de ce qu’au fond nous avons toujours été fort indifférens l’un à l’autre?—Cela se pourrait bien, Madame.’

The evening this veteran admirer died, she came rather late to a great supper in the neighbourhood; and as it was known that she made it a point of honour to attend on him, the catastrophe was generally suspected. She mentioned it, however, herself, immediately on coming in;—adding, that it was lucky he had gone off so early in the evening, as she might otherwise have been prevented from appearing. She then sate down to table, and made a very hearty and merry meal of it!

Besides Pont-de-Vesle, however, this celebrated lady had a lover almost as ancient, in the President Henault—whom also she had the misfortune to survive; though he had the complaisance, as well as his predecessor, to live to near ninety years for her sake. The poor President, however, fell into dotage before his death; and one day, when in that state, Mad. du Deffant having happened to ask him, whether he liked her or Mad. de Castelmoron the best, he, quite unconscious of the person to whom he was speaking,

not only declared his preference of the absent lady, but proceeded to justify it by a most feeling and accurate enumeration of the vices and defects of his hearer, in which he grew so warm and eloquent, that it was quite impossible either to stop him, or to prevent all who were present from profiting by the communication. When Mad. de Chatelet died, Mad. du Defant testified her grief for the most intimate of her female acquaintance, by circulating all over Paris, the very next morning, the most libellous and venomous attack on her person, her understanding, and her morals. When she came to die herself, however, she met with just about as much sympathy as she deserved. Three of her dearest friends used to come and play cards every evening by the side of her couch;—and as she chose to die in the middle of a very interesting game, they quietly played it out—and settled their accounts before leaving the apartment. We hope these little traits go near to justify what we ventured to say in the outset, of the tendency of large and agreeable society to *fortify* the heart;—at all events, they give us a pretty lively idea of the *liaisons* that united kindred souls at Paris. We might add to the number several anecdotes of the President Henault—and of the Baron d'Holbach, who told Helvetius, a little time before the death of the latter, that though he had lived all his life with irritable and indigent men of letters, he could not recollect that he had either quarrelled with, or done the smallest service, to any one among them.

There is a great deal of admirable criticism in this work, upon the writings and genius of almost all the author's contemporaries—Dorat, Piron, Millot, Bernard, Mirabeau, Moncrif, Colardeau, and many others, more or less generally known in this country; nor do we know any publication, indeed, so well calculated to give a stranger a just and comprehensive view of the recent literature of France. The little we can afford to extract, however, must be hung upon names more notorious.

The publication of a stupid journal of *Montaigne's* Travels in Italy gives M. Grimm an opportunity of saying something of the Essays of that most agreeable veteran. Nothing can be more just than the greater part of the following observations.

‘On aime à suivre Montaigne dans l'intérieur de sa maison, à s'enfermer avec lui dans sa chambre, à s'asseoir à ses côtés au coin de son feu, et à écouter ainsi toutes les confidences qu'il se plaît à nous faire de ses opinions, de ses idées, de ses sentimens, de ses goûts particuliers, de ses affections et de ses pensées les plus secrètes. Loin de lui savoir mauvais gré de la confiance et de l'intimité à laquelle il veut bien admettre ses lecteurs, on sent que cette bonhomie, que cette naïveté si rare, est peut-être le charme qui nous séduit et qui nous attache le plus dans la lecture de ses *Essais*.’

‘ Le plaisir qu’on trouve à les lire est peut-être d’autant plus singulier, que ce n’est ni par des fictions heureuses, ni par un intérêt soutenu, ni par de savantes recherches, ni même par une éloquence brillante, encore moins par une méthode exacte, qu’il charme ses lecteurs. Son livre n’est qu’un recueil de pensées détachées ; il n’approfondit rien : il paraît se livrer à tous les écarts de son imagination, et, se promenant sans cesse d’un objet à l’autre, il se perd dans un dédale de contes et de rêveries, sans s’embarrasser jamais si l’on daignera l’y suivre ou non....Quoi-qu’il y ait dans ses *Essais* une infinité de faits, d’anecdotes et de citations, il n’est pas difficile de s’apercevoir que ses études n’étaient ni vastes ni profondes. Il n’avait guère lu que quelques poètes latins, quelques livres de voyage, et son Sénèque et son Plutarque.’

‘ De tous les auteurs qui nous restent de l’antiquité, Plutarque est, sans contredit, celui qui a recueilli le plus de vérités de fait et de spéculation. Ses œuvres sont une mine inépuisable de lumières et de connaissances : c’est vraiment l’Encyclopédie des anciens. Montaigne nous en a donné la fleur, et il y a ajouté les réflexions les plus fines, et sur-tout les résultats les plus secrets de sa propre expérience. Il me semble donc que si j’avais à donner une idée de ses *Essais*, je dirais en deux mots que c’est un commentaire que Montaigne fit sur lui-même en méditant les écrits de Plutarque....Je pense encore que je dirais mal : ce serait lui prêter un projet....Montaigne n’en avait aucun. En mettant la plume à la main, il paraît n’avoir songé qu’au plaisir de causer familièrement avec son lecteur. Il lui rend compte de ses lectures, de ses pensées, de ses réflexions, sans suite, sans dessein : il veut avoir le plaisir de penser tout haut, et il en jouit à son aise. Il cite souvent Plutarque, parce que Plutarque était son livre favori. La seule loi qu’il semble s’être prescrite c’est de ne jamais parler que de ce qui l’intéressait vivement : de là l’énergie et la vivacité de ses expressions, la grace et l’originalité de son langage. Son esprit a cette assurance et cette franchise aimable que l’on ne trouve que dans ces enfans bien nés dont la contrainte du monde et de l’éducation ne gêna point encore les mouvemens faciles et naturels.’

‘ Si la forme que Montaigne a donnée à ses *Essais* est la seule qui pût convenir à l’indolence de son caractère et à la vivacité de son esprit, c’est sans doute aussi celle qui dût lui paraître la plus heureuse pour faire passer toutes les vérités qu’il a hasardées dans son livre. Elles y sont enveloppées de tant de rêveries, si j’ose le dire, de tant d’enfantillages, qu’on n’est jamais tenté de lui soupçonner une intention sérieuse. Il n’y a que celles-là qu’on craigne, et qu’on ait raison de craindre. Sa philosophie est un labyrinthe charmant où tout le monde aime à s’égarer, mais dont un penseur seul tient le fil, et dont un penseur seul peut pénétrer le véritable plan. En conservant la candeur et l’ingénuité du premier âge, Montaigne en a conservé les droits et la liberté. Ce n’est point un de ces maîtres que l’on redoute sous le nom de philosophes ou de sages, c’est un

enfant à qui l'on permet de tout dire, et dont on applaudit même les saillies, au lieu de s'en fâcher. La franchise avec laquelle Montaigne nous entretient de tout ce qui le touche, ne contribue pas seulement à rendre son livre plus instructif, elle le rend aussi plus intéressant...elle lui ôte l'air contraint, l'air pesant d'un livre, elle lui communique toutes les grâces, tout le charme d'une conversation vive et familière....; et c'est ce qui faisait dire à madame de La Fayette, *qu'il y avait du plaisir à avoir un voisin comme lui.*

After a still farther encomium on the sound sense of this favourite writer, M. Grimm concludes—

‘ Personne n’a-t-il donc pensé plus que Montaigne ? Je l’ignore. Mais ce que je crois bien savoir, c’est que personne n’a dit avec plus de simplicité ce qu’il a senti, ce qu’il a pensé. On ne peut rien ajouter à l’éloge qu’il a fait lui-même de son ouvrage ; *c’est ici un livre de bonne foi.* Cela est divin, et cela est exact.’

‘ Qu’est-ce que toutes les connaissances humaines ? le cercle en est si borné ! . . . Et depuis quatre mille ans, qu’a-t-on fait pour l’étendre ? Montesquieu a dit quelque part, *qu’il travaillait à un livre de douze pages, qui contiendrait tout ce que nous savons sur la Métaphysique, la Politique et la Morale, et tout ce que de grands auteurs ont oublié dans les volumes qu’ils ont donnés sur ces sciences-là.* . . . Je suis très sérieusement persuadé qu’il ne tenait qu’à lui d’accomplir ce grand projet.’

We may pass next to a more modern and more voluminous author, *M. de La Harpe*. There is an eloquent critique on him by Diderot,—which, making allowance for the exaggerations to which eloquence is liable, appears to us to be substantially just.

M. de La Harpe a du nombre dans le style, de la clarté, de la pureté dans l’expression, de la hardiesse dans les idées, de la gravité, du jugement, de la force, de la sagesse ; mais il n’est point éloquent et ne le sera jamais. C’est une tête froide ; il a des pensées, il a de l’oreille, mais point d’entrailles, point d’âme. Il coule, mais il ne bouillonne point ; il n’arrache point sa rive, et n’entraîne avec lui ni les arbres, ni les hommes, ni leurs habitations. Il ne trouble, n’abat, ne renverse, ne confond point ; il me laisse aussi tranquille que lui ; je vais où il me mène comme dans un jour serein, lorsque le lit de la rivière est calme, j’arrive à Saint-Cloud en batelet ou par la galiote.

— ‘ Son ton est partout celui de l’exorde ; il va toujours aussi compassé dans sa marche, également symétrisé dans ses idées, jamais ni plus froid, ni plus chaud. Il ne réveille aucune passion, ni le mépris, ni la haine, ni l’indignation, ni la pitié ; et s’il vous a touché jusqu’aux larmes, c’est que vous avez l’âme sensible et tendre.’ —

‘ Thomas et La Harpe sont les revers l’un de l’autre ; le premier met tout en montagnes, celui-ci met tout en plaines. Cet homme sait penser et écrire ; mais je vous dis, Madame, qu’il ne sent rien, et qu’il n’éprouve pas le moindre tourment. Il s’achemine de ligne en ligne jusqu’à ce qu’il soit à la fin de son discours ; coulant, faible,

nombreux et doux comme Isocrate, mais bien moins plein, bien moins penseur, bien moins délicat que l'Athénien. O vous, Carnéade ! ô vous, Cicéron ! que diriez-vous de cet éloge ? Je ne t'interroge pas, toi qui évoquais les mânes de Maraton.

'C'est le sublime du Raynaldisme mitigé, et puis c'est tout. Si l'abbé Raynal avait eu un peu moins d'abondance et un peu plus de goût, M. de La Harpe et lui seraient sur la même ligne.' — 'Jamais une exclamation ni sur les vertus, ni sur les services, ni sur les disgrâces de son héros. Il raconte, et puis quoi encore ? Il raconte. Raconte donc, puisque c'est ta manie de raconter ; jette au moule tes phrases l'une après l'autre comme le fondeur y a jeté, comme le compositeur a arrangé les lettres de ton discours.' — 'Encore une fois cet homme a du nombre, de l'élégance, du style, de la raison, de la sagesse ; mais rien ne lui bat au-dessous de la mamelle gauche. Il devrait se mettre pour quelques années à l'école de Jean-Jacques.'

This is not very flattering—but M. Grimm is still more unmerciful. He says, La Harpe certainly has talents and taste—but it is rather alarming to find that he has made no improvement in ten years of industrious authorship. He has an ear for harmony—and judgment and penetration—but no original genius. He never will be any thing but the scholar of his great predecessors, and is in no danger of becoming their rival. This, it must be owned, is rather bad treatment—though not quite so bad as the same learned author met with from the caricaturists of Paris ; who, when he was employed to draw up the French declaration of war in 1778, exhibited a portrait of him suffering under the cudgels of four English sailors, beating in measured time, with the title of 'Accompagnement pour *La Harpe*.'

Montesquieu, Buffon, and Raynal are the only authors, we think, of whom M. Grimm speaks with serious respect and admiration. Great praise is lavished upon Robertson's Charles V. — Young's Night Thoughts are said, and with justice, to be rather ingenious than pathetic ; and to show more of a gloomy imagination than a feeling heart.—Thomson's Seasons are less happily stigmatized as excessively ornate and artificial, and said to stand in the same relation to the Georgics, that the Lady of Loretto, with all her tawdry finery, bears to the naked graces of the Venus de Medici.—Johnson's Life of Savage is extolled as exceedingly entertaining—though the author is laughed at, in the true Parisian taste, for not having made a jest of his hero.—Hawkesworth's Voyages are also very much commended ; and Sir William Jones's letter to *Anquetil du Perron*, is said to be capable, with a few retrenchments, of being made worthy of the pen of the Patriarch himself.—Mrs Montagu's Essay on Shakespeare is also applauded to the full extent of its merits ; and, indeed, a very laudable degree of candour and moderation is

observed as to our national taste in the drama.—Shakespeare, he observes, is fit for us, and Racine for them; and each should be satisfied with his lot, and would do well to keep to his own national manner. When we attempt to be regular and dignified, we are merely cold and stiff; and when they aim at freedom and energy, they become absurd and extravagant. The celebrity of Garrick seems to have been scarcely less at Paris than in London,—their greatest actor being familiarly designated ‘Le Garrick François.’ His powers of pantomime, indeed, were universally intelligible, and seem to have made a prodigious impression upon the theatrical critics of France. But his authority is quoted by M. Grimm, for the observation, that there is not the smallest affinity in the tragic declamation of the two countries;—so that an actor who could give the most astonishing effect to a passage of Shakespeare, would not, though perfectly master of French, be able to guess how a single line of Racine should be spoken on the stage.

We cannot leave the subject of the drama, however, without observing, with what an agreeable surprise we discovered in M. Grimm, an auxiliary in that battle which we have for some time waged, though not without trepidation, against the theatrical standards of France, and in defence of our own more free and irregular drama. While a considerable part of our own men of letters, carried away by the authority and supposed unanimity of the continental judges, were disposed to desert the cause of Shakespeare and Nature, and to recognize Racine and Voltaire, as the only true models of dramatic excellence, it turns out that the greatest Parisian critic, of that best age of criticism, was of opinion that the very idea of dramatic excellence had never been developed in France; and that, from the very causes which we have formerly specified, there was neither powerful passion nor real nature on their stage. After giving some account of a play of La Harpe’s, he observes, ‘I am more and more confirmed in the opinion, that *true tragedy, such as has never yet existed in France*, must, after all, be written in prose; or at least can never accommodate itself to the pompous and rhetorical tone of our stately versification. The ceremonious and affected dignity which belongs to such compositions, is quite inconsistent with the just imitation of nature, and destructive of all true pathos. It may be very fine and very poetical; but it is not dramatic:—and accordingly I have no hesitation in maintaining, that all our celebrated tragedies belong to the *epic* and not to the *dramatic* division of poetry. The Greeks and Romans had a dramatic verse, which did not interfere with simplicity or familiarity of diction; but as we have

‘ none, we must make up our minds to compose our tragedies in prose, if we ever expect to have any that may deserve the name. What then?’ he continues; ‘ must we throw our Racines and Voltaires in the fire?—by no means;—on the contrary, we must keep them, and study and admire them more than ever;—but with right conceptions of their true nature and merit—as masterpieces of poetry, and reasoning, and description;—as the first works of the first geniuses that ever adorned any nation under heaven:—But not as tragedies,—not as pieces intended to exhibit natural characters and passions speaking their own language, and to produce that terrible impression which such pieces alone can produce. Considered in that light, their coldness and childishness will be immediately apparent;—and though the talents of the artist will always be conspicuous, their misapplication and failure will not be less so. With the prospect that lies before us, the best thing, perhaps, that we can do is to go on, boasting of the unparalleled excellence we have attained. But how speedily should our boastings be silenced if the present race of *children* should be succeeded by a generation of *men*! Here is a theory,’ concludes the worthy Baron, a little alarmed it would seem at his own temerity, ‘ which it would be easy to confirm and illustrate much more completely—if a man had a desire to be stoned to death before the door of the *Theatre François*. But, in the mean time, till I am better prepared for the honours of martyrdom, I must entreat you to keep the secret of my infidelity to yourself.’

Diderot holds very nearly the same language. After a long dissertation upon the difference between real and artificial dignity, he proceeds,—‘ What follows, then, from all this—but that tragedy is still to be invented in France; and that the antients, with all their faults, were probably much nearer inventing it than we have been?—Noble actions and sentiments, with simple and familiar language, are among its first elements;—and I strongly suspect, that for these two hundred years, we have mistaken the stateliness of Madrid for the heroism of Rome. If once a man of genius shall venture to give to his characters and to his diction the simplicity of antient dignity, plays and players will be very different things from what they are now. But how much of this,’ he adds also in a fit of sympathetic terror, ‘ could I venture to say to any body but you! I should be pelted in the streets, if I were but suspected of the blasphemies I have just uttered.’

With the assistance of two such allies, we shall renew the combat against the Continental dramatists with fresh spirits and

confidence; and shall probably find an early opportunity to brave the field, upon that important theme. In the mean time we shall only remark, that we suspect there is something more than an analogy between the government and political constitution of the two countries, and the character of their drama. The tragedy of the Continent is conceived in the very genius and spirit of absolute monarchy—the same artificial stateliness—the same slow moving of few persons—the same suppression of ordinary emotions, and profound and ostentatious display of lofty sentiments, and, finally, the same jealousy of the interference of lower agents, and the same horror of vulgarity and tumult. When we consider, that in the countries where this form of the drama has been established, the Court is the chief patron of the theatre, and courtiers almost its only supporters, we shall probably be inclined to think that this uniformity of character is not a mere accidental coincidence; but that the same causes which have stamped those attributes on the serious hours of its rulers, have extended them to those mimic representations which were originally devised for their amusement. In England, again, our drama has all along partaken of the mixed nature of our government;—persons of all degrees take a share in both, each in his own peculiar character and fashion: and the result has been, in both, a much greater activity, variety and vigour, than was ever exhibited under a more exclusive system. In England, too; the stage has in general been dependent on the nation at large, and not on the favour of the Court;—and it is natural to suppose that the character of its exhibitions has been affected by a due consideration of that of the miscellaneous patron whose feelings it was its business to gratify and reflect.

After having said so much about the stage, we cannot afford room either for the quarrels or witticisms of the actors, which are reported at great length in these volumes—or for the absurdities, however ludicrous, of the ‘*Diou de Danse*’ as old Vestris ycleped himself—or even for the famous ‘*affaire du Menuet*’ which distracted the whole court of France at the marriage of the late King. We can allow only a sentence indeed to the elaborate dissertation in which Diderot endeavours to prove that an actor is all the worse for having any feeling of the passions he represents, and is never so sure to agitate the souls of his hearers as when his own is perfectly at ease. We are persuaded that this is not correctly true;—though it might take more distinctions than the subject is worth, to fix precisely where the truth lies. It is plain we think, however, that a good actor must have a capacity, at least, of all the passions whose language he mimics, —and we are rather inclined to think, that he must also have a

transient feeling of them, whenever his mimicry is very successful. That the emotion should be very short-lived, and should give way to trivial or comic sensations, with very little interval, affords but a slender presumption against its reality, when we consider how rapidly such contradictory feelings succeed each other, in light minds, in the real business of life. That real passion, again, never would be so graceful and dignified as the counterfeited passion of the stage, is either an impeachment of the accuracy of the copy, or a contradiction in terms. The real passion of a noble and dignified character must always be dignified and graceful,—and if *Cæsar*, when actually bleeding in the Senate-house, folded his robe around him, that he might fall with decorum at the feet of his assassins, why should we say that it is out of nature for a player, both to sympathize with the passions of his hero, and to think of the figure he makes in the eyes of the spectators? Strong conception is, perhaps in every case, attended with a temporary belief of the reality of its objects;—and it is impossible for any one to copy with tolerable success the symptoms of a powerful emotion, without a very lively apprehension and recollection of its actual presence. We have no idea, we own, that the copy can ever be given without some participation in the emotion itself—or that it is possible to repeat pathetic words, with the tone or gestures of passion, with the same indifference with which a schoolboy repeats his task, or a juggler his deceptions. The feeling, we believe, is often very momentary; and it is this which has misled those who have doubted of its existence. But there are many strong feelings equally fleeting and undeniable. The feelings of the spectators, in the theatre, though frequently more keen than they experience any where else, are in general infinitely less durable than those excited by real transactions; and a ludicrous incident or blunder in the performance, will carry the whole house in an instant, from sobbing, to ungoverned laughter: And even in real life, we have every day occasion to observe, how quickly the busy, the dissipated, the frivolous, and the very youthful, can pass from one powerful and engrossing emotion to another. The daily life of *Voltaire*, we think, might have furnished *Diderot* with as many and as striking instances of the actual succession of incongruous emotions, as he has collected from the theatrical life of *Sophie Arnould*, to prove that one part of the succession must necessarily have been fictitious.

There are various traits of the oppressions and abuses of the government, incidentally noticed in this work, which maintains, on the whole, a very aristocratical tone of politics. One of the most remarkable relates to no less a person than the

Marechal de Saxo. This great warrior, who is known never to have taken the field without a small travelling seraglio in his suite, had engaged a certain Madlle Chantilly to attend him in one of his campaigns. The lady could not prudently decline the honour of the invitation, because she was very poor; but her heart and soul were devoted to a young pastry cook of the name of Favart, for whose sake she at last broke out of the Marshall's camp, and took refuge in the arms of her lover; who rewarded her heroism by immediately making her his wife. The history of the Marshall's lamentation on finding himself deserted, is purely ludicrous, and is very well told; but our feelings take a very different character, when, upon reading a little farther, we find that this illustrious person had the baseness and brutality to apply to his sovereign for a *lettre de cachet* to force this unfortunate woman from the arms of her husband, and to compel her to submit again to his embraces,—and that the court was actually guilty of the incredible atrocity of granting such an order! It was not only granted, M. Grimm assures us, but executed,—and this poor creature was dragged from the house of her husband, and conducted by a file of grenadiers to the quarters of his Highness, where she remained till his death, the unwilling and disgusted victim of his sensuality! It is scarcely possible to regret the subversion of a form of government, that admitted, but once in a century, of abuses so enormous as this:—and the tone in which M. Grimm notices it, as a mere *faiblesse* on the part of *le Grand Maurice*, gives us reason to think that it was by no means without a parallel in the contemporary history. In England, we verily believe, there never was a time in which it would not have produced insurrection, or assassination.

One of the most remarkable passages in this philosophical journal, is that which contains the author's estimate of the advantages and disadvantages of philosophy. Not being much more of an optimist than ourselves, M. Grimm thinks that good and evil are pretty fairly distributed to the different generations of men; and that, if an age of philosophy be happier in some respects than one of ignorance and prejudice, there are particulars in which it is not so fortunate. Philosophy, he thinks, is the necessary fruit of a certain experience and a certain maturity; and implies, in nations as well as individuals, the extinction of some of the pleasures as well as the follies of early life. All nations, he observes, have begun with poetry, and ended with philosophy—or, rather, have passed through the region of philosophy in their way to that of stupidity and dotage. They lose the poetical passion, therefore, before they ac-

quire the taste for speculation; and, with it, they lose all faith in those illusions, and all interest in those trifles which make the happiness of the brightest portion of our existence. If, in this advanced stage of society, men are less brutal, they are also less enthusiastic;—if they are more habitually beneficent, they have less warmth of affection. They are delivered indeed from the yoke of many prejudices; but at the same time deprived of many motives of action. They are more prudent, but more anxious—are more affected with the general interests of mankind, but feel less for their neighbours; and, while curiosity takes the place of admiration, are more enlightened, but far less delighted with the universe in which they are placed.

The effect of this philosophical spirit on the arts, is evidently unfavourable on the whole. *Their* end and object is delight; and that of philosophy is truth; and the talent that seeks to instruct, will rarely condescend to aim merely at pleasing. Racine, and Moliere, and Boileau, were satisfied with furnishing amusement to such men as Louis XIV., and Colbert, and Turenne; but the geniuses of the present day pretend to nothing less than enlightening their rulers; and the same young men who would formerly have made their *début* with a pastoral or a tragedy, now generally leave college with a new system of philosophy and government in their portfolios. The very metaphysical, prying, and expounding turn of mind that is nourished by the spirit of philosophy, unquestionably deadens our sensibility to those enjoyments which it converts into subjects of speculation. It busies itself in endeavouring to understand those emotions which a simpler age was contented with enjoying;—and seeking, like Psyche, to have a distinct view of the sources of our pleasures, is punished, like her, by their instant annihilation.

Religion, too, continues M. Grimm, considered as a source of enjoyment or consolation in this world, has suffered from the progress of philosophy, exactly as the fine arts and affections have done. It has no doubt become infinitely more rational, and less liable to atrocious perversions; but then it has also become much less enchanting and ecstatic—much less prolific of sublime raptures, beatific visions, and lofty enthusiasm. It has suffered, in short, in the common disenchantment; and the same cold spirit which has chased so many lovely illusions from the earth, has discockled heaven of half its marvels and its splendors.

We could enlarge with pleasure upon these just and interesting speculations; but it is time we should think of drawing this article to a close; and we must take notice of a very extraordi-

nary transaction which M. Grimm has recorded with regard to the final publication of the celebrated *Encyclopédie*. The redaction of this great work, it is known, was ultimately confided to *Diderot*; who thought it best, after the disturbances that had been excited by the separate publication of some of the earlier volumes, to keep up the whole of the last ten till the printing was finished; and then to put forth the complete work at once. A bookseller of the name of *Breton*, who was a joint proprietor of the work, had the charge of the mechanical part of the concern; but, being wholly illiterate, and indeed without pretensions to literature, had of course no concern with the correction, or even the perusal of the text. This person, however, who had heard of the clamours and threatened prosecutions which were excited by the freedom of some articles in the earlier volumes, took it into his head, that the value and security of the property might be improved, by a prudent castigation of the remaining parts; and accordingly, after receiving from *Diderot* the last proofs and revises of the different articles, took them home, and, with the assistance of another tradesman, scored out, altered and suppressed, at their own discretion, all the passages which they, in their wisdom, apprehended might give offence to the court, or the church, or any other persons in authority—giving themselves, for the most part, no sort of trouble to connect the disjointed passages that were left after these mutilations—and sometimes soldering them together with masses of their own stupid vulgarity. After these precious ameliorations were completed, they threw off the full impression; and, to make all sure and irremediable, consigned both the manuscript and the original proofs to the flames! Such, says M. Grimm, is the true explanation of that mass of impertinences, contradictions and incoherences, with which all the world has been struck, in the last ten volumes of this great compilation. It was not discovered till the very eve of the publication; when *Diderot* having a desire to look back to one of his own articles, printed some years before, with difficulty obtained a copy of the sheets containing it from the warehouse of M. *Breton*—and found, to his horror and consternation, that it had been garbled and mutilated, in the manner we have just stated. His rage and vexation on the discovery, are well expressed in a long letter to *Breton*, which M. Grimm has engrossed in his register. The mischief however was irremediable, without an intolerable delay and expense; and as it was impossible for the Editor to take any steps to bring *Breton* to punishment for this ‘horrible forfait,’ without openly avowing the intended publication of a work which the court only tolerat-

ed by affecting ignorance of its existence, it was at last resolved, with many tears of rage and vexation, to keep the abomination secret—at least till it was proclaimed by the indignant denunciations of the respective authors whose works had been subjected to such cruel mutilation. The most surprising part of the story however is, that none of these authors ever made any complaint about the matter. Whether the number of years that had elapsed since the time when most of them had furnished their papers, had made them insensible of the alterations—whether they believed the change effected by the base hand of Breton to have originated with Diderot, their legal censor—or that, in fact, the alterations were chiefly in the articles of the said Diderot himself, we cannot pretend to say; but M. Grimm assures us, that, to his astonishment and that of Diderot, the mutilated publication, when it at last made its appearance, was very quietly received by the injured authors as their authentic production, and apologies humbly made, by some of them, for imperfections that had been created by the beast of a publisher.

There are many curious and original anecdotes of the Empress of Russia in this book; and as she always appeared to advantage where munificence and clemency to individuals were concerned, they are certainly calculated to give us a very favourable impression of that extraordinary woman. We can only afford room now for one, which characterizes the nation as well as its sovereign. A popular poet of the name of Sumarokoff, had quarrelled with the leading actress at Moscow, and protested that she should never again have the honour to perform in any of his tragedies. The Governor of Moscow, however, not being aware of this theatrical feud, thought fit to order one of Sumarokoff's tragedies for representation, and also to command the services of the offending actress on the occasion. Sumarokoff did not venture to take any step against his Excellency the Governor; but when the heroine advanced in full Muscovite costume on the stage, the indignant poet rushed forward from behind the scenes, seized her reluctantly by the collar and waist, and tossed her furiously from the boards. He then went home, and indited two querulous and sublime epistles to the Empress. Catharine, in the midst of her gigantic schemes of conquest and improvement, had the patience to sit down and address the following good humoured and sensible exhortation to the disordered bard.

“Monsieur Sumarokoff, j'ai été fort étonnée de votre lettre du 28 Janvier, et encore plus de celle du premier Février. Toutes deux contiennent, à ce qu'il me semble, des plaintes contre la Belmontia qui pourtant n'a fait que suivre les ordres du comte Soltikoff. Le

feld-maréchal a désiré de voir représenter votre tragédie ; cela vous fait honneur. Il était convenable de vous conformer au désir de la première personne en autorité à Moscou ; mais si elle a jugé à propos d'ordonner que cette pièce fût représentée, il fallait exécuter sa volonté sans contestation. Je crois que vous savez mieux que personne combien de respect méritent des hommes qui ont servi avec gloire, et dont la tête est convertie de cheveux blancs ; c'est pour quoi je vous conseille d'éviter de pareilles disputes à l'avenir. Par ce moyen vous conserverez la tranquillité d'âme qui est nécessaire pour vos ouvrages, et il me sera toujours plus agréable de voir les passions représentées dans vos drames que de les lire dans vos lettres.

“ Au surplus, je suis votre affectionnée. *Signé* CATHERINE.”

‘ Je conseille ’ adds M. Grimm ‘ à tout ministre chargé du département des lettres de cachet, d’enregistrer ce formulaire à son greffe, et à tout hasard de n’en jamais délivrer d’autres aux poètes et à tout ce qui a droit d’être du genre irritable, c’est-à-dire enfant et fou par état. Après cette lettre qui mérite peut-être autant l’immortalité que les monumens de la sagesse et de la gloire du règne actuel de la Russie, je meurs de peur de m’affermir dans la pensée hérétique que l’esprit ne gâte jamais rien, même sur le trône.’

But it is at last necessary to close these entertaining volumes,—though we have not been able to furnish our readers with anything like a fair specimen of their various and miscellaneous contents. Whoever wishes to see the Economists wittily abused—to read a full and picturesque account of the tragical rejoicings that filled Paris with mourning at the marriage of the late King—to learn how *Paul Jones* was a writer of pastorals and love songs—or how they made carriages of leather, and evaporated diamonds in 1772—to trace the *début* of Mad. de Staël as an author at the age of twelve, in the year ———!—to understand M. Grimm’s notions on suicide and happiness—to know in what the *unique* charm of Madlle *Thevenin* consisted—and in what manner the dispute between the patrons of the French and the Italian music was conducted—will do well to peruse the five thick volumes, in which these, and innumerable other matters of equal importance are discussed, with the talent and vivacity with which the reader must have been struck, in the least of the foregoing extracts.

We add but one trivial remark, which is forced upon us, indeed, at almost every page of this correspondence. The profession of literature must be much wholsomer in France than in any other country :—for though the volumes before us may be regarded as a great literary obituary, and record the deaths, we suppose, of more than an hundred persons of some note in the world of letters, we scarcely meet with an individual who is less than seventy or eighty years of age—and no very small proportion actually last till near ninety or an hundred—although

the greater part of them seem neither to have lodged so high, nor lived so low, as their more active and abstemious brethren in other cities. M. Grimm observes that, by a remarkable fatality, Europe was deprived, in the course of little more than six months, of the splendid and commanding talents of Rousseau, Voltaire, Haller, Linnæus, Heidegger, Lord Chatham, and Le Kain—a constellation of genius, he adds, that when it set to us, must have carried a dazzling light into the domains of the King of Terrors, and excited no small alarm in his ministers—if they bear any resemblance to the ministers of other sovereigns.

ART. II. *The Giaour, a Fragment of a Turkish Tale.* By Lord Byron. 8vo. pp. 41. London. 1813.

THIS, we think, is very beautiful—or, at all events, full of spirit, character, and originality;—nor can we think that we have any reason to envy the Turkish auditors of the entire tale, while we have its fragments thus served up by a *restaurateur* of such taste as Lord Byron. Since the increasing levity of the present age, indeed, has rendered it impatient of the long stories that used to delight our ancestors, the taste for fragments, we suspect, has become very general; and the greater part of polite readers would now no more think of sitting down to a whole Epic, than to a whole ox:—And truly, when we consider how few long poems there are, out of which we should not wish very long passages to have been omitted, we will confess, that it is a taste which we are rather inclined to patronize—notwithstanding the obscurity it may occasionally produce, and the havoc it must necessarily make, among the proportions, developments, and *callidæ juncturæ* of the critics. The truth is, we suspect, that after we once know what it contains, no long poem is ever read, but in fragments;—and that the connecting passages, which are always skipped after the first reading, are often so tedious as to deter us from thinking of a second;—and in very many cases so awkwardly and imperfectly brought out, that it is infinitely less laborious to *guess at* the author's principle of combination, than to follow out his full explanation of it.

In the present instance, however, we do not think that we are driven upon such an alternative; for though we have heard that some persons of slender sagacity, or small poetical experience, have been at a loss to make out the thread of the story, it certainly appears to us to be as free from obscurity as any *poë-*

tical narrative with which we are acquainted—and is plain and elementary in the highest degree, when compared with the *lyric* compositions either of the Greeks, or of the Orientals. For the sake of such humble readers, however, as are liable to be perplexed by an *ellipsis*, we subjoin the following brief outline,—by the help of which they will easily be able to connect the detached fragments from which it is faithfully deduced.

Giaour is the Turkish word for Infidel; and signifies, upon this occasion, a daring and amorous youth, who, in one of his rambles into Turkey, had been smitten with the charms of the favourite of a rich Emir; and had succeeded not only in winning her affections, but in finding opportunities for the indulgence of their mutual passion. By and by, however, Hassan discovers their secret intercourse; and in a frenzy of jealous rage, sews the beautiful Leila up in a sheet—rows her out, in a calm evening, to a still and deep part of the channel—and plunges her into the dark and shuddering flood. The *Giaour* speedily comes to the knowledge of this inhuman vengeance; and, mad with grief and resentment, joins himself to a band of plundering Arnauts, and watches the steps of the cruel Hassan, who, after giving out that Leila had eloped from his Serai, proceeds, in a few days, with a gorgeous and armed train, to woo a richer and more noble beauty. The *Giaour* sets upon him as he is issuing from a rocky defile, and after a sanguinary contest, immolates him to the shade of the murdered Leila. Then, perturbed in spirit, and perpetually haunted by the vision of that lovely victim, he returns to his own country, and takes refuge in a convent of Anchorets;—not, however, to pray or repent, but merely for the solitude and congenial gloom of that lonely retreat. Worn out with the agony of his recollections, and the constant visitation of his stormy passions, he there dies at the end of a few miserable years; and discloses to the pious priest whom pity and duty had brought to the side of his couch, as much of his character and history as the noble author has thought fit to make known to his readers.

Such is the simple outline of this tale,—which Turk or Christian might have conceived as we have given it, without any great waste of invention—but to which we do not think any other but Lord Byron himself could have imparted the force and the character which are conspicuous in the fragments that are now before us. What the noble author has most strongly conceived and most happily expressed, is the character of the *Giaour*;—of which, though some of the elements are sufficiently familiar in poetry, the sketch which is here given appears to us in the highest degree striking and original. The

fiery soul of the Marmion and Bertram of Scott, with their love of lofty daring, their scorn of soft contemplation or petty comforts, and their proud defiance of law, religion, and conscience itself,—are combined with something of the constitutional gloom, and the mingled disdain and regret for human nature, which were invented for Childe Harold; while the sterner features of that lofty portraiture are softened down by the prevalence of an ardent passion for the gentlest of human beings, and shaded over by the overwhelming grief which the loss of her had occasioned. The poetical effect of the picture, too, is not lowered, in the present instance, by the addition of any of those debasing features, by which Mr Scott probably intended to give a greater air of nature and reality to his representations. The *Giaour* has no sympathy with Marmion in his love of broad meadows and fertile fields—nor with Bertram, in his taste for plunder and low debauchery; and while he agrees with them in placing in the first rank of honour, the savage virtues of dauntless courage and terrible pride, knows far better how much more delightfully the mind is stirred by a deep and energetic attachment. The whole poem, indeed, may be considered as an exposition of the doctrine, that the enjoyment of high minds is only to be found in the unbounded vehemence and strong tumult of the feelings; and that all gentler emotions are tame and feeble, and unworthy to move the soul that can bear the agency of the greater passions. It is the force and feeling with which this sentiment is expressed and illustrated, which gives the piece before us its chief excellence and effect; and has enabled Lord Byron to turn the elements of an ordinary tale of murder into a strain of noble and impassioned poetry.

The images are sometimes strained and unnatural—and the language sometimes harsh and neglected, or abrupt and disorderly; but the effect of the whole is powerful and pathetic; and, when we compare the general character of the poem to that of the more energetic parts of Campbell's O'Connor's Child, though without the softness, the wildness, or the occasional weakness, of that enchanting composition, and to the better parts of Crabbe's lyrical tales, without their coarseness or details,—we have said more to recommend this little volume to all true lovers of poetry, than if we had employed a much larger space than it occupies with a critique and analysis of its contents. It is but fair, however, that the reader should be enabled to judge, from a few specimens, of the justness or accuracy of this comparative estimate. He may take, first, the following little sketch of an Oriental beauty.

‘ Her eye’s dark charm ’twere vain to tell—
But gaze on that of the Gazelle,
It will assist thy fancy well,

As large, as languishingly dark,
 But Soul beam'd forth in every spark
 That darted from beneath its lid,
 Bright as the gem of Giamschid.
 On her fair cheek's unfading hue,
 The young pomegranate's blossoms strew
 Their bloom in blushes ever new—
 Her hair in hyacinthine flow
 When left to roll its folds below,
 As midst her handmaids in the hall
 She stood superior to them all,
 Hath swept the marble where her feet
 Gleamed whiter than the mountain sleet
 Ere from the cloud that gave it birth,
 It fell, and caught one stain of earth.' p. 11, 13.

The drowning of this lovely, loving, and unresisting creature, is described with great force and feeling. Hassan comes, in profound silence, with a silent band, bearing gently among them a silent and heaving burden in a white sheet. They row out in a still and golden evening from the rocky shore, and silently slip their burden into the water.

'Sullen it plunged, and slowly sank,
 The calm wave rippled to the bank;
 I watch'd it as it sank,—methought
 Some motion from the current caught
 Bestirr'd it more,—'twas but the beam
 That checquer'd o'er the living stream,—
 I gaz'd, till vanishing from view,
 Like lessening pebble it withdrew;
 Still less and less, a speck of white
 That gemm'd the tide, then mock'd the sight;
 And all its hidden secrets sleep,
 Known but to Genii of the deep,
 Which, trembling in their coral caves,
 They dare not whisper to the waves.' p. 5, 6.

The death of Hassan is no less characteristic, and forms a picture of equal excellence, though of a very different expression.

'With sabre shiver'd to the hilt,
 Yet dripping with the blood he spilt;
 Yet strain'd within the sever'd hand
 That quivers round the faithless brand;
 His turban far behind him roll'd,
 And cleft in twain its firmest fold;
 His flowing robe by falchion torn,
 And crimson as those clouds of morn
 That streak'd with dusky red, portend
 The day shall have a stormy end;

A stain on every bush that bore
 A fragment of his palampore,
 His heart with wounds unnumber'd riven,
 His back to earth, his face to heaven,
 Fall'n Hassan lies—his unclos'd eye
 Yet lowering on his enemy,
 As if the hour that seal'd his fate,
 Surviving left his quenchless hate;
 And o'er him bends that foe with brow
 As dark as his that bled below.—' p. 19, 20.

The imprecation of the Moslem upon the Christian conqueror, is also conceived with great spirit. The passage about the vampire is the most original and energetic.

' But first, on earth as Vampire sent,
 Thy corse shall from its tomb be rent;
 Then ghastly haunt thy native place,
 And suck the blood of all thy race,
 There from thy daughter, sister, wife,
 At midnight drain the stream of life;
 Yet loathe the banquet which perforce
 Must feed thy livid living corse.' &c.
 ' But one that for thy crime must fall,
 The youngest—most belov'd of all,
 Shall bless thee with a *Father's* name—
 That word shall wrap thy heart in flame!
 Yet must thou end thy task, and mark
 Her cheek's last tinge, her eye's last spark,
 And the last glassy glance must view
 Which freezes o'er its lifeless blue.'
 ' Wet with thine own best blood shall drip,
 Thy gnashing tooth and haggard lip;
 Then stalking to thy sullen grave—
 Go—and with Gouls and Afrits rave.' p. 23-25.

We hasten, however, to the *Giaour's* own dying and passionate confessions; in which, we think, the chief force and beauty of the poem is summed up. It opens thus—

" Father! thy days have pass'd in peace,
 " 'Mid counted beads, and countless prayer;
 " To bid the sins of others cease,
 " Thyself without a crime or care,
 " Save transient ills that all must bear,
 " Has been thy lot from youth to age,
 " And thou wilt bless thee from the rage
 " Of passions fierce and uncontroul'd,
 " Such as thy penitents unfold,
 " Whose secret sins and sorrows rest
 " Within thy pure and pitying breast." p. 30.

He then goes on to explain his own principles of action, and the state in which they had left him.

- " My days, though few, have pass'd below
 " In much of joy, but more of woe ;
 " Yet still in hours of love or strife
 " I've scap'd the weariness of life ;
 " Now leagu'd with friends, now girt by foes,
 " I loath'd the languor of repose ;
 " Now nothing left to love or hate,
 " No more with hope or pride elate ;
 " I'd rather be the thing that crawls
 " Most noxious o'er a dungeon's walls,
 " Than pass my dull, unvarying days,
 " Condemn'd to meditate and gaze ;
 " Yet, lurks a wish within my breast
 " For rest—but not to feel 't is rest—
 " Soon shall my fate that wish fulfil ;
 " And I shall sleep without the dream
 " Of what I was,—and would be still,
 " Though Hope hath long withdrawn her beam. "

p. 30, 31.

But the whole energy of the character, and of the author's genius, bursts out in the following fragments.

- " I lov'd her, friar ! nay, adored—
 " But these are words that all can use—
 " I prov'd it more in deed than word—
 " There's blood upon that dinted sword—
 " A stain its steel can never lose :
 " 'Twas shed for her, who died for me,
 " It warn'd the heart of one abhorred :
 " Nay, start not—no—nor bend thy knee,
 " Nor midst my *sins* such act record,
 " Thou wilt absolve me from the deed, " &c. p. 31, 32.

- " She died—I dare not tell thee how,
 " But look—'tis written on my brow !
 " There read of Cain the curse and crime,
 " In characters unworn by time :
 " Still, ere thou dost condemn me—pause—
 " Not mine the act, though mine * the cause ;
 " Yet did he but what I had done
 " Had she been false to more than one ;
 " Faithless to him—he gave the blow,
 " But true to me—I laid him low ;
 " Howe'er deserv'd her doom might be,
 " Her treachery was truth to me.
 " His death sits lightly ; but her fate
 " Has made me—what thou well may'st hate.

* It should be 'though / the cause,'—*mine* has no meaning, or quite a different one from what the author obviously intended.

" His doom was seal'd—he knew it well,
 " Warn'd by the voice of stern Taheer,
 " Deep in whose darkly boding ear
 " The deathshot peal'd of murder near—
 " As filed the troop to where they fell!" p. 33, 34.

" The cold in clime are cold in blood,
 " Their love can scarce deserve the name;
 " But mine was like the lava flood
 " That boils in Ætna's breast of flame,
 " I cannot prate in puling strain
 " Of ladye-love, and beauty's chain;
 " If changing cheek—and scorching vein—
 " Lips taught to writhe—but not complain—
 " If bursting heart, and mad'ning brain,
 " And daring deed, and vengeful steel,
 " And all that I have felt—and feel—
 " Betoken love—that love was mine,
 " And shown by many a bitter sign.
 " 'Tis true I could not whine nor sigh,
 " I knew but to obtain or die.
 " I die—but first I have possess'd,
 " And come what may, I *have been* blest;
 " Even now alone, yet undismay'd,
 " (I know no friend, and ask no aid,)
 " But for the thought of Leila slain,
 " Give me the pleasure with the pain,
 " So would I live and love again.
 " I grieve, but not, my holy guide!
 " For him who dies, but her who died;
 " She sleeps beneath the wandering wave,
 " Ah! had she but an earthly grave,
 " This breaking heart and throbbing head
 " Should seek and share her narrow bed." p. 35-37.

These, in our opinion, are the most beautiful passages of the poem—and some of them of a beauty which it would not be easy to eclipse by many citations in the language. Different readers, however, may think differently; and some will probably be better pleased with the following parallel of hunting butterflies and courting beauties. The idea is not quite original—and the parallel is pushed too far into detail; but it is written not only with great elegance and ingenuity, but with a degree of feeling, that does not always appear in those plays of the imagination.

‘ As rising on its purple wing
 The insect queen of eastern spring,
 O'er emerald meadows of Kashmir
 Invites the young pursuer near,

And leads him on from flower to flower
 A weary chase and wasted hour,
 Then leaves him, as it soars on high,
 With panting heart and tearful eye :
 So Beauty lures the full-grown child
 With hue as bright, and wing as wild ;
 A chase of idle hopes and fears,
 Begun in folly, closed in tears.

If won, to equal ills betrayed,
 Woe waits the insect and the maid,
 A life of pain, the loss of peace,
 From infant's play, and man's caprice :
 The lovely toy so fiercely sought
 Has lost its charm by being caught,
 For every touch that wooed its stay
 Has brush'd its brightest hues away,
 Till charm, and hue, and beauty gone,
 'Tis left to fly or fall alone.
 With wounded wing, or bleeding breast,
 Ah ! where shall either victim rest ?
 Can this with faded pinion soar
 From rose to tulip as before ?
 Or beauty, blighted in an hour,
 Find joy within her broken bower ?
 No : gayer insects fluttering by
 Ne'er droop the wing o'er those that die,
 And lovelier things have mercy shown
 To every failing but their own,
 And every woe a tear can claim
 Except an erring sister's shame.' p. 6-8.

The sentiment of the following passage is striking and original ; but the image by which it is illustrated, is not of a poetical character, nor introduced with much elegance of language ; while the minuteness into which it is pursued is still more objectionable than in the preceding example.

' To love the softest hearts are prone,
 But such can ne'er be all his own ;
 Too timid in his woes to share,
 Too meek to meet, or brave despair ;
 And sterner hearts alone may feel
 The wound that time can never heal.
 The rugged metal of the mine
 Must burn before its surface shine,
 But plung'd within the furnace-flame,
 It bends and melts—though still the same ;
 Then tempered to thy want, or will,
 I will serve thee to defend or kill ;
 A breastplate for thine hour of need,
 Or blade to bid thy foeman bleed ;

But if a dagger's form it bear,
 Let those, who shape its edge, beware !
 Thus passion's fire, and woman's art,
 Can turn and tame the sterner heart ;
 From these its form and tone is ta'en,
 And what they make it, must remain,
 But break—before it bend again.' p. 27-28.

We shall add but one other exceptionable passage ; in which also, though there is much force both of conception and expression, the same ambition of originality has produced a degree of harshness in the diction, and an air of studied ingenuity in the thought, which is very remote from the general style either of the piece or its author.

' The Mind, that broods o'er guilty woes,
 Is like the Scorpion girt by fire,
 In circle narrowing as it glows
 The flames around their captive close,
 Till inly search'd by thousand throes,
 And maddening in her ire,
 One sad and sole relief she knows,
 The sting she nourish'd for her foes,
 Whose venom never yet was vain,
 Gives but one pang, and cures all pain,
 And darts into her desperate brain.—
 So do the dark in soul expire,
 Or live like Scorpion girt by fire ;
 So writhes the mind by conscience riven,
 Unfit for earth, undoom'd for heaven,
 Darkness above, despair beneath,
 Around it flame, within it death !—' p. 8, 9.

There is infinite beauty and effect, though of a painful and almost oppressive character, in the following extraordinary passage ; in which the author has illustrated the beautiful, but still and melancholy aspect, of the once busy and glorious shores of Greece, by an image more true, more mournful, and more exquisitely finished, than any that we can now recollect in the whole compass of poetry.

' He who hath bent him o'er the dead,
 Ere the first day of death is fled ;
 The first dark day of nothingness,
 The last of danger and distress ;
 (Before Decay's effacing fingers
 Have swept the lines where beauty lingers,)
 And mark'd the mild angelic air—
 The rapture of repose that's there—
 The fixed yet tender traits that streak
 The languor of the placid cheek,

And—but for that sad shrouded eye,
 That fires not—wins not—weeps not—now—
 And but for that chill changeless brow,
 Whose touch thrills with mortality,
 And curdles to the gazer's heart,
 As if to him it could impart
 The doom he dreads, yet dwells upon—
 Yes—but for these and these alone,
 Some moments—aye—one treacherous hour,
 He still might doubt the tyrant's power,
 So fair—so calm—so softly seal'd
 The first—last look—by death reveal'd !

Such is the aspect of this shore—
 'Tis Greece—but living Greece no more !
 So coldly sweet, so deadly fair,
 We start—for soul is wanting there.
 Hers is the loveliness in death,
 That parts not quite with parting breath :
 But beauty with that fearful bloom,
 That hue which haunts it to the tomb—
 Expression's last receding ray.

A gilded halo hovering round decay,
 The farewell beam of Feeling past away !

Spark of that flame—perchance of heavenly birth—

Which gleams—but warms no more its cherish'd earth !' p. 3-5.

The Oriental *costume* is preserved, as might be expected, with admirable fidelity through the whole of this poem ; and the Turkish original of the tale is attested, to all but the bolder sceptics of literature, by the great variety of untranslated words which perplex the unlearned reader in the course of these fragments. *Kiosks*, *Cairques* and *Muezzins*, indeed, are articles with which all readers of modern travels are forced to be pretty familiar ; but *Chiaus*, *pulampore*, and *ataghan*, are rather more puzzling : They are well sounding words, however ; and as they probably express things for which we have no appropriate words of our own, we shall not now object to their introduction. But we cannot extend the same indulgence to *Phingari*, which signifies merely the moon ; which, though an humble monosyllable, we maintain to be a very good word either for verse or prose, and can, on no account, allow to be supplanted, at this time of day, by any such new and unchristian appellation.

The faults of diction which may be charged against the noble author are sufficiently apparent in several of the passages we have quoted, and need not be further specified. They are faults, some of them of carelessness, and some, we think, of bad taste—but as they are not very flagrant in either way, it would probably do the author no good to point them out particularly to his no-

tice. The former, we suspect, he would not take the trouble to correct,—and of the existence of the latter we are not sure that we should easily convince him.

We hope, however, that he will go on, and give us more fragments from his Oriental collections; and, powerful as he is in the expression of the darker passions and more gloomy emotions from which the energy and the terrors of poetry are chiefly derived, we own we should like now and then to meet in his pages with something more cheerful, more amiable, and more tender. The most delightful, and, after all, the most poetical of all illusions are those by which human happiness and human virtue and affection are magnified beyond their natural dimensions, and represented in purer and brighter colours than nature can furnish, even to partial observation. Such enchanting pictures not only gladden life by the glories which they pour on the imagination—but exalt and improve it, by raising the standard both of excellence and enjoyment beyond the vulgar level of sober precept and actual example; and produce on the ages and countries which they adorn, something of the same effect, with the occasional occurrence of great and heroic characters in real life—those moral *avatars*, by whose successive advents the dignity of our nature is maintained against a long series of degradations, and its divine original and high destination made palpable to the feelings of all to whom it belongs. The sterner and more terrible poetry which is conversant with the guilty and vindictive passions, is not indeed without its use both in purging and in exalting the soul: But the delight which it yields is of a less pure, and more overpowering nature; and the impressions which it leaves behind are of a more dangerous and ambiguous tendency. Energy of character and intensity of emotion are sublime in themselves, and attractive in the highest degree as objects of admiration; but the admiration which they excite, when presented in combination with worthlessness and guilt, is one of the most powerful corrupters and perverters of our moral nature; and is the more to be lamented, as it is most apt to exert its influence on the noblest characters. The poetry of Lord Byron is full of this perversion; and it is because we conceive it capable of producing other and still more delightful sensations than those of admiration, that we wish to see it employed upon subjects less gloomy and revolting than those to which it has hitherto been almost exclusively devoted.

ART. III. *An Account of a Trigonometrical Survey, and of the Measurement of an Arc of the Meridian in the Peninsula of India.* By Major William Lambton, of the 33d Regiment of Foot.

(*From the Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII. X. & XII.*)

THE measurement of the distance between the meridians of Paris and of Greenwich in 1787, formed a new era in the art of Trigonometrical Surveying. The instruments employed in that operation were of such a superior construction, as to afford a measure of many quantities which were before only known from theory to exist. Though it was perfectly understood that the three angles of a triangle on the surface of a spherical body like the earth, must necessarily exceed two right angles, yet a quantity so minute as to bear the same proportion to four right angles which the area of the triangle bore to half the superficies of the globe, had eluded the best instruments yet applied to the purposes of practical geometry. It was not till the survey just mentioned, that the new theodolite of RAMSDEN, in the hands of General ROY, and the repeating circle of BORDA, in those of the French mathematicians, were able to measure a quantity, where even fractions of a second must be accurately ascertained. The exquisite division of the former of these instruments, and the power possessed by the latter, of not only measuring any angle, but any multiple of it, and any number of multiples, rendered them perfectly equal to such delicate observations. The advantage of this was quickly perceived; for the spherical excess, or the excess of the three angles of the triangle above two right angles, depending entirely on the area of the triangle, could be estimated with sufficient accuracy before the angles were correctly determined, and therefore might serve for a check on the observations, as effectual as that which is furnished by the well known property of plane triangles, that the three angles are always equal to 180 degrees. This was remarked by General ROY, and applied to the purpose of estimating the accuracy and correcting the errors of his observations. The French geometers carried their views farther; and in seeking to turn the knowledge of this limit to the greatest advantage, LE GENDRE discovered, that if each of the angles of a small spherical triangle be diminished by one third of the spherical excess, their sines become proportional to the lengths of the opposite sides of the triangle, so that the ratios of the sides may be found by the rules of plane trigonometry.

In a science where all the parts are necessarily connected with

one another, one improvement can seldom fail of leading to many more. It now became evident, that to carry, through the whole process of a trigonometrical survey, the same accuracy that was employed in measuring the angles of the triangles, methods of calculation must be introduced to which it was before quite unnecessary to resort. Thus, if the object was the measurement of an arch of the meridian, the reduction of the sides of the triangles to the direction of that line, by the usual method of letting fall perpendiculars on it, from the extremities of those sides, and finding the lengths of the parts intercepted, by the rules of plane trigonometry, did not possess a degree of accuracy equal to that which belonged to other parts of the process. The perpendiculars drawn to the meridian from any two points, are not in strictness to be regarded as straight lines, but as arches of two great circles perpendicular to it, which would meet if produced in the pole of the meridian, or in the point of the horizon which is due east or west from the place of observation. It is therefore by the solution of a spherical triangle, of which the sides are nearly quadrants and the base very small, that the reduction required is to be made. This is the method followed by DE LAMBRE in the measurement of the great arch of the meridian carried across France, for the purpose of determining the length of the *metre*. It is a refinement which was not thought of by General ROY; and we are not sure that it has been followed by any of the geometers who succeeded him in the conduct of the British survey. It is one however which, when the utmost accuracy is aimed at, ought not to be neglected, especially in high latitudes, where the convergency of the meridians is considerable.

Another refinement which one should suppose might be even more easily dispensed with than the former, applies to the measurement of the base from which the sides of the triangles are determined. That line is usually measured by placing rods of equal lengths, or chains stretched with great care, at the ends of one another, for a distance of five or six miles. It has been usual to consider the base, thus measured, as a straight line, the length of which is just equal to the sum of the lengths of all the rods or chains which have been consecutively placed at the ends of one another. The truth however is, that these rods have not been placed exactly in the same straight line, and that they constitute the sides of a polygon inscribed in a circle, the radius of which is the radius of curvature of the earth at the point, and in the direction in which the base is extended. The line measured is therefore, in fact, an arch, passing through the angles of this polygon; and this arch, which is the real base,

is longer than the sum of the rods or chains. It is, however, easy to see that the deduction of the real length from the apparent, is not, in this case, a matter of much difficulty.

There is another way of including these corrections, which has been thought preferable by some geometers, and is recommended by the authority of DE LAMBRE. According to it, the spherical angles, or those actually measured, are reduced to the angles of the chords; and thus the lengths of the chords are calculated by plane trigonometry, and thence the lengths of the arches themselves are afterwards deduced. The base, measured as above, is also reduced on the chord. This method, though less direct than the former, has considerable advantages in calculation. It was followed by MAJOR LAMBTON in the survey of which we are now to treat.

A third source of inaccuracy, which had never before been thought of, drew the attention both of the French and English mathematicians engaged in the survey. Triangles, as we have seen, on the surface of the earth, cannot be regarded as plane triangles, because the plummets at the three angular points are not parallel to one another, and of course the theodolites at these three stations can neither be in the same, nor in parallel planes. But neither can they always be regarded as spherical triangles; for the plummets at the three angles of the triangle do not all tend to the same point in the interior of the earth; and in some cases, do not any one of them intersect another. Spheroidal triangles must therefore differ from spherical; and though, in such triangles as usually occur in a trigonometrical survey, the difference is of no account, yet there is one case where it can by no means be neglected. This happens, when the bearings of any obtuse line, or rather arch, with respect to the meridians that pass through its extremities, are known, and also the latitude of one of those extremities, and it is required to find the difference of the longitude of the said extremities, or the angle which the meridians passing through them make with one another at the pole. If the base of this triangle is considerable, and very oblique to the meridians, the directions of gravity at its extremities will not intersect the earth's axis in the same point,—and the difference may be so great, that it cannot be neglected in calculation.

These corrections have all been taken into account, and the application of them fully exemplified, in the measurement of the great arch between Dunkirk and Formentera (the southernmost of the Balearic Isles). Indeed, the book in which the facts and investigations respecting this measurement have been recorded by the French mathematicians, the *Base Métrique*, is

one of the most valuable works which has yet distinguished the beginning of the nineteenth century.

MAJOR LAMBTON, who, in 1801, proposed the survey of the Peninsula of India, was fully aware of all those new improvements, and perfectly prepared for carrying them into effect. It is indeed much to the credit of the British army, that in a detachment of it, in a distant country, an officer should be found already prepared for a service implying such scientific acquirements, as nothing but the strong impulse of genius could have rendered compatible with the duties or the amusements of a military life.

The plan having been first approved by the Governor of Madras, and afterwards communicated to the Asiatic Society, was published in the 7th volume of their researches. The recent conquest of the Mysore had just opened the interior of the country, and made it practicable to join the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, by a series of triangles which might be extended on the south, to the extremity of the Peninsula, and to an indefinite distance on the north. It was proposed to execute the work on a plan similar to that pursued in France and England, paying attention to the spherical excess, the spheroidal figure of the earth, and the other circumstances which have just been mentioned. The India Company furnished the Major with the best instruments that could be procured; and indeed it is but justice to remark, that, in whatever concerns geographical improvement, the liberal and enlarged views of the present rulers of India cannot be too highly commended.* At the present moment, no country in the world, except France and England, has its geography ascertained by a survey so accurate and extensive as that of which we are here to give an account.

The instruments used in the Indian survey, are of the same kind with those employed in the British. The theodolite is one

* They have sent out parties, in all directions, for the purpose of ascertaining the bearings and distances of the places which compose or limit their extensive dominions. A late volume of the Asiatic Researches contains an account of the march of an officer, at the head of a detachment, into one of the most remote and unknown districts of India, for no other purpose but to decide a question, interesting only to philosophers, viz. Whether the Ganges rises within or without—that is, on the south or the north side of the great chain of Himmaleh, the Snowy Mountains, or the Immaus of the ancients?—There are but few of the most enlightened cabinets in Europe which can boast of an expedition equally disinterested and meritorious.

made by Cary, after the model of that invented by RAMSDEN, and described by General Roy in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1790, with some additional improvements. The instrument for the celestial observations, was a zenith sector of five feet radius by the same artist; it is capable of ascertaining small fractions of a second, and appears to be an excellent instrument, though not so large as that used in the British survey. The chains employed in the measurement of the bases, were also similar to Ramsden's. That every source of error might, as far as possible, be removed, the angles were usually taken three or four times;—at each time the angle was read off from the opposite microscopes of the theodolite, and the results set down in two separate field-books. The mean of the numbers from the two books, are those employed in the calculation, and recorded in the printed table of observations.

In a survey of the kind here proposed, four separate processes, different in themselves, and directed to distinct objects, are necessary to be combined. The first is the measurement of a base, or of more bases than one, each of which must be a straight and level line, at least five or six miles long. This, it has been usual to measure, by placing straight rods, sometimes of deal, sometimes of metal, or even of glass, all of the same length, one at the end of another, each supported horizontally along the whole line. It was found by General Roy, that a steel chain, made in a particular manner, somewhat like a watch chain, and stretched in a wooden trough, by weights that are always the same, is not less to be depended on than the rods, and is far more convenient. This method of measuring the base was employed by Major Lambton, and he considered the base he had measured, conformably to what is before mentioned, as a polygon or a series of chords inscribed in a circle, as many in number as there have been chains. The real base is the circular arch in which these chords are inscribed.

The next part of the process is the formation of a series of triangles which go from hill to hill, over the whole space to be included in the survey, and having the base already measured, for a side of one of them. In each triangle the angles are to be taken, and then, by trigonometry, their sides can be determined: The whole may be laid down on paper; and the position of every point within the survey may be found, with respect to every other. This is sufficient, therefore, for determining the position and magnitude of every line, and every figure, within a given extent; but it does not determine the position of the tract surveyed, in respect of the other parts of the earth's surface. It does not determine its situation in respect of the quarters of the hea-

vens, in respect of the parallels of latitude, or in respect of the different meridians which divide the surface of the globe from north to south. The first of these objects is obtained by observing carefully the azimuths of one or more of the sides of the triangles, that is, their bearings with respect to the meridian. This serves to place the whole in its due direction with respect to the cardinal points, or to *orient* the plan, if we may borrow a term from the French, which we wish we had weight enough to introduce into our own language. *

The next thing to be done, is to place the tract surveyed between the same two parallels of latitude, on the artificial globe which it actually lies between, on the surface of the earth. This is done, by observing the latitude at any two stations in the survey, at a considerable distance north or south from one another. If, when this is performed, the distance between the two places reduced to the direction of the meridian be computed, we have the measure of a degree; which, therefore, is a thing almost necessarily implied in a trigonometrical survey.

The position of the whole then, as to its distance from the equator, or from the pole, is thus found; but its distance east or west, from some given meridian, that is to say, its longitude, remains to be determined; and this must be settled by the comparison of the time in some point within the survey, with the time as reckoned under the given meridian. To all these objects Major Lambton has directed his observations, and, we think, with remarkable success.

The base was measured on a plane near Madras, at no great distance from the shore, and nearly on the level of the sea, in spring 1802. The length of the base, reduced to the level of the sea, and to the temperature of 62° , is 40006.44 feet, or 7.546 miles; the latitude of the north end was $13^{\circ} 0' 29''$, (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII. p. 149, &c.); and it made an angle of little more than $12'$ with the meridian. From this a series

* We want very much a verb to denote the act of determining the position of a line, or a system of lines, in respect of the quarters of the heavens. The French use the word *orienter* for this purpose; and we propose to translate this by the phrase *to orient*. The English language is remarkably poor in words denoting position in respect of the heavens. Our sailors have been obliged to borrow the harsh term, *rhumb*, from the Portuguese; to denote, by a single word, the point of the compass on which a ship sails. In Scotland they use the word *airth*, or *airt*, for the same purpose; and sometimes convert it into a verb, to *airt*, *orienter*, or *to orient*. The Scots term, however, is neither of so good a sound, or so classical an origin, as that which we propose to introduce.

of triangles was carried, about 85 miles eastward, north as far as the parallel of $13^{\circ} 19' 49''$ N., and south to Cuddalore, latitude $11^{\circ} 44' 53''$, embracing an extent of about 3700 square miles. The triangles seem well contrived for avoiding very acute and very obtuse angles; the sides of many are from 30 to 40 miles in length, which indicates a fine climate, where the air is very transparent, and a country where hills of considerable elevation are easy to be found. In computing the sides, Major Lambton reduced the observed angles to the angles of the chords, according to the method of De Launay; and though he computed the spherical excess, he did not use it in any other way than as a measure of the accuracy of his observations. The knowledge of this spherical excess enables one, from having two angles of a spherical triangle, such as occurs in the survey, to find the third, though it be not observed. This is a facility of which a careful observer will avail himself as seldom as possible, as it deprives him of the check by which the errors in the angles might be detected. The difficulty of the country often proves a temptation to make use of it in this way, so as to avoid the necessity of carrying the theodolite to the more inaccessible points. Major Lambton has no appearance of a person who would save labour at the expense of accuracy; and, whenever he has omitted to take all the three angles of a triangle, we believe that it has arisen from the necessity of the case. The chords, which were the sides of the triangles, were then converted into arches; and as by a very judicious arrangement, which, however, is not always practicable, Major Lambton had contrived, that the sides of the four triangles which connected the stations at the south and north extremities should lie very nearly in the direction of the meridian, their sum, with very little reduction, gave the length of the intercepted arch, which was thus found to be 95721.326 fathoms.

By a series of observations for the latitude, at the extremities of this arch made with the zenith sector above mentioned, the amplitude of the arch was found to be $1^{\circ}.58233$, by which, dividing the length of the arch just mentioned, Major Lambton obtained 60494 fathoms for the degree of the meridian, bisected by the parallel of $12^{\circ} 32'$. This, till the survey was extended farther to the south, was the degree nearest to the equator, (except that in Peru, almost under it,) which had yet been measured, and was, on that account, extremely interesting.

The next object was to measure a degree perpendicular to the meridian, in the same latitude. This degree was accordingly derived from a distance of more than 55 miles, between the stations at *Carangooly* and *Carnatighur*, nearly due east and west of one

or other. Very accurate measures of the angles, which that line made with the meridian at its extremities, were here required; and these were obtained, by observations of the Pole star, when at its greatest distance from the meridian. For this purpose, a lamp was lighted, or the blue lights were fired at a given station, the azimuth of which was found by the Pole star observations, and afterwards its bearing in respect of the line in question. Thus the angle which the meridian of *Carangooly* makes at the pole, with that of *Carnatighur*, or the difference of longitude of these two places, was computed. It was then easy to calculate the amplitude of the arch between them; and thence the degree perpendicular to the meridian at *Carangooly*, was found to be 61061 fathoms.

With regard to the measure of this perpendicular degree, we confess that we do not see reason to place great confidence in it, notwithstanding our high opinion of the observer. The method of determining the difference of longitude, by the convergency of the meridians, or the angles they make with a line intersecting them, is not easily applicable in low latitudes, or in places near to the equator; because there, a very small error in the observation of the azimuths, must produce a very great one in the difference of longitude. The convergency of the meridians is so small, in the present instance, that if a line were to be drawn through *Carangooly* parallel to the meridian of *Carnatighur*, it would not make with the former an angle of one minute. A very small error, therefore, in ascertaining the angle which these lines make with a third line, must greatly affect the quantity of the angle which they make with one another. This is also evident from considering, that at the equator, all the meridians make right angles with the line from east to west, and have therefore no convergency at all. The problem of determining the difference of the longitude, or the arch of the equator, by the angles which it makes with the meridian, comes here under the *porismatic* or indeterminate case, where the data can lead to no definite conclusion. This is evidently true at the equator; and we are constantly coming nearer to this condition of things, as we come nearer to that circle. The *porismatic* case of a problem, like every other, does not arise all at once, but comes on by gradations; every approach to the state in which the thing sought is quite indeterminate, being marked by the greater looseness and inaccuracy of the determination actually given.

Of the degree of the perpendicular as here given, viz. 61061 fathoms, we have further to remark, that when compared with the degree of the meridian, it brings out the compression at the

poles equal to $\frac{1}{216}$, which is certainly much too great. But if it be diminished by 200 fathoms, and reduced to 60861, as an ingenious writer (*Phil. Trans.* 1812, p. 342) contends that it ought to be, on account of an error in calculation, which has escaped Major Lambton, it gives for the compression $\frac{1}{216}$, which is probably not far from the truth.

The measures of which we have been giving an account, were made in 1803; the next, of which we are informed in the tenth volume, were in 1806, when the series of triangles was carried quite across the Peninsula to the Malabar coast, which they intersected at Mangalore on the north, and Tillicherry on the south. In this tract they of course passed over the Ghauts, so remarkable both in the natural and civil history of Hindostan; and as the stations, most probably, are the tops of some of the highest mountains, their heights may serve to give some idea of the general elevation of the chain. The most considerable are, *Noobramance* and *Taddiandamole*, in the western Ghaut, not very far from the coast, the former 5583 feet, and the latter 5682 above the level of the sea. Considerable difficulty could not fail to be experienced in conducting the survey across these mountains.

‘I had laid (says the Major) the foundation for a southern series of triangles, to be carried through the *Koorg*, to mount Delli, (on the coast), which was rendered practicable by the assistance afforded me by the *Koorg* Rajah, to whose liberal aid I am indebted for the successful means I had in carrying the triangles over those stupendous mountains.’ Vol. X. p. 295.

The heights of the stations were all determined from the distances and observed angles of elevation; and it is no small proof of accuracy, that after ascending the chain of the Ghauts, from the Coromandel coast on the east, and descending from it to the level of the sea on the Malabar coast, a distance in all of more than 360 English miles, they found the sum of all the ascents, and of all the descents, reckoned from the level of the sea, to differ from one another only by eight feet and a half. This is the more remarkable, that the angles of elevation and depression, on account of the refraction, are the parts of trigonometrical measurement, in which error is most difficult to be avoided. In every case the angles of elevation and depression between the same objects were constantly measured; and thence the refraction was determined; the double of it being equal to the apparent elevation, *plus* the horizontal distance in minutes, *minus* the apparent depression. The refraction seems to have varied from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{216}$ of the horizontal arc; but as the heights of the barometer and thermometer, at the time

the angles were measured, are not put down, no inference can be drawn as to the relation between the density of the air and the quantity of the terrestrial refraction.

From the triangles thus carried across the Peninsula, a correct measure of its breadth was obtained, and one considerably different from what was before supposed. The distance from Madras to the opposite coast, in the same parallel, is 360 miles very nearly; the best maps, till then, made it exceed 400.

It now became proper to measure a second base in the interior of the country, which was accordingly done near Bangalore, about 170 miles west from Madras, not far from which the first base was measured. The execution of the work was committed to Lieutenant WARREN, of the 33d regiment; and no better proof of the accuracy of the whole combined operation is necessary, than that when the length of this base was deduced from the base at Madras, 170 miles distant, by means of the intervening triangles, the computation exceeded the actual measurement only by 3.7 inches. The length of this base, reduced to the level of the sea, is 39793.7 fath. = 7.536 miles. The same precautions were employed here as in the preceding measurement, and even with increased attention. For ascertaining the latitudes with the zenith sector, a number of different stars were observed; the same stars were observed, at both stations, a great many different times, alternately, with the face of the instrument toward the east and toward the west; so that the error of the line of collimation was completely destroyed. The observations, with the face of the instrument turned the same way, are usually very near to one another; so that an error of a second in the determination of the latitude, can hardly be supposed. From these observations, the degree of the meridian came out 60498 fathoms, in lat. $12^{\circ} 55' 10''$.

The next thing attempted, was the determination of a degree perpendicular to the meridian in the above latitude, which is that of *Savendroog*, not far from Bangalore. Here, again, though the operation is conducted with all possible care, and in circumstances that Major Lambton thought more favourable to accuracy than the former measurement of the perpendicular, a similar uncertainty takes place as to the result. The degree perpendicular to the meridian at the place just named, was found to be 60747.8 fathoms; on which Major Lambton remarks, that taking the ratio of the earth's diameters to be 1 to 1.003.25, and the meridional degree, in lat. $12^{\circ} 55' 10''$, to be 60498 fathoms, the degree of the perpendicular will come out 60858 fathoms, which exceeds the measured degree by 110 fathoms; so that it may be inferred, either that the earth is not an ellipsoid, or that this measure is incorrect. We already stated our objections to the degree of

a perpendicular arch, ascertained by the convergency of meridians in such low latitudes. The Major himself seems to think that no great reliance can be had on results so obtained. 'The great nicety,' he says, 'in making the Pole star observations (for the azimuths) is well understood; and it will be made more manifest in the case before us, by increasing or diminishing the half sum of the azimuths reciprocally taken at *Mullapunnabetta* and *Savendroog*, by one second only, when it will appear that a difference of nearly one hundred and fifty fathoms will be thereby occasioned in the perpendicular degree.'

But if the method of measuring a degree of the perpendicular by the convergency of the meridians cannot be successfully practised, what method must be had recourse to? The measurement of this arch is very necessary for determining the difference of longitude, and is therefore an important element in the survey. Other methods of ascertaining the longitude ought no doubt to be tried, such as that which Major Lambton mentions as having been strongly recommended to him by the late Astronomer-Royal, by carrying a good time-keeper between two meridians at a known distance, which I mean, says he, to put in practice in the course of my future operations. 'I had also,' adds he, 'devised another method, by the instantaneous extinction of the large blue lights used at *Savendroog*, the times of which were to be noticed by observers at *Mullapunnabetta* and *Yerracondah*, the distance of whose meridians on a parallel of latitude passing through *Savendroog* is nearly 135 miles. The experiments were attempted; but the weather was so dull that the lights could scarcely be distinguished. There is, besides, a difficulty in fixing the precise moment of extinction; and even in the most favourable state of the atmosphere, when the lights may be distinctly seen with the naked eye, at near seventy miles distance, to come within half a second of the truth, would be as near as the eye is capable of, which is $7\frac{1}{4}$ in an angle at the pole: But the mean of a great number of observations might come very near the truth.'

The Major then proposes the comparison of celestial observations, such as occultations of the six stars by the Moon, eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter, &c. for the longitude, to be made at *Madras* and *Mangalore*—almost five degrees of longitude removed from one another, and of which the distance in fathoms is perfectly determined from the survey. He concludes with a passage, full of the modesty characteristic of real talent, and breathing the spirit of ardent and persevering research, which nothing but the love of truth is able to inspire.

'In short, the difficulty of obtaining this desideratum (the know-

‘ ledge of the true figure of the earth) and the important advantages
 ‘ to geography and physical science which must accrue from it, are
 ‘ such powerful incitements to the prosecution of the inquiry, that
 ‘ I may venture an assurance of leaving nothing undone, which may
 ‘ come within the compass of my abilities, to give every possible sa-
 ‘ tisfaction on the subject ; and if my endeavours shall prove suc-
 ‘ cessful to throw some light on the path of future discovery, I shall
 ‘ close my labours with the grateful reflection, that while employed
 ‘ in conducting a work of national utility, I shall have contributed
 ‘ my humble mite to the stock of general science.’ p. 368.

The 12th volume of the Asiatic Researches contains an account of the extension of this survey, to the southern extremity of the Peninsula, and the measurement of another considerable portion of the meridian, amounting in all to nearly six degrees ;—the longest arch, excepting that in France, which has yet been measured on the surface of the earth. When the work was first undertaken, the principal object was to connect the two coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, and to determine the latitudes and longitudes of the principal places, both on the coasts and in the interior. As the work proceeded, the design was enlarged ; and, in addition to the triangles carried across the Peninsula between the latitudes of 12 and 14 degrees, as already mentioned, another series was extended from Tranquebar and Negapatam on the Coromandel coast, across to Pannian and Calicut on the opposite shore ; and to render the skeleton complete, a meridional series was carried down the middle of the Peninsula as far as Cape Comorin, from which were extended other series to the east and west along the sea coasts ; so that a web of triangles has been completely woven over the Peninsula of India from the parallel of 14° to its utmost extremity. It is to the meridional arch, of nearly six degrees, thence deduced, that this last memoir relates. It was presented to the President of the Asiatic Society by the Governor General, LORD MINTO, who added this judicious and merited encomium ; ‘ I have great
 ‘ pleasure in being the channel of communicating to the learned
 ‘ Society, a paper containing matter of such high importance to
 ‘ the interests of science, and furnishing so many new proofs
 ‘ of the eminent endowments and indefatigable exertions which
 ‘ have long distinguished the character and labours of its re-
 ‘ spectable and meritorious author.’
 • In this measurement, the meridian of the *Dodagoontah* station, or of *Savendraog*, was continued south to *Punnæ*, in the latitude of 8° 10' ; and the series of triangles, for the purpose of ascertaining its length, was continued to the same point. In the extent of this prolongation, two new bases were measured, one at Putschapoliam, where the meridian intersects the parallel of

11°, and another at *Tinnerelly*, near the southern extremity of the arch. These bases were nearly of the same length (somewhat shorter than that at Bangalore), and measured with the same commendable attention to every circumstance which could ensure their accuracy. The triangles were carried on in the same manner, being a part of that great system which we have already mentioned as covering all this part of the Peninsula. In many places the country is high and difficult to penetrate; the highest mountain in the whole survey occurs here, viz. the *Hill* (for so it is called) of PERMAUL in latitude $10^{\circ} 18'$; its height is set down at 7367 feet. A very laudable precaution was taken throughout by Major Lambton, that of describing the positions of the great stations; and giving marks, by which an astronomical instrument may be placed in the same situation with his, if any of the observations should seem to require repetition or verification.

The observations for the latitude appear to have been conducted even with increased diligence. The practice of reversing the sector is never omitted; the latitude of *Putchapoliam*, the northern extremity of this prolonged meridian, is determined from the mean of 175 zenith distances of stars, all passing very near the vertex. The number of similar observations at *Punnac* was 226, and from these was deduced the amplitude of the arch between the stations just named, viz. $2^{\circ} 50' 10''.5$, the length being 171516.75 fathoms. The differences between the zenith distances of the same star seldom exceed 3", and are usually much less; so that, taking into account the number of observations, it cannot be doubted that these latitudes are determined to a fraction of a second.

On this meridian, the distances of five stations with the corresponding latitudes were determined in the course of the present and the former survey; *Punnac* the south extremity; *Putchapoliam*, *Dodagoortah*, *Bomasundrum* and *Paughur*, the northernmost point. The amplitude of the whole arch was $5^{\circ} 56' 47''.32$, and its length 359595.4 fathoms. From this and the other points named above, the following degrees are deduced.

	Deg. in Fath.	Mid. Lat.
<i>Punnac</i> and <i>Putchapoliam</i> -	60473	9.31.44
<i>Punnac</i> and <i>Dodagoortah</i> -	69496	10.34.49
<i>Punnac</i> and <i>Bomasundrum</i> -	{ 60462	11. 4.44 }
<i>Punnac</i> and <i>Paughur</i> -		
Mean of the two last -	60469	11. 8. 3 }
Mean of the two last -	60465.5	11. 6.23.5
From a former measurement -	60494	12.32.0

In these degrees we perceive the same anomalies which have been observed in France and in England, and which will probably always occur, where contiguous parts of the same arch are

compared with one another. The degree in the parallel of $11^{\circ} 6' 23''$ is 60465.5 fathoms, which is less than that in the parallel of $9^{\circ} 34'$, a degree and a half farther to the south. This is similar to what appears in the degree in England; and there is an instance of the same species of retrogradation, when the parts of the arch between Dunkirk and Formentera are compared with one another. Some part of this irregularity, but certainly a very small one, may be ascribed to error of observation; the greatest part must, we think, be placed to account of the irregularities in the direction of gravity, arising from the inequalities at the surface, or in the interior of the earth; the attraction of mountains, for example, or the local variations of density in the parts immediately under the surface. On the effect of these last, Major Lambton remarks, 'that between Dodagoontah and Bomasundrum (13° and 14°), there is a vein of iron ore which might be supposed to have affected the plummet.' A more particular description, however, of the country would be necessary to enable us to judge of the probability of this hypothesis. A mere vein, in the strict sense of the word, would be a cause inadequate to such an effect as is here ascribed to it; but a great mass of iron ore, or a body of ferruginous strata, might be sufficient to produce the effect. We long ago remarked, in speaking of the trigonometrical survey of England, that it would have been of great importance to have added to it a mineralogical survey, as the results of the latter might have thrown some light on the anomalies of the former. The same thing is suggested by the objects now under consideration. It would be extremely desirable also to have a vertical section in the direction of the meridian and of the perpendicular, at those places where observations for the latitude are made. This might afford a satisfactory solution of many difficulties which at present are sufficiently perplexing, and seem to increase just in proportion to the extent and accuracy of the observations. Major Lambton goes on to remark, 'that the arc between Putchapoliam and Dodagoontah gave the length of the degree in latitude $11^{\circ} 59' 54''$, equal to 60529 fathoms, while the arch between Putchapoliam and Bomasundrum gave the same degree only 60149. Both these stations are sufficiently remote from mountains, to remove all suspicion of a disturbance from that cause; but as no doubt remained as to the existence of some disturbing cause, I attributed it to the effects of the bed of ore, and concluded that the plummet had been drawn to the northward at Dodagoontah, and to the southward at Bomasundrum, which would give the celestial arc between Putchapoliam (to the south of both) and Dodagoontah too little, and

‘ that between Putchapoliam and Bomasundrum too great ;
 ‘ making, of consequence, the length of a degree too great in
 ‘ the first case, and too little in the second. Being,’ he adds,
 ‘ confident as to the accuracy of the observations at both places,
 ‘ in consequence of the circumstances just mentioned, I thought
 ‘ it reasonable to take the mean of the two degrees, which gave
 ‘ 60490 fathoms for the degree in latitude $11^{\circ} 59' 54''$. ’

In the conclusion of the paper, the Major reduces the degrees into a consistent form, and apparently cleared of all irregularity (p. 94), but on a principle of which we cannot entirely approve, as it involves in it too much theory. The mathematical reasoning is correct ; but the introduction of a degree measured in another latitude, though it is quite legitimate in a general inquiry into the figure of the earth, prevents the results of the Indian measurement from appearing as independent facts, resting on the foundation of experiment alone.

The simplest and most unexceptionable way of deducing from a large arch, (the parts of which, as actually measured, are not perfectly consistent), the results that may be accounted the nearest approximation to the truth, is to consider, that if the elliptic hypothesis be true, whatever be the compression, the successive degrees of the meridian must increase, on receding from the equator, by a quantity proportional to the sine of the double latitude. Thus, if x be the degree in the latitude L , the next degree is $x + n \sin. 2L$; the next to that is $x + n \sin. 2L + n \sin. (2L + 2^{\circ})$, &c. where n is a constant quantity, to be determined without the assistance of theory, by assuming different values for it, and adopting that which agrees nearest with the observations. This is easy, because $n \sin. 2L$ is always a small quantity. In the southernmost point of Major Lambton's arch, it is between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms: the value that seems to us to answer best, is 3.1 fathoms; and in this way we deduce the first degree of the arch, that which begins at Punnae, in lat. $8^{\circ} 39' 38''$, and has its middle in $9^{\circ} 9' 38''$, equal to 60473 fathoms. This is derived from a comparison of the arch between Punnae and Putchapoliam, which consists of $2^{\circ} 50' 10''$, and is certainly, as far as observation can go, very accurately determined. In this way, the successive degrees are as follows.

Mid. Lat.	Length.	Mid. Lat.	Length.
$9^{\circ} 10'$	60473 fath.	$12^{\circ} 10'$	60485.2 fath.
$10^{\circ} 10'$	60476.1	$13^{\circ} 10'$	60487.2
$11^{\circ} 10'$	60479.5	$14^{\circ} 10'$	60491.3

These are a little different from Major Lambton's results, to which they would have been brought nearer if we had employed the arch between Punnae and Dodagoontah, in the determina-

tion of the first degree. But as the latitude of Dodagoontah is in all probability affected by the attraction of the plummet toward the north, so that its zenith is carried too far to the south, the arch between it and Punnae must be too small; and therefore we thought it best to avoid this arch in the fundamental determination.*

The anomalies which have occurred in the measures of degrees, and of which the appearances seem to increase in proportion as greater pains are taken to avoid inaccuracy, have naturally drawn the attention of mathematicians; and the question, what part of them is to be ascribed to error, and what to irregularities in the structure of the globe, has come, of course, to be considered. That a small part of them only can be ascribed to the former cause, is rendered probable by the very circumstance just stated; that they are not diminished, nay, that they even seem to be increased, by the care taken to avoid error. It seems clear from that consideration, that the irregularities are in the object sought for, and are only brought more in sight by more microscopical observation, by the excellence of the instruments, the accuracy of the computations, and the extent of the lines measured. No measurement was ever executed with greater care than that in France; and the great extent of the arch measured, as well as the ability and skill of the observers, make the mean result, the length of the degree in the parallel of 45° , the *datum* most perfectly ascertained of any that regards the figure of the earth. Yet even here, we find in the detail that there are great anomalies, and that the successive degrees increase with much irregularity.

The arch between Greenwich and Dunkirk gives the degree greater than that which is derived from the arch between Dunkirk and the Pantheon at Paris by 7.23 toises; the next difference is 8.4; then 32.4, 12.9; and lastly — 2 from the arch between Montjoux and Formentera. In this last case, there is an absolute retrogradation; and the degree increases on going to the south, just as it is observed to do in the arch measured in England, and in that measured in Hindostan.

The irregularities in the French measurement induced De

* To deduce the mean degree from a large arch, such as one of nearly three degrees, by dividing the length of the arch by its amplitude or number of degrees, is not exact, as the degrees increase each above the preceding by the quantity $n \sin. (2L + 2)$. The length of the arch ought to be diminished by the sum of all these quantities before it is divided by the amplitude; and this division gives not the degree in the middle of the arch, but that at the beginning of it, or the farthest to the south.

LAMBRE to scrutinize the latitudes of all the above places with the utmost care; but he could find nothing sufficient to account for the irregularities. (see *Base Métrique*, tom. III. p. 84.) The observation of the latitude at Montjoux appeared exact; yet, when compared with one at Barcelona, very near to Montjoux, an error of $3''.24$ was discovered; and DE LAMBRE, apparently with much reason, considers this difference as a certain proof of the irregularities of the earth. To the same cause he ascribes the rest; and indeed, from the very progress which they held, some local affection seems necessarily suggested.

The consequence of all this is, that for the whole of the arch in France, the degrees are best represented by supposing a compression of $\frac{1}{113}$, or $\frac{1}{113}$; while, by taking in a greater range, and comparing the degrees in France with those in distant countries, the compression comes out less than the half of this, viz. $\frac{1}{213}$, or $\frac{1}{213}$. To reconcile the measures actually made with a compression of $\frac{1}{213}$, it will be necessary to make the following corrections on the latitudes.—For Paris, 0; Montjoux, $+ 3''.6$; Carcassonne, $+ 0.88$; Dunkirk, $+ 3''.06$; and for Evaux, $+ 5''.83$. These are wholly improbable as errors of observation, and must be attributed to local attractions, which act irregularly on the plumb line.—*Base Métrique*, ib. p. 92.

The same thing may be said of the arc measured in England by Colonel MUDGE: the whole arc, taken together, agrees very well with the measures in France, and with that in Lapland, as lately ascertained by the Swedish academy.* But if the parts of this arc be compared, an irregularity is found, and

* We have compared together the five arches of the meridian, which from their extent, and all other circumstances, seem the best entitled to confidence, viz. that in Peru, by Bouguer and Condamine; in Hindostan, by Major Lambton; in France and England, comprehending the whole extent, from the parallel of Greenwich, to that of Formentera, by Delambre and Mechain, and in part by General Roy; that in England afterwards, by Colonel Mudge; and, lastly, that in Lapland, by M. Swanberg; and the results which we have found, are extremely consistent, and give, for the compression at the poles $\frac{1}{113}$. When this compression is adopted, there does not appear an error of more than 9 fathoms in the measure of any of the above degrees. The French, from their own measures in France and Peru, bring out a compression of $\frac{1}{113}$ nearly. Thus the results are consistent with the supposition that the earth is an elliptic spheroid, when the arches compared are large and distant from one another: when they are small, and near to one another, they do not agree with that hypothesis, nor indeed with any other single hypothesis that can be laid down. This is what might be expected, and does not invalidate the general conclusion.

the degrees appear to increase on going from the north to the south. In giving an account of Colonel Mudge's measurement in a former Number of this Journal, we ascribed the fact just mentioned, to local irregularities in the direction of gravity, and we still consider this as by far the most probable supposition. A paper, however, written with great knowledge of the subject, and full of sound mathematical reasoning, has been published by DON RODRIGUEZ in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1812; which is quite on the opposite side, and ascribes the irregularities in the arc to errors of observation. DON RODRIGUEZ, if we mistake not, is one of two Spanish gentlemen who accompanied MM. BIOT and ARRAGO, and assisted in the operations by which the meridian that had been traced through France was extended to the southernmost of the Balearic isles. He seems perfectly acquainted with the methods of calculation, and all the most recent improvements which respect the problem of the figure of the earth. We do not think that he has proved that the irregularities in this measurement arise from errors of observation; and we are of opinion, though the amount of these irregularities may now be more exactly estimated than before, that with regard to their cause, the question rests precisely where it did. But though we are not convinced by DON RODRIGUEZ, we must do him the justice to say, that his argument is fairly conducted, and that he has displayed great knowledge of the subject, and perfect familiarity with the best methods hitherto employed in the solution of this difficult problem. We have therefore observed with regret, that this ingenious foreigner has been attacked in some of the English Journals, with a violence and asperity which the subject did not call for, and which his paper certainly did not authorise.

When there are unlooked for results in any system of experiments or observations, the errors into which the observer may have fallen, naturally come to be considered as affording one solution of the difficulty. We are not to suppose, that any man engaged in experimental investigations, can be exempted from such an inquiry; nor, when such inquiry is instituted, are we to suppose that he is subjected to a personal attack. The principle on which Don Rodriguez proceeds, though it may be erroneous, seems to be general; it is applied equally to the French and the English mathematicians; and the anomaly of more than 3" in the latitude of Montjouy, is ascribed by him, not to local irregularity, but to the mistake of MECHAIN, a man eminently skilled in the art of astronomical observation. The calm and dispassionate memoir of the Spanish mathematician,

does not therefore give any ground for supposing it to be meant as a personal attack, and still less as a national one.

We observe, with pleasure, however, that the true resolution of the difficulty is most probably at hand. The continuation of a meridional arch must afford the best means of discovering from what cause the irregularities observed in it arise. If they arise from physical irregularities in the structure of the globe, or in the direction of gravity, a compensation in the course of a great arch may be expected to take place. If a body of heavy matter, at any point, make the plummets on each side of it converge more than they ought to do, the zeniths will be carried too far off from one another; the amplitude of the celestial arch will be increased; and the length of the terrestrial degree, will, of course, be diminished. But as the zenith on one side of this point was carried too far to the south, and on the opposite too far to the north, the degrees on either side will be rendered too great, the amplitudes of the celestial arches being made too small. Thus an opposite error will take place, and what is added to one degree will probably be taken from the next. This is not likely to happen if the errors arise from inaccuracy of observation: these errors will not be as any *function* of the distance, but, depending on accident, must be quite irregular in their distribution. It is with pleasure, therefore, that we see a meridian which has been extended from the shores of the British channel along the west side of England, viz. the meridian of *De-la-mere* now produced into Scotland, where it falls on the east side of the island, and is about to be continued till it intersect the shores of the *Murray Firth*, or the Northern Ocean. The combined arches in France and England will then extend nearly to 20 degrees; and in a few years we shall perhaps see the distance between the parallels of the *Baltic* and the *Orkney* Islands, ascertained by actual mensuration. We believe that this important operation could not easily be in better hands than those in which it is actually placed; and, when it shall be completed, the British army—in General Roy and the officers who have succeeded him in the conduct of the English survey—and in Major LAMBTON whose works we have been now treating of, will have the glory of doing more for the advancement of general science, than has ever been performed by any other body of military men.

ART. IV. *Photii Lexicon. E duobus Apographis edidit Godofredus Hermannus. Accedit Jo. Albertii Index, suppletus et auctus. Lipsiæ, 1808. pp. 518.*

PHOTIUS, a native of Constantinople, after having successively filled the high offices of master of the horse, captain of the imperial guards, ambassador to Assyria, and first secretary of state, and having thus exhausted the whole range of civil preferment, was, on a sudden, elevated to the Patriarchate of the West; having been consecrated, on six successive days, monk, anagnostes, subdeacon, deacon, priest, and patriarch. Excommunicated by Pope Nicholas the First, he excommunicated Pope Nicholas in return; and after being several times ejected from his episcopal chair, and as often reelected, he was at last sent prisoner to an Armenian convent, where he died in the year 891. He seems to have been very learned, and very wicked—a great scholar, and a consummate hypocrite—not only neglecting the occasions of doing good which presented themselves, but perverting the finest talents to the worst purposes.

We have remaining of his works, besides some Letters and a collection of Canons, his *Bibliotheca*, or *Myriobiblon*, being an account of the books which were read to him during his embassy to Assyria, and his opinion of their respective merits. The ambassador, it would seem, must have had but little to do in his diplomatic capacity, since he assures us, that these books amounted to about three hundred; a number, we conceive, much greater than most of our ambassadors or public functionaries can boast of having read, in the course of much longer negotiations. It is pleasing to observe in what proper and energetic terms the good and pious Patriarch rails at the disturbers of the Church. The Novatians and Nestorians rarely come off with any gentler appellation than that of ‘dog,’ or ‘impious wretch.’ Our younger readers, however, who take the *Myriobiblon* in hand, are not to suppose that the book, which at present goes under that name, is really the production of Photius; we believe that not more than half of it can safely be attributed to that learned and turbulent bishop; and we think it would not be very difficult to discriminate between the genuine and supposititious parts of that voluminous production. But our present business is with another work of Photius, his celebrated and valuable *Lexicon*, which, imperfect and mutilated as it is, is more valuable to the critical scholar, than ten *Myriobibla*.

It is well known to the learned, that the various MSS. of this *Lexicon*, in different libraries on the Continent, are mere transcripts from each other, and originally from one, venerable for

its antiquity, which was formerly in the possession of the celebrated Thomas Gale, and which is now deposited in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. This manuscript, which is on parchment, bears such evident marks of great antiquity, that it may not unreasonably be supposed to have been a transcript from the author's copy.* It is written in various hands. The compendia, which are used in some parts of it, are extremely difficult to decipher; though, on the whole, they are less so than the contractions which occur in many manuscripts, and particularly those in the library of Saint Germain. The names of authors cited, it is frequently not easy to make out; and the characters of η , π , β , μ , of $\lambda\lambda$ & μ , of λ & τ , of α & ν , of λ & μ , of σ & τ , of λ & μ , of $\lambda\kappa$ & μ , and many others, are so nearly alike, that an ignorant copyist would be sure to blunder. And, accordingly, we find the various transcripts from this ancient MS. are miserably faulty and corrupt.† It was natural, therefore, that those scholars, who wished for the publication of this Lexicon, should be desirous of seeing it printed from the Galean MS., in preference to any other. 'Non eram ne-
'scius,' says Mr Hermann, 'fore, qui neque aliter quam ex
'ipso Codice Galeano, edi debuisse censerent.' We apprehend that this inuendo is levelled at the late Professor Porson, who, it is well known, had transcribed and corrected this valuable Lexicon for the press; and when, unfortunately, his copy had been consumed by the same destructive element which devoured the Alexandrian library, and Parson Adams's *Æschylus*, the Professor, with incredible industry and patience, began the task afresh, and completed another transcript in his own exquisite handwriting.

* It seems that a copy of this Lexicon, at Florence, was transcribed, about the end of the 16th century, by Richard Thomson, of Oxford, who probably intended to publish it. We find the following passage, in a letter from Joseph Scaliger to Richard Thomson, which we extract, as we believe it is not commonly known, and as every thing which fell from that extraordinary man, even in *παρῶν*, deserves to be read. 'Remitto tibi nunc Photium tuum, optimum sane librum, & quem edi e re literaria est; quanquam omnia, quæ in illo sunt, hodie in aliis, unde ipse hausit, exstant. Quia tamen laborem legentium levare possit, quod in eo omnia congesta sunt, quæ sparsim in aliis relegere labor est, non exiguam a studiosis gratiam iniveris, si tam utilem librum in publicum exire patiaris.' Scaliger Epist. p. 503. See also p. 171.

† Alberti, in his notes on Hesychius, cites the Lexicon of Photius repeatedly, but with almost as many inaccuracies as citations. This is partly attributable to his having used a very faulty apograph belonging to J. C. Wolf, and partly to his own negligence.

Mr Porson's copy of the Codex Galeanus is, we are informed, amongst the papers of that incomparable scholar, which are religiously preserved by the learned society of which he was so long a distinguished ornament. Report had assigned the office of publishing it to two gentlemen every way qualified for the task. Long ago, we took an opportunity of stating, in this Journal, the wishes of the literary world with respect to it. But while we are anxiously looking for its appearance, lo! Photius is put into our hands,—but not the Photius of our acquaintance, nor the Photius of Richard Porson, but the Photius of Godfrey Hermann; and, had the editor's name not been affixed, we should have been at no loss to determine at whose door it should be laid, since it bears many marks of that precipitancy and want of concoction which so often distinguish the productions of that very learned and able German.

We have here merely the naked text of Photius, extracted sometimes from one MS. copy, and sometimes from another, (both of which are eminently inaccurate) with scarcely a single correction of Mr Hermann's, or any attempt whatsoever towards the restitution of the text. His apology for all this, however, is of the most ingenuous and comprehensive nature. The blunders which he has left in the text were too palpable, it seems, to need any correction! 'Sunt autem plerique errores ex eo genere, ut non possint nisi inperitissimos fallere.' Whether this be really the case, we shall have occasion to examine hereafter. In the mean time, we cannot help observing, that Mr Hermann seems to have been desirous of preoccupying the field into which he understood Mr Porson to have entered; but that, wanting time or something else, to furnish his author with a body of useful notes, or to restore him to his pristine integrity, he was yet resolved to be the first who should publish Photius: And Photius accordingly we have; but alas! how changed from that Photius who returned from Assyria, laden with the spoils of three hundred authors! We have, however, at the end of the volume, a '*Libellus Animadversionum*,' by John Frederic Schleusner, a scholar justly celebrated for his admirable *Lexicon of the New Testament*; which animadversions were drawn up two years after the Photius was printed, and leave us the less room to regret the want of Mr Hermann's lucubrations. An index of authors cited is given at the end, from Alberti's *Glossarium Græcum*. We should add, that the Photius forms the third volume of a set, the two first of which contain an ill arranged and ponderous catalogue of words, designated by the name of '*Joannis Zonaræ Lexicon*.' The Patriarch informs us in his preface, that his Dictionary is destined

principally to the explanation of the remarkable words which occur in the Greek orators and historians, but occasionally to illustrate the phraseology of the poets. Several lacunæ occur in the MSS., the leaves being torn out from the Galean copy, *ε. ε.* from Ἀδιάκριτος to Ἐπάνυμοι, and from Φορητῶς to Ψιλοδάπιδας.

The great Lexicons of Hesychius and Suidas, as every scholar knows, are compiled, and in many instances with very little judgment, from the works of more ancient grammarians. That of Hesychius, in particular, is to be considered, as a compilation from a vast number of sources, the streams from which, meeting in his capacious reservoir, form a pool of water very turbid and unwholesome, from which he who drinks must drink with caution and reserve. The scholars, who flourished soon after the revival of literature, received with avidity the interpolated edition, published from the only surviving MS. of Hesychius by Marcus Musurus; and, without inquiring into the antiquity, learning, or discernment of Hesychius, they considered him a sufficient authority for the existence of any word, however contrary to the analogy of the Greek language; and imputed the more manifest faults of his Lexicon, not to himself, but to his copyists. The critics, therefore, of the seventeenth century, applied the pruning hook to Hesychius, with a fearful and sparing hand; and even Alberti himself, at a later period, exercised a cautious discretion with respect to the text of his Lexicographer, which is only to be accounted for by the phlegmatic temperament which is so strongly indicated in the excellent portrait of him engraved by Houbraken, and prefixed to his splendid publication. Before him, however, the real merits and nature of this valuable vocabulary had been discussed by the British Aristarchus, in his celebrated epistle to Dr Mills. That great scholar perceived, that many of the worst faults with which it abounds, are imputable to Hesychius himself; that in compiling his Thesaurus, he made use of incorrect copies of the authors whom he pillaged, or was misled by certain compendia of writing, which he was unable to decipher: in short, that the laborious Hesychius is very little to be depended upon; that it is no easy matter to distinguish what portion of him is really derived from trust-worthy sources; that he manifests in some instances bad faith, and in many great stupidity. All this, says Ruhnken, it was reserved for the 'docta audacia' of Bentley to show. It is, however, to be remarked, that Hesychius is not come down to us in his original form, but mutilated by the hand of an epitomizer.

Photius, who threw together his Lexicon on a much more confined plan, probably brought to his undertaking greater

learning and judgment than Hesychius, and seems to have given most of his authorities from his own knowledge of the authors whom he cites. Yet even his work is little more than a compilation, of which many parts are copied verbatim from the Scholia on Plato, the Lexicon of Harpocration, that of Pausanias, and, in all probability, from the *Λεξικά Κομικά Καὶ Τραγικά* of Theo or Didymus, from which, 'ceu fonte perenni,' later Grammarians derived most of their explanations of the scenic phrases of the Greeks. These Dramatic Lexicons are unfortunately lost; but there is, in the National Library of Paris, a MS. which seems to be an Epitome of one of them, under the title of Ἄλλος Ἀλφάβητος. And with a little care and discrimination, a very considerable part of them might be recovered from the pages of the still existing grammarians.

To give one instance, out of many, of the practicability of this; Ruhken, in his first 'Epistola Critica' p. 104. quotes, from a MS. Etymologicon, the following gloss. Ἀλκαία. ἡ οὐρά κυρίως δὲ τοῦ λίκτος, διὰ τὸ εἰς ἀλκὴν αὐτὴν τρέπειν. ἔχει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐρᾷ κίντρον, ὅρ' οὗ παρεξήνεται καθάπερ φησὶν Ἰερώνυμος καὶ Ἐπαφροδίτος ἐν Ὑπομνήσεσι Ἀσπίδος Ἡσίοδου. We have no doubt but that this is a citation from the Comic Lexicon. Schol. Appollon. Rhod. iv. 1611. ἐν δὲ τῷ ΚΩΜΙΚΩΙ ΛΕΞΙΚΩΙ, οὐ μόνον ἡ τοῦ λίκτος οὐρὰ ἀλκαία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔντου κ. τ. λ. From this Lexicon Photius has borrowed, though less largely than Hesychius. For instance, we have in Photius, Ζῆ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆθι. Εὐριπίδης. In the Epitome above mentioned we find, Ζῆ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆθι. Εὐριπίδης Ἰφιγενεία. Ἀλλ' ἔρπει, καὶ ζῆ, καὶ ὄμιος εἰκεῖ πατέρος. Σοφοκλῆς Δανάη. Ζῆ, πῖνε, Φέρβου. Again, Photius, Λίτρα, ἣν μὲν καὶ νομίσματα, (read νομισμά τι) ὡς Διόφιλος· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ σταθμοῦ Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Σόφρων ἐχρήσαντο. Epitome, Λίτρα. (Λίτρα.) ἣν μὲν καὶ νόμισμα Σιγελικόν. ὅτι (πότε) δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ σταθμοῦ. Ἐπίχαρμος Ἐλπίδι ἢ Πλούτῳ. Photius, Φυχρὸς ἄνθρωπος, ἀντὶ τοῦ δυσκίπτου. We should probably add, from the same Epitome, the words Κρατῖνος Ὀρεσις.

Another source, from which Photius enriched his collection, were the 'Lexica Rhetorica.' For instance, Κῶν ἐπὶ φάτῃν (φάτης) παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν μήτε χρωμένων, μήτε ἄλλους ἰόντων. *Lex. Rhetor. MS. ap. Ruhken. Auctar. Emend. Hesych. T. I. p. 1617.* Κῶν ἐν φάτῃ. παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν μήτε αὐτῶν χρωμένων, μήτε ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέποντων. The words of Photius, Ζυγὸς, τοῦ σανδαλίου τὸ συνέχον τοὺς δακτύλους, are taken literatim from the Rhetoric Lexicon of Pausanias, as the reader will perceive, upon referring to Eustathius on Homer, Iliad N. p. 956, 5. The gloss, Ζυγῶσι, καθέξω, δαμάσω, comes from the same source, as also the explanation of Ἴνιος, as appears probable from Eustath. on Iliad A. p. 877, 15.

Photius. Κελισσις, ἰστίποδις, καὶ πάντα τὰ μακρὰ ζύλα. Pausanias ap. Eustath. in Iliad. A. p. 884, 17. Κελιστής οἱ ἰστίποδες.

Photius. Κρουπίσαι. ξύλινα υποδήματα. *Pausanias ap. Eustath. ad Iliad. A. p. 867, 29.* Κρουπίσαι. βοιώτια υποδήματα ξύλινα.

Photius. Πόρκης. ὁ ἐπιδακτύλιος τῆς ἐπιδορατίδος. *Lecl. Rhetor. ap. Eustath. ad Iliad. K. p. 795, 39.* Πόρκης. ἐπιδορατίδος δακτύλιος.

Photius. Προτίλαια. ἡ πρὸ τῶν γάμων θυρία. Μινανδρος. *Pausanias ap. Eustath. ad Iliad. A. p. 881, 30.* Προτίλαια. ἡ πρὸ τῶν γάμων θία. (θυρία. yet Philemon has θία, p. 95. ed. Burney.)

Photius & Suid. Ὁρθόπληξίππος, (ὁ) ὁρθὸς ἐπαιρέομενος κ. τ. λ. which words Eustathius on *Iliad E. p. 629, 54.* quotes from a Rhetoric Lexicon.

Another Grammarian, to whom Photius is largely indebted, is Timæus, the greater part of whose Lexicon of Platonic words he has transfused into his own. His unacknowledged obligations, (for these Lexicographers scarcely ever acknowledge to whom they owe their information), are pointed out by Ruhnkens, who used the faulty copy of Photius belonging to Alberti. That accomplished scholar, had he lived longer, would also have drawn up a statement of debtor and creditor between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Scholiasts on Plato, which would have been considerably to the disadvantage of the former. For instance, the glosses on the words Πελάτης, Ἐρέμια δικη, ὁμοῦ, Ἐρμαῖον, Ἰγνῆς, Κύρβεις, Κοινὰ τὰ φίλων, Λευκὴ στάθμη, amongst others, are copied verbatim, and without acknowledgement, from these Scholia. Nor is he less obliged to Harpocratio. The real sources of his knowledge he carefully conceals; but quotes a long list of authorities from books, of which he probably knew nothing more than the passages cited by ancient grammarians, whose works he used. He has not forgotten to forage in the Lexicon Technologicum of Philemon, which has been lately 'vindicated to the light' by the zeal of Dr Burney. See the gloss on Φωλός. We should add that Photius, when he met with different accounts of the same word in the different Lexicons which he consulted, set them all down. Of this repeated instances occur.

He has no doubt extracted the quintessence of many other Grammarians, whose works are now lost, or hidden in the closets of some of the libraries on the Continent. We will specify a few more instances of the readiness with which our Lexicographer arrays himself in borrowed plumes. "Ἀδδιξ. μέτρον τετραχοῖνικον. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης. This gloss is borrowed from some ancient vocabulary, which Eustathius quotes more at length, *ad Odys. T. p. 1854, 22.* ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀδδιξ μέτρον τετραχοῖνικον. Ἀριστοφάνης—ἀλφίτων μελάνων ἄδδιχα. Alberti supposes Photius to have quoted Aristophanes the Grammarian. Ζήτριον, τὸ τῶν δούλων κολαστήριον. Εὐπόλις. Photius, Hesychius, and the author of the Rhetoric Lexicon in the Paris Library, took their glosses on

this word from a common source, the Comic Lexicon, from which a fuller extract is made by the Compiler of the Etymologicum Magnum, who has preserved the passage of Eupolis, "Ὡςπερ γὰρ εἰς ζήτειον ἐμπισαν. See also Eustathius in *Iliad*. A. p. 837, 44.

Ἑσίβηθ, τὸ ἐσιβάσθην. Σοφοκλῆς. Hesychius adds Δαυδάλη. That both took their glosses from some older grammarian, appears from Ælius Dionysius in *Aldi Cornucopia sub init.* εὐρέθη δὲ παρὰ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐσιβδην.

Ἰνᾶσθαι. καθαίρεισθαι, ἐκινεῖσθαι. καὶ ὑπέρινος, ὁ ὑπερκεκαβαρμένος. These words are taken from Ælius Dionysius, who is thus quoted by Eustathius in *Iliad*. A. p. 877. Ἰνᾶσθαι, τὸ καθαίρεισθαι, καὶ ἐκινεῖσθαι. καὶ ὑπέρινος, ὁ ὑπερκεκαβαρμένος, διὰ τὸ κατὰ οἶον ἵνας λεπτύνεσθαι.

Ἰουλος. τὸ δασὺ ἐπισκῖον (ἐπισκῖον οἱ ἐπὶ) τῶν γενεῶν. καὶ ῥῥὴ εἰς Δήμετρα. τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν δραγμάτων δισμούς ἰούλους καλοῦσιν. This seems to be a scrap from Didymus 'with the brazen entrails,' *Schol. Appollon. Rhod.* I. 972. Ἰουλος—Φησὶ Δίδυμος—ἕμνος εἰς Δήμετρα. ἵστι γὰρ οὗλος καὶ ἰουλος ἢ ἐκ τῶν δραγμάτων συναγομένη δίσμη. We may observe, by the way, that τὰς—δίσμας should probably be restored to Photius. δίσμη is a bundle, δισμός a band. Photius himself, in another place, Κάμνωθα, δίσμη χρότου. where the patriarch seems, in the hurry of compilation, to have taken κάμνωθα for the nominative case. *Schol. Theocrit.* IV. 18. Κάμνωθ ἢ δίσμη, ἥτοι τὸ δισμάτιον. Κρατῖνος. Ὁ δὲ μετ' εὐδήμου τρέχων κάμνωθς τὴν λοιπὴν ἔχει τῷ στίχῳ. To up corrects εὐδήμου for εὐδήμου, and gives up the rest. We read the verses of Cratinus thus. ὁ δὲ μετ' εὐδήμου τρέχων κάμνωθς, ἔπχει τὴν ἀλοιφὴν τῷ στεφάνῳ.

Πτερινίδες. τὰ πυθμένα τῶν λεκανιῶν. These are the words of Ælius Dionysius, quoted by Eustathius in *Iliad*. A. p. 870, 29.

Τένθης, ὁ γαστρίμαργος. This is from Timæus; and Timæus seems to have had it from some more ancient Grammarian. Proclus on Hesiod p. 123. οἱ γὰρ Ἀττικοὶ τέθνη καλοῦσι τὸν γαστρίμαργον.

Φερέοικος. ὁ κοχλίας. This he has from Dionysius the Thracian, a Grammarian of great celebrity. Proclus on Hesiod p. 129. ὁ μὲν Θράξ Διονύσιος εἶπε Φερέοικον τὸν κοχλίαν. Whence also Athenæus has drawn the same gloss, II. p. 63. B.

These instances, which we have selected, as being less obvious than the transcripts from Harpocration, the Scholia on Plato, &c. may serve to show how little the grammarians respected each other's property. It is possible that, in compiling his Lexicon, the honest Patriarch may have done that, which he is reported to have done when writing his *Myriobiblon*. The story goes, that as soon as he had read an author, and made his extracts from him, he threw the manuscript into the fire,

in order to enhance the value of his own abridgement. The story indeed is sufficiently improbable; but it may possibly have originated from some known propensity of the bishop to literary dishonesty. It is highly probable that some scoundrel grammarian pursued this method with regard to Hesychius, whose original Lexicon he first epitomized, and then destroyed. Trogius Pompeius, it is well known, is reported to have undergone a similar fate.

It will easily be perceived, from what we have advanced in the foregoing observations, that our opinion of the Lexicon before us is, to a certain degree, qualified. It is undoubtedly valuable, as it presents to us some peculiarities of the Greek language, and many fragments of the dramatic writers which are not extant elsewhere; but we certainly do not believe that the examples given by Photius are the fruits of his own acquaintance with the writers whom he cites; and it is sufficiently manifest, that, like Hesychius, he was often misled by incorrect manuscripts; and that many of the blunders of the Lexicon are attributable to the author of it, who seems never to have revised his compilation. To give one instance of this. In p. 368. we have the following glosses at a short distance from each other. Σαλαβην, Σοφοκλῆς τὴν ὀπὴν. and Σαλαμβη. ὀπὴ, καπνοδόχη. οὗτος Σοφοκλῆς. It is clear that Photius extracted these at different times from different vocabularies, and wrote down the second without remembering that he had already explained the word. Hesychius also has both forms, of which the first is probably the genuine one. Other faults are to be imputed to his copyists; for instance, in p. 210. we have Ναῦς τε Δίεχης, ῥυστικῆς. Αἰσχύλος. and presently, Ναῦσθαι Δίεχης, ῥυστικῆς. Αἰσχύλος. We have not at present an opportunity of referring to the Codex Galeanus; but unless our memory deceives us, it contains only the first of these glosses; the copy used by Alberti contained only the second. We see then how that from which Mr Hermann prints came to have both of them.

We fear that Photius already occupies a larger space in the pages of this Journal than should be devoted to one of the tribe of grammarians; but we must still detain our readers, while we briefly examine the validity of Mr Hermann's excuse for publishing an uncorrected text, viz. that 'the errors are such as can only mislead the most stupid of mankind.' Of many, indeed, this may truly be said. Nothing, surely, but an undue partiality for his own name, could have induced the learned editor to print Ἑρμῶν, ὕφαλος πύγμα. Ἀντιφῶν, καὶ Ἀνακρίων, καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης, instead of Ἑρμῶ, ἡ ὕφαλος π. Dr Schleusner's correction of Ἑρμῶς is wrong.

Ἐριάζειν—ἀπὸ τῶν ἱριαίων καὶ ἀγρίων συκῶν—ὥστε μὴ ἀπορίσκειν τῶν δένδρων. For ἱριαίων should be written ἱρίων, and at the end τοῦ δένδρου. The gloss is taken verbatim from Pausanias, as quoted by Eustathius in *Iliad* 2. p. 653, 54.

Ἐρμαῖον—ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τιθεμένων ἀπαρχῶν. Read τιθεμένων, from the Scholia on Plato p. 12.

Ἐρρίον, εἰς Φροῦν. Εὐριπίδης. Perhaps we should read "Ερρ' αἰθέριον from v. 822. of the *Andromache*.

Ἐτήσιοι, πέρσικαιροι. Ἐτήσιοι γὰρ προσिताί, εἰ πρὸς τὴν τέχνην. Κρατῖνος Διδιαστίν. Mr Hermann restores Δηλιάσιν. We conjecture Ἐτησίοις γὰρ προσिताί πρὸς τὴν τέχνην.

Ζώννυται ἡ ζώνη. a mutilated gloss, which is thus to be restored. Ζώστρα. οἷς ζώννυται ἡ ζώνη.

Θιασωμαιολη, χορῶ μανικῶ. Read Θιάσῳ μανιόλῃ. Dr Schleusner conjectures Θιάσσομαι ὅλη, χαρῶ μανικῶς.!

Καθαίρειστε, οὐ καθελεῖτε. Θουκυδίδης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους. Read τῶν Ἀττικῶν οἱ πλείους, or τῶν παλαιῶν.

Κάραντε, καταφιεῖς. This a mere corruption of a gloss which occurs afterwards, Κάταντε, καταφιεῖς. This, with several others of the same sort, must be attributed, as we have observed, either to the negligence of Photius himself, or, as we are rather inclined to think, to some transcriber, who made additions to the original lexicon.

Κυνοκέφαλον. (Κυνοκέφαλλον) ἐν τοῖς δύο λαλ' ἄγουσιν. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης. The verse to which Photius alludes is v. 416. of the *Knights*, Κυνὸς βορὰν σιτοῦμενος μάχῃ σὺ κυνοκεφάλῳ, which Brunck, with singular felicity, corrects, μάχῃ σὺ γε κυνοκεφάλῳ, not perceiving, as he says, how the penultima in κυνοκεφάλῳ could possibly be made short. Nor do we perceive. This fault in the copies of Aristophanes is, it seems, of very ancient date. Mr George Burges, in the Appendix to his 'Troades,' has restored the true reading κυνοκαρῆνα, except that it should be written κυνοκαράνη.

Κυντεράτατα—Φερεκράτης Λήριος, ἔπειτα ἕτερα τούτων ποιοῦντων πολλὰ κυντεράτα. Alberti ad Hesych. in v. quotes ποιοῦντα. Read, ἔπειτα χῆτερα Ποιοῦντα τούτων πολλὰ κυντεράτα.

Λαγκρύζεσθαι, λαιδορεῖσθαι, and afterwards Λακερύζεσθαι, λαιδορεῖσθαι. Is Photius or his copyist to be blamed?

Λέπτu. κατισθίει. οὕτως Εὐπολις. Here Photius is certainly in fault. Eupolis, as Alberti perceived, wrote Λέπτu. Dr Schleusner ingeniously asks, 'An legendum Λάπτu, idque pro Δάπτu?'

Νεολαῖον, τὴν νεότητα. We conceive that for νεολαῖα, as it is commonly represented, should be written νεόλαια.

Πινθερά—Εὐριπίδης δὲ γαμβρὸν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν λέγει. ὁ γοῦν Ἀλκμαίων τῷ Φηγεῖ Φασίν καὶ σὲ ὧ γερῇ τὴν τε παιδία μὴ δᾶς ἰμοὶ γαμβρὸς νομίζῃ καὶ πατὴρ, σωτὴρ τ' ἰμός. Toup in his notes on Suidas, who has copied this gloss, proposes Σὺδ', ὧ γερῇ, παιδία τὴν σὴν δούς ἰμοὶ Γαμ-

βρὸς νομίζῃ. Valckenaer, Καὶ σύ γη, γεραιὲ, τίνδε παῖδα δούς μοι Γαμβρὸς νομίζου— which conjecture was not hit off in one of his happiest moments. We read Σὺ δ', ὦ γεραιὲ, τὴν τι παῖδα δούς μοι Γαμβρὸς νομίζει καὶ πατήρ, σωτήρ τ' ἴμος. 'You are both my father-in-law and father, having given me your daughter in marriage, and moreover my saviour.'

Λύξ, οὐχὶ λυγμὸς καλιῖται παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς. Read Λύξ, οὐχὶ λυγμός. The word is used by Thucydides II. 49. & Plato Sympos. p. 320. e.

Σῦσαι, τὸ συκοφαντῆσαι, ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἀκρίδευα σιόντων. Τηλεκλιδὴς Ἀμφικτύουσιν ἄλλ' ὡς πάντων δὲ τῶν λῆστοις σῦσαι καὶ προσκαλίσαντες παύσασθαι δικῶν ἀλληλοφάγων.

Suidas has Ἄλλων πᾶντων δὲ λῆστοι—προσκαλίσαντας. We conjecture Ἄλλ', ὡς πάντων οἱ δὲ λῆστοι σῦσαι καὶ προσκαλίσασθαι, Παύσασθαι δικῶν ἀλληλοφάγων. The forensic term was not προσκαλίσαι, but προσκαλίσασθαι in the middle voice.

Σκανδαλίθρα καὶ σκάνδαλα. λέγουσι σκανδαλίθρας τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν Κρατῖνος. The Galean Manuscript exhibits σκανδαλίθρα τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν. The gloss should stand thus, Σκανδαλίθρα καὶ σκάνδαλα λέγουσιν. σκανδαλίθρ' ἰστὰς ἐπὶ τῶν, Κρατῖνος. Aristoph. Acharn. 687. Κατ' ἀνελκύσας ἱερῶτ', σκανδαλίθρ' ἰστὰς ἐπὶ τῶν. which passage, we perceive, is pointed out by Alberti.

Σταθμοῖς, ἐξέβαλε τὰς σιαγόντας, οἷον τοῖς Φλίσσις.

Σταθμοῖς, Ἀριστοφάνης δράμασιν αὐτοῖς.

Σταθμῶν, τῶν παρεστάντων τῆς θύρας.

As the errors in this Lexicon are such as can deceive none but the most stupid, we cannot expect to gain any credit with Mr Hermann, if we correct the above glosses in the following manner. Σταθμῶν τῶν παρεστάντων τῆς θύρας. Ἀριστοφάνης Δράμασιν,—

Ἀυτοῖς σταθμοῖς ἐξέβαλε τὰς σιαγόντας—οἷον ταῖς Φλίσσις. threshold and all.

Τεθλωμένος, καὶ ἐπὶ χειρὸς. Φερεκράτης Μυρμηκωνθρώποις. γηλῶντα καὶ χείροντα καὶ τεθλωμένον. καὶ ἐπὶ λύπης, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνίας ἀνιθλοῦθ' ἢ καρδία. In the second verse of Pherecrates, the Etymologicum Magnum p. 750, 12. has ἀνοίας ἀνιθλοῦτο δ' ἢ. The true reading ἀνιθλοῦθ' ἢ καρδία is preserved by Suidas.

Mr Hermann has given the Index of Authors quoted by Photius, which was published by Alberti at the end of his 'Glossarium Græcum;' but corrected and enriched by himself. He has, however, omitted to correct some inaccuracies. In v. Γαδαμάνθους ὄρεας Cratinus is quoted ἢ Χείροσι. The Galean MS. (if we remember), together with Athenæus, Suidas, the Scholiasts on Aristophanes, Lucian and Plato, have Χείροσι. The Scholiast on Sophocles Œd. Col. 490. has Χείρωνι. See Mr Gaisford in his excellent notes on Hephæstion, p. 17.

In v. Κωρυαῖος is quoted Διόξικπος Θεσαυρῶ. Athenæus has Διόξικπος, as it should be written.

In p. 198. Eupolis is quoted in *Μαρυκά* and in p. 478. in *Μαρίκα*. Alberti observes ' ut *Μαρίκα* in Apollonii Dyscoli Grammat. in. ed. ' The passage of Apollonius is in p. 428. *Reizii Excerpt.* Eupolis is cited in *Μαρίκα ap. Athen.* xv. p. 690. E. 691. C. *Plutarch. in Nicia* p. 960. ed. 11st. *Erotian. v. τάχδας.* *Schol. Aeschyl. Pers.* 65. *Schol. Soph. (Ed. Col. 1600. Schol. Aristoph. Plut.* 1038. *Schol. Platon.* p. 7. *Hesych. v. Δούλων.* *Suid. v. Ἀμφορεαφόρους.* *Μικροῦ τοῦ ὀβολοῦ.* *Ψῶζα.* (where *Μαρυκά*) *Polluc. x.* 20. But the Grammarians have all mistaken the title of the play. It should be *Εὐπολῆς in Μαρικᾶντι.* *Aristophanes ap. Eustath. in Iliad. B.* p. 300, 22. ' *Ἄλλ' οὖν ἔγωγ' σοι λόγῳ Μαρικᾶντα μὲ κο- λάζυν.*

In p. 438. The same Comedian is cited in *Χερσογίνῃ*, which Mr Hermann has not altered into *Χερσῶ γίνῃ*. In the Etymologicum Magnum p. 132. the following verse *Τί γὰρ ἔστ' ἐκείνο; ἀπο- πάτῃ (ταποπάτῃ) ἀλώπικος*, is quoted from Eupolis *Χερσογονεία*. His *Χερσοῦν γένος* is cited by Hephæstion xvi. 3. *Priscian* p. 1329. *Schol. Plat.* p. 44. See *Casaubon* on *Athenæus* ix. 17. *Hemsterhuis* on *Pollux* ix. 26. x. 63.

The ' Animadversiones ' of Dr Schleusner are learned and useful; but they bear stronger marks of diligence than of ingenuity. He does not appear to have devoted so much of his time to metrical studies as the learned editor Mr Hermann. At the word *Παράστασις* Photius quotes *Μένανδρος Μισογυνή. ἔλκυ δὲ γραμματιδίων ἐκείσι διδυρον, καὶ παράστασις μία δραχμή.* Dr Schleusner says that these words are ' leviter corrupta; ' and accordingly he disposes them in two verses, which, although remarkable for harmony, must, we fear, be classed under the head of *asynartete*. " *Ἐλκυ δὲ γράμμα τ' ἴδιον ἐκεί σε διδυρον καὶ παράστασις μία.* ' *Fellit te video,* ' says Bentley to Le Clerc, ' *Kusteri Suidas, ubi* ' *Typographi opinor errore post verbum παράστασις punctum* ' *male inseritur, Quo tu infeliciter arrepto, et sententiam cur-* ' *tasti; et perinde scenarium concinnasti, ac si in Horatio scri-* ' *beres Mæcenæ regibus edite atavis.* ' *Emend. in Menand.* p. 43.

Μουνυχία, τόπος τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ Μουνυχίας Ἀθηνῶς. Dr S. replaces *Ἀρτιμίδος* for *Ἀθηνῶς*, but forgets to remark that this is an emendation of *Ruhnken, Auctar. Emendat. in Hesych. T. II.* p. 24. v. *Ἰερὰ παρθένος.* who quotes also *Πειραιῶς*, and not *Πειραιῶν*.

Dr Schleusner has remarked, that several extracts from Photius are scattered up and down in the notes of Alberti on *Hesychius*, which do not appear in Mr Hermann's edition. The Doctor himself has omitted to notice some various readings from the Oxford transcript, in the extracts given by Le Clerc in his Index to *Menander*.

We now dismiss this valuable Lexicon for the present; and earnestly hope that we shall, ere long, be called upon to notice, at greater length, a more correct and useful edition of it, possessing advantages of which the present cannot boast, viz. those of being printed from the Codex Caeleanus, of correct typography, of critical annotations, and though last, not least, a reasonable price.

ART. V. *An Essay on the Population of Dublin; being the result of an actual Survey taken in 1798, with great care and precision, and arranged in a manner entirely new. By the Rev. James Whitelaw, M. R. I. A., Vicar of St Catherine's. To which is added, the General Return of the District Committee in 1801; with a Comparative Statement of the two Surveys. Also several Observations on the Present State of the poorer parts of the City of Du'lin.* Dublin, 1805.

A *Brief Inquiry into the present State of Agriculture in the Southern part of Ireland, and its Influence on the Manners and Condition of the Lower Classes of the People: With some Considerations on the Ecclesiastical Establishment of that Country.* By Joshua Kirby Trimmer. London, 1809.

Farther Observations on the present State of Agriculture, and Condition of the Lower Classes of the People in the Southern parts of Ireland: With an Estimate of the Agricultural Resources of that Country; and a Plan for carrying into effect a Commutation for Tithe, and a Project for Poor Laws. By Joshua Kirby Trimmer. London, 1812.

Statistical Survey of the County of Antrim; with Observations on the Means of Improvement; drawn up for the Consideration, and by Direction of the Dublin Society. By the Rev. John Dubourdien, Rector of Annahilt. Dublin, 1812.

Observations on the Character, Customs, and Superstitions of the Irish; and on some of the Causes which have retarded the Moral and Political Improvement of Ireland. By Daniel Dewar. London, 1812.

Statistical Survey of the County of Cork; with Observations on the Means of Improvement; drawn up for the Consideration, and by Direction of the Dublin Society. By the Rev. Horatio Townsend, M. A. Dublin, 1810.

Statistical Observations on the County of Kilkenny, made in the years 1800 and 1801. By William Tighe, esq. M. P.

THERE is not, perhaps, a more satisfactory proof of the progress of political knowledge, in our own age and country,

than the attention which the Government of Ireland has attracted since the commencement of the present reign; and there is not a more instructive page in the history of mankind than that of Ireland, if perused in the spirit which it ought naturally to excite.

It is admitted upon all hands, that the state of Ireland is deplorable. It is the general complaint of her natives, and of the strangers who visit her, that the great mass of her population is placed in circumstances of wretchedness, which strike the humane with horror. Mr Whitelaw, in that most interesting performance, the title of which we have placed with others at the head of this article, states the following important facts.

‘ In the ancient parts of Dublin, the streets are, with a few exceptions, generally narrow; the houses crowded together; and the *ceres*, or back yards, of very small extent. Of these streets, a few are the residence of the upper class of shopkeepers, and others engaged in trade; but a far greater proportion of them, with their numerous lanes and alleys, are occupied by working manufacturers, by petty shopkeepers, the labouring poor, and beggars, crowded together to a degree distressing to humanity. A single apartment, in one of these truly wretched habitations, rates from one to two shillings per week; and, to lighten this rent, two, three, and even four families, become joint tenants. As I was usually out at very early hours on the survey, I have frequently surprised from ten to sixteen persons, of all ages and sexes, in a room not fifteen feet square, stretched on a wad of filthy straw, swarming with vermin, and without any covering, save the wretched rags that constituted their wearing apparel.

‘ This crowded population, wherever it obtains, is almost universally accompanied by a very serious evil; a degree of filth and stench inconceivable, except by such as have visited those scenes of wretchedness. Into the back-yard of each house, frequently not ten feet deep, is flung, from the windows of each apartment, the ordure and other filth of its numerous inhabitants; from whence it is so seldom removed, that I have seen it nearly on a level with the windows of the first floor; and the moisture, that, after heavy rains, oozes from this heap, having frequently no sewer to carry it off, runs into the street, by the entry leading to the stair-case.

‘ One instance, out of a thousand that might be given, will be sufficient. When I attempted, in the summer of 1798, to take the population of a ruinous house in Joseph’s Lane, near Castle-market, I was interrupted in my progress, by an inundation of putrid blood, alive with maggots, which had, from an adjoining slaughter-yard, burst the back-door, and filled the hall, to the depth of several inches. By the help of a plank, and some stepping stones, which I procured for that purpose, (for the inhabitants, without any concern, waded through it), I reached the stair-case. It had rained

violently; and, from the shattered state of the roof, a torrent of water made its way through every floor, from the garret to the ground. The sallow looks, and filth of the wretches who crowded round me, indicated their situation; though they seemed insensible to the stench, which I could scarcely sustain for a few minutes. In the garret, I found the entire family of a poor working shoemaker, seven in number, lying in a fever, without a human being to administer to their wants. On observing that his apartment had not a door, he informed me, that his landlord, finding him not able to pay the week's rent, in consequence of his sickness, had, the preceding Saturday, taken it away, in order to force him to abandon the apartment. I counted in this sty thirty-seven persons.

'In July 1798, the entire side of a house, four stories high, in School-house-lane, fell from its foundation into an adjoining yard, where it destroyed an entire dairy of cows. I ascended the remaining ruin, through the usual approach of shattered stairs, stench, and filth. The floors had all sunk on the side now unsupported, forming so many inclined planes; and I observed, with astonishment, that the inhabitants, above thirty in number, who had escaped destruction by the circumstance of the wall falling outwards, had not deserted their apartments. I was informed, that it had remained some months in this situation; and that the humane landlord claimed, and actually received for it, the usual rent. To persons unacquainted with the scenes I have been describing, this picture will seem overcharged; but I pledge myself, that if they take the trouble of inquiry, they will find it faithfully and minutely true.'

The person to whom we are indebted for this important information, was a clergyman of the Established Church, one of the ministers of the city of Dublin, a member of the Board of Education, a gentleman of fortune and the highest respectability, who, in 1798, with the sanction indeed of Government, but without a farthing of support, undertook and executed, by his own personal exertion and expense, the great patriotic task of a census, as then unperformed, of the capital of his native island.

That the inhabitants of the country are in a situation corresponding to that of the inhabitants of the town, is too well known; and follows by causes too necessary to need any confirmation. In hovels, too wretched to deserve the name of houses, or even of pig-styes, mixed at bed and at board with the animals whom they rear, more than half naked, with nothing but potatoes to eat, and, except in the first six months after harvest, a frequent insufficiency even of that lowest species of nourishment, they lead the life of beasts rather than of men.

Of such general and extreme poverty, the necessary result is, a state of barbarity as to manners, sentiments, and habits of

life. Hear, upon the existence of this deplorable fact, one of the best informed and most candid of Irishmen, the author of the late celebrated pamphlet, entitled ‘*A Sketch of the State of Ireland, Past and Present*,’—ascribed, but we suspect erroneously, to the present Secretary of the Admiralty.

‘What the Romans found the Britons and Germans, the Britons found the Irish,—and left them. Neglect, or degeneracy of the colonists, and perversity of the natives, have preserved, even to our day, living proofs of the veracity of Cæsar and Tacitus. Of this, many will affect to be incredulous—of the Irish, lest it diminish the character of the country—of the English, because it arraigns the wisdom and policy of their system. But the experienced know it to be true; and the impartial will own it.’

Extreme indigence and misery, with a state of barbarity, are universally followed by turbulence and ferocity. Men who have nothing but life to lose, are always found to hazard it upon slight occasions. Existence is only valued in proportion to its enjoyments; and men, whose lives are too miserable to be worth much to their owners, are little disposed to set a value upon the lives of others. Where home affords no enjoyments, the abandonment of home causes no regret; and the slightest incentive suffices to throw the inmates into movement and enterprize.

Indigence, barbarity, ferocity—little value for their own lives, less for the lives of others—little respect for property, in which they can hardly be said to have any share—a disposition to movement and enterprize, and yet a tendency to sloth, may be considered as the general characteristics of human nature in the very lowest stage of improvement; and can scarcely be denied to compose, at this moment, a true picture of the Irish population. The political consequences are unavoidable;—a country without a surplus produce,* and governed by the sword;—to the empire at-large, not a support, but a burthen; and not merely a burthen, but a terror—the source of her fears and her danger.

* A surplus produce, means, not a quantity of corn to export; for England has not corn to export, and yet a great surplus produce: By which is meant, a certain proportion of the annual produce, which, after maintaining the inhabitants, and defraying the necessary expense of government, may be annually aggregated, by saving, to the capital of the country—may be laid out in great improvements, or employed in the business of defence.—Of such a surplus, Ireland is still destitute.

For this deplorable, and not deplorable only, but disgraceful and most dangerous state of things, there are causes to be assigned,—and remedies, we hope, to be applied. A knowledge of the causes is important toward a knowledge of the remedies: but the great difficulty is to procure a patient hearing to the statement of the malady. We have long had upon us the symptom of that unhappy state—*ubi nec vitia pati possumus, nec remedia*. To hear that any thing stands in need of amendment, awakens our keenest indignation—and that *not* against the authors, but the expositors of the mischief. The few who prosper in the present state of things, and the many whom that very state makes dependent on those few, instantly take the alarm;—a general union is formed to crush the unhappy reformer;—and in that wretched state of mental relaxation which makes a people hate all statements, except flattering ones, it does not often fail in its object.

But, offensive as the statement may be to many, whom it is least of all desirable to offend, we are bound not to disguise what we conscientiously believe to be the truth; and all history, observation, and reflection, concur to point out THE GOVERNMENT of Ireland as the true cause of the unprecedented miseries under which it has so long suffered. The case indeed falls under a general law, against the evidence or authority of which it is perfectly vain to contend.

The state of any people depends altogether on the circumstances in which they are placed; and Government has a power to modify almost all these circumstances, in such a manner as fully to account for all the variations of character and enjoyment which history or observation can present. The fact, in the present instance, accordingly is, that England having, many years ago, assumed the government of Ireland, has so managed and conducted that subordinate nation, as to have brought it, at last, in a period of unprecedented illumination and universal improvement, to the wretched, barbarous, anarchical, burthensome, and dangerous condition that is attested by the concurrent testimony of every intelligent observer, and has recently been set forth in the acts of her own legislature.

The course of this unhappy policy, it may be instructive slightly to sketch. During the four centuries which elapsed from the first nominal subjugation of Ireland, to the time of the reforms which were undertaken by James the First, the country, beyond the city of Dublin, and a few miles around it, known by the name of the English Pale, could not be regarded as in the obedience of England,—strong enough to oppress, but infi-

nately too feeble and too ignorant to govern. On this subject, we have the testimony of an historian) always cool, and here, at any rate, exempt from prejudice.

'Most of the English institutions likewise,' (such are the words of the philosophical historian) 'by which that island was governed, were to the last degree absurd, and such as no state before had ever thought of, for preserving dominion over its conquered provinces. The small army which they maintained in Ireland, the English never supplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied on the island, which possessed none, they gave their soldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. But the English carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privileges of their laws; and every where marked them out as aliens, and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and, flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in marshes and forests, from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and, joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous. By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependent state remained in that abject condition, into which the Northern and Western parts of Europe were sunk, before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and irresistible bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the sixteenth century, when every Christian nation was cultivating, with ardour, every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still, notwithstanding these advantages, inhabited by a people whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages than barbarians.' *

Such, in this instance at least, was that 'wisdom of our ancestors,' to which implicit conformity is still so peremptorily demanded by those who have private reasons for being pleased with the condition of their descendants. Surely we do owe some compensation to a people whom, for so many ages, we have rendered miserable. But it is still more to the purpose, to consider what we ourselves have suffered by this conduct, and how far the policy of the present time is more beneficial than that of the past.

The first memorable result has been fruitful in consequences. The Irish, involved in ignorance and superstition, were not ripe

for that reformation in religion, which produced so important a change in the condition of the sister island. 'The horrible and absurd oppression which the Irish suffered under the English government,' (we again employ the words of Hume),* 'is the cause that the Irish remained Catholics, when Britons became Protestants; and that all the mischiefs, of which that diversity of religion has been the bitter fountain, have been poured upon the two misguided islands.' It is thus that oppression, when its whole course is seen, will generally be found to be its own avenger.

It is sufficiently remarkable, that the reforms in Ireland, accomplished by James the First, are the only reforms which, up to this very day, have been undertaken in the spirit of beneficence. The great concessions which have been made during the present reign, have all been extorted at moments of Irish strength and British weakness; have been the fruits, not of our liberality, but of our fears; and have gained for us, with that people, neither credit nor thankfulness. 'James,' says Hume, 'frequently boasts of the management of Ireland as his master-piece;' and we add, that few sovereigns in the work of legislation are entitled, in any country, to equal gratitude and applause.

Instead of their own barbarous laws, or customs, James extended to the Irish the benefit of English jurisprudence; took all the natives under his protection; declared them free citizens; 'and proceeded,' says Hume, 'to govern them by a regular administration, military as well as civil. A small army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay transmitted from England, in order to keep the soldiers from preying upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns. Circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished; and no authority but that of the king and the law was permitted throughout the kingdom. Such were the arts by which James introduced humanity and justice among a people, who had ever been buried in the most profound barbarism. Noble cares! much superior to the vain and criminal glory of conquests; but requiring ages of perseverance and attention to perfect what had been so happily begun.'

The care of providing a revenue, and of establishing an absolute power in the hands of the King, distinguished the reign of the first Charles in Ireland; till the weakness of the government in England encouraged the natives, who were joined by the ancient English of the pale, to plan a conspiracy for the to-

* Hist. vol. 2 p. 312.

tal expulsion of the new, or Protestant settlers, from the island. * The settlement of Cromwell was chiefly conspicuous for the extent of the forfeitures, by which the principal part of the landed property was transferred to new possessors. And the Revolution was remarkable for two things; for the devoted attachment with which the Irish adhered to their old sovereign; and for the penal or disabling laws enacted against the Catholics.

Till that time, no peculiar privations had distinguished the condition of the Catholic. The Parliament assembled by Strafford was composed of equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants; and it was part of the policy of that able but arbitrary ruler, to exalt the power of the Crown, by balancing the interests and animosities of one of these parties, against the other. The bigotry, indeed, of the republicans had appalled them during the civil wars and the usurpation; but the favour which was evidently borne to the ancient religion by the two succeeding princes of the House of Stuart, had raised them once more to the hopes of regaining their ancient supremacy. The fate of England, indeed, might at this period have been very different, if the policy of her great enemy, Louis the Fourteenth, had been as profound as it was ambitious. When James the Second was expelled from England, and found an asylum in Ireland, had the aspiring monarch who undertook his support, afforded him, as he might easily have done, sufficient means to establish his government in Ireland, without striving to recover the alienated throne of England, the two countries would have been separated into independent and hostile kingdoms; the perpetual weakness and insignificance of England would have been ensured; and France, in all probability, would have met with little to obstruct her in her schemes of universal dominion.

The Revolution, the benefits of which to England can scarcely be exaggerated, produced any thing but benefit to unhappy Ireland; for it produced the Popery laws. That these laws were not necessary, is sufficiently proved by the fact, of their not having been previously adopted. If such a measure of severity was necessary for the security of a new and unconfirmed government, it was surely most necessary when that government was most new and most unconfirmed. But it was not till a quarter of a century after the establishment

* ‘ This subtle ravage,’ says Burke, (Letter to Sir H. Langrishe, as above, p. 573.) ‘ being carried to the last excess of oppression and insolence under Lord Strafford, it kindled the flames of that rebellion which broke out in 1641.’

of that government, that the Popery laws were enacted, and when no inconvenience from the want of them had ever been experienced. 'Flushed with success, after the victory of the Boyne, and animated with the recollection of recent injuries, it would not have been surprising,' says Mr Young, 'if the triumphant party had exceeded the bounds of moderation towards the Catholic. But the amazing circumstance is, that the great category of persecuting laws was not framed during the life of that monarch, who wisely was a friend to toleration.'* It was under 'Goody Anne, the wet-nurse of the church,' as she is styled by Horace Walpole, † 'that this choice parcel of British legislation was manufactured.' It was then, 'after twenty five years from the event of the Revolution had elapsed, that a domineering faction,' says Burke, 'on a party principle, ventured to disfranchise, without any proof whatsoever of abuse, the greater part of the community.' ‡

With respect to the actual effects of the Popery laws, so much useful information has of late years been bestowed upon the public, that this subject, important as it is, need not detain us long. The following memorable passage of Burke, affords a fair and compendious view of their operation.

'The stock of materials by which any nation is rendered flourishing and prosperous, are its industry; its knowledge or skill; its morals; its execution of justice; its courage; and the national union in directing these powers to one point, and making them all centre in the public benefit. Other than these I do not know, and scarcely can conceive any means by which a community can flourish..... The penal laws of Ireland destroy not one only, but every one of those materials of public prosperity' §

One of the leading and avowed objects of that code, was to disturb the possession, and prevent the acquirement of property by the Catholics. This was to prohibit industry: and the effect has been complete. The Catholics, in the next place, were debarred from education; and, finally, from those stations of influence and splendour, which are the great incitements to great acquirements. Their moral and intellectual degradation followed, as cause is succeeded by effect.

'This code,' says Burke, 'was to be noted for its vicious perfection. For I must do it justice; it was a complete system; full of

* Tour in Ireland, v. 2. p. 133.

† See his Letter to the poet Mason, Lord Orford's Works, v. 5. p. 651.

‡ Letter to Sir H. Langrishe, Burke's Works, 4to, v. 3. p. 589.

§ Burke, v. 5. p. 272.

coherence and consistency; well digested and well composed in all its parts. 'It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance; and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man.'—'All the penal laws,' he continues, 'of that unparalleled code of oppression, were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people; whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not at all afraid to provoke. They were not the effect of their fears, but of their security. They reduced the greater part of a whole people, to a state of the most abject servitude.'

The radical cause of all this is stated, without any equivocation at least, by Mr Arthur Young. 'The domineering aristocracy,' he says, 'of five hundred thousand Protestants, feel the sweets of having two millions of slaves.'* And this, no doubt, is part of the solution:—the grand and universal ambition of the few, to hold the many in subservience to their interests and will, found an instrument of deplorable efficacy in the religious animosities of Ireland. It would be something, however, if five hundred thousand persons were actually either benefited or gratified by the arrangement:—but the truth is, that the great body of the Protestants profit as little by it as the Catholics. It is among a few great families, that all which was left to Irishmen, in the government and emoluments of Ireland, has always been divided. Mr Wakefield, to whom the country is more indebted than to any other individual for information on this subject, assures us, and there is no doubt of the fact, that this narrow aristocracy, or rather oligarchy, was reduced to *three families*, the Beresfords, the Ponsonbys, and the Fosters. It is for the benefit then, of these persons, and of such of their dependants as they thought fit to admit into a share of their emoluments and power, that Protestant ascendancy—that is, the most atrocious tyranny—has been so long and so disastrously maintained. This is the principle upon which the affairs of Ireland have been conducted; and it is the principle upon which the affairs of every nation will be conducted, where a representative organ is wanting, sufficiently dependent upon the body of the people.

It may be asked, indeed, what interest the English government had in this disgraceful state of things?—and the answer to that question leads to still more important considerations. It is the misfortune of a country which is governed by a ministry, after the manner of Great Britain, that it is governed, for the most part, neither according to the interests of the sovereign nor of

* Tour in Ireland, v. 2. p. 140.

the people, but to the interests of the ministry only. It is the interest of the ministry to procure, with the greatest ease, the greatest possible body of support; in other words, to make their trouble as little, and their power and emoluments as great and as secure as possible. Now, it is obvious, that when the whole trouble of governing Ireland was reduced to the trouble of governing three families, that interest must have been regarded as in the best of all possible conditions. As the power of a ministry in their own persons is nothing, it is always necessary for them to govern one part of the people by means of the other; but the more they can reduce the number of the *few*, by whom they are enabled to govern the *many*, the more easy and the more lucrative their station naturally becomes. It may be laid down as a general proposition, that it is the great object of every ministry which has the smallest hope of becoming permanent, to convert what is democratical in a country to aristocratical, and what is aristocratical to oligarchical;—to lessen, in short, to the utmost possible extent, the number of hands which it is necessary for them to gain, and on which the existence of their power depends. It is easily seen, therefore, what advantage they must derive from the proscription and degradation of any large portion of the people, whatever be the pretext, whether religious or political, upon which it is founded:—and, upon principles like these, it is not difficult to account for the support which the system of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland has always received from the preponderating country.

Five hundred thousand Protestants, in order to have two millions of Catholic slaves, were compelled to depend upon other strength than their own. They depended upon England; and the few, that they might have unbridled power over the many, submitted to any conditions which their auxiliary thought fit to impose. England, inflated with the dream of commercial monopoly, excluded Ireland from trade, under the notion of protecting the interests of her own traders, as rigorously as if she had been a hostile country whose wealth was to become an instrument of her ruin. The evil of this, however, was more imaginary than real: for there can be no doubt, as Bishop Berkeley long since proved to his countrymen, that if Ireland had been shut in with a wall of brass a thousand cubits high, she might have clothed and fed a numerous and happy population. But this imaginary evil produced very real effects; for it still more relaxed the spirit of the people, who abandoned themselves to indolence and despair.

England, by assuming the right of making laws for Ireland, and

even of deciding her causes in the last resort, took the legislative and judicative, as well as executive powers, into her own hands; while that country was still governed, not as a component part of the empire, but as a foreign dependancy. These powers, however, which were grasped as the means of a more secure dominion, produced, as vehement stretches of power are apt to produce, the very opposite effects. They roused that passion, which is always stronger in a rude than an enlightened people, national pride; and kept alive the sensibilities of the nation to the abasement which they endured. The opposition raised to the mother country, upon similar encroachments of power, by a handful of men in America, became the era of new hopes in the breasts of the Irish; and when, by a favourable train of accidents, the power of England became exhausted, and the Irish started up an armed and disciplined people, Ireland produced her demands, and England thought it not prudent to refuse.

‘What was done,’ says Burke, ‘in Ireland, during that period, in and out of Parliament, never will be forgotten. You raised an army new in its kind, and adequate to its purposes. What you did in the Legislative Body is above all praise. By your proceeding with regard to supplies, you revived the grand use, and characteristic benefit of Parliament, which was on the point of being entirely lost amongst us. You shortened the credit given to the Crown, to six months;—you hung up the public credit of your kingdom by a thread;—you refused to raise any taxes, whilst you confessed the public debt and public exigencies to be great and urgent beyond example.—You certainly acted in a great style, and on great and invincible principles.—What do you think were the feelings of every man, who looks upon Parliament in an higher light than that of a market-court for legalizing a base traffic of votes and pensions, when he saw you employ such means of coercion to the Crown, in order to coerce our Parliament through *that* medium?’*

We come now to the consideration of an important principle in the government of Ireland. The era of 1782 was the revolution of that island; and might have been expected to have produced correspondent effects upon the condition of her people. The condition of the people, however, remains with little or no improvement. They have multiplied, it is true—multiplied amazingly. But, living in as wretched hovels, as miserably clothed, as poorly fed, they are as indolent, as turbulent, as intemperate, as miserable, as before. What can be the cause of this incorrigible degradation?

* Burke’s Letter to Thomas Burgh, Esq.

It is profoundly and justly observed by the author of the 'State of Ireland, past and present' that 'as soon as the contest between the two Parliaments, that of Ireland, and that of England, ceased, a new policy began. The war was now carried on within the Irish Parliament itself, between those who supported the schemes of the English minister, and those who opposed them. The instrument of government was no longer arms.—A supremacy more complete than she dared to claim as of right, England now established by *influence*—a courtly name for profligacy on one side, and prostitution on the other.' By a few strokes of his pen, he announces the deplorable effects. 'Hence a degraded population,—a hireling aristocracy,—a corrupt government. Hence, the low intrigues, meanness, and misery of three generations.'

The matter of volumes is contained in these few words; and they teach a lesson, not much less important to England than to her sister kingdoms. Ireland is the pattern of a country governed by *Influence*. There its effects may be seen in a magnified and palpable form, and their gradations traced and contemplated as it were with the naked eye. We cannot afford room at present for the whole demonstration; but a few hints will put the intelligent reader in possession of the main outlines.

To govern by *influence*, is to *purchase* compliance, and cooperation. That purchase, speaking of a nation, can only extend to a few: and, therefore, to render it at all advantageous, these few must have power over the many. A *purchased few*, however, is another name, for a '*hireling aristocracy*;' and a population, at the command of a '*hireling aristocracy*,' must be a '*degraded population*.' A government, by influence, therefore, a hireling aristocracy, and a degraded population, are component parts of the same system, and are all necessarily implied in the existence of any. But we may trace their union, and mutual dependence, a little more minutely.

It is perfectly evident, in the first place, that a government by influence, and a hireling aristocracy, are convertible terms. They stand to one another in the relation of buyer and seller; and the one cannot exist without the other. As well might there be a king without subjects, as a government by influence without a hireling aristocracy. The first link of the chain then exists beyond all dispute; and it only remains to be shown, that the union of a purchasing government, and a purchased aristocracy, necessarily produces the degradation of the people.

At whose expense, in the first place, must the purchase be made?—At that of the people, most undoubtedly. This, therefore, is one step in the scale of degradation. In the way of taxes, and other impositions, a greater annual sum is ex-

tracted from the people, than is necessary for the legitimate purposes of government; and the surplus, in all its most efficient shapes, of salaries, pensions, sinecures, is given to those whom it is the interest of government to influence. The many are impoverished, that the few may be enriched.

To render the purchase of the *few* of any importance to the purchaser, they must have power over the *many*; and the greater that power, the more valuable the purchase. The subservience of the people, therefore, not to the magistrate, or the laws, but to the 'hireling aristocracy,' who are neither law, nor magistrate, is an implied condition. Subservience to any class of men, distinct from the administrators of the law, is another name for oppression; it is the necessity of doing what, for his own profit or pleasure, another man commands. To whatever degree this necessity exists, it is the very essence of degradation. It exists to an enormous degree in Ireland: and is indispensable indeed to the existence of a government by influence.—It is the *interest* of such a government, that the people should be degraded; and it is the *interest* of the aristocracy whom it influences: But a confederacy, in whose hands all power is lodged, naturally pursues its conjunct interest with effect.

It is worthy of remark, that the subserviency of the lower orders, to a mere aristocracy of wealth, has a tendency to degrade them still lower than a simple despotism like that of Turkey. In Turkey, indeed, they are subject to the caprice and insolence of power. But in Turkey, no creature, except the instruments of government, has any power. The individuals, to whose caprice and insolence the lower orders are subjected, are therefore very few; but where an aristocracy of wealth has a power over the people, distinct from the laws, the lower orders have an oppressor at every door. It has been often remarked, accordingly, that the lower orders, under the oppression of the aristocracy in several of the old governments of Europe, as France, Spain, Austria, were really more wretched than in Turkey. Travellers were struck indeed with an appearance of splendour and civilization in some of these countries, compared with the uniform barbarity of Turkey; but what attracted them, was the splendour and attraction of the aristocracy, not of the people. In Turkey, there is no aristocracy; and nothing but the condition of the great body of the community presses itself upon the eye. In France, observation was generally stopt before it reached the people: But, could the aristocracy have been veiled, and the people alone brought

into notice, there can be little doubt that Turkey would have appeared the superior country.

In no country, however, in Europe, scarcely excepting even Russia, where they are slaves, is the people so completely degraded, as in Ireland. The books before us, and many other books, contain redundant evidence of this melancholy fact; and as it is our business rather to account for it, than to prove its existence, we might rest perhaps upon its universal notoriety. One or two examples, however, may be given.

'Before I conclude this article,' says Mr Arthur Young, 'of the common labouring poor in Ireland, I must observe, that their happiness depends not merely upon the payment of their labour, their clothes, or their food: the subordination of the lower classes, degenerating into oppression, is not to be overlooked. The landlord of an Irish estate, inhabited by Roman Catholics, is a sort of despot, who yields obedience, in whatever concerns the poor, to no law but that of his will. A landlord in Ireland can scarcely invent an order, which a servant, labourer or cotter, dares to refuse to execute. Nothing satisfies him but an unlimited submission. Disrespect, or any thing tending towards sauciness, he may punish with his cane or his horsewhip with the most perfect security; a poor man would have his bones broke if he offered to lift his hand in his own defence. Knocking down is spoken of in the country in a manner that makes an Englishman stare. Landlords of consequence have assured me, that many of these cotters would think themselves honoured by having their wives or daughters sent for to the bed of their master; a mark of slavery that proves the oppression under which such people must live. Nay, I have heard anecdotes of the lives of people being made free with, without any apprehension of the justice of a jury.'

Mr Young imagined that this degradation was on the decline. He judged from the natural tendencies of an improving age. But, unhappily, he could not foresee events that were to give rise to counteracting tendencies. Another spirit, not less opposed to the elevation of the people, than any that preceded, arose—we mean the spirit of *Anti-jacobinism*—which rendered the degradation of the people the very fashion of the day—which produced Orange Lodges—and which, if it did not produce rebellion, in which at any rate it had an ominous share, gave to that rebellion features of atrocity, by which savages would be disgraced. All travellers concur in assuring us, that, in late years, the barbarity with which the poor are treated will hardly admit of aggravation.

Mr Wakefield says—

~~In~~ In the month of June 1809, at the races at Carlow, I saw a

poor man's cheek laid open by a stroke of a whip. He was standing in the midst of a crowd near the winning post. 'The inhuman wretch who inflicted the wound, was a gentleman of some rank in the county. The unhappy sufferer was standing in his way, and, without requesting him to move, he struck him with less ceremony than an English country squire would a dog. But what astonished me more than the deed, and which shows the difference between English and Irish feeling, was, that not a murmur was heard, nor hand raised in disapprobation; but the surrounding spectators dispersed, running different ways, like slaves terrified at the rod of their despot.'

A fact like this is one of a family. It demonstrates habit. It is decisive. *

Mr Tighe says, in his Survey of Kilkenny—

'Scantily supplied with potatoes; clothed with rags; famished with cold in their comfortless habitations, the people cannot, though frugal, sober and laborious; (which from my own knowledge I assert), provide against infirmity and old age, with any other resource than begging or dependence. None can tell better than the members of the charitable societies here, what numbers of miserable objects depend on the distribution of their bounty for existence, and how inadequate language is to convey a just idea of their poverty and suffering. These statements may be applied, more or less, to all parts of the country. The habitations of cotters are generally wretched.'

Mr Kirby Trimmer, a son of the celebrated authoress of that name, under whom he could not fail of an orthodox education, whether religion or politics be considered, and who, on a business of Government, was several years employed in Ireland, says, in his Tract published last year—

'I have again and again seen the country; and sincerely should I rejoice, if, whilst I am about to extend my observations; I could erase, as being drawn stronger than the life, any part of the picture which I have drawn of the wretched condition of the poor. But far otherwise: at every reexamination, the colours which I have used appear faint, and only imperfectly to represent the misery which exists. To dwell on the hapless condition of the peasantry, I am aware may be considered tedious as a twice-told tale. But whilst I am convinced that the African hut possesses comfort and cleanliness beyond what the generality of the inhabitants in the Irish cabin know; I cannot rest satisfied without exercising every opportunity I may have of examining the subject, to point out the causes from whence the misery arises. What real friend to his country

Mr Townsend's Survey of Cork will afford other specimens to those who are curious.

can for a moment bear the reflection, that a large proportion of the poor, dwelling in unquestionably the second island in Europe, and forming so considerable a part of the nation, to which the whole world is now looking up, should fall short of even the few consolations attached to savage life!

Those details, however, are too distressing to be pursued—and it is not necessary. The facts are but too certain; and their causes scarcely less apparent. That this state of the people is favourable to the *Oligarchy*, cannot be doubted. The more the people are depressed by poverty, the more cheap and secure is their submission; and that it is equally favourable to the empire of *Influence*, by which the *Oligarchy* is governed, is not less obvious. The continuance, therefore, if not the origin of this state of degradation, is to be referred to the operation of these interests. We cannot now proceed to explain how the same interests are promoted by every thing which tends to divide the people, whether religious animosities or political, because it augments their helplessness and dependence;—by the ignorance of the people, because it keeps them incapable of pursuing any proper methods for their own emancipation;—by the immorality of the people, which is a principle of imbecility both to the individual and the aggregation. In fact, there is no conceivable way in which the weakness, and hence the corruption and brutality of the people, can be increased, which is not favourable to the union of *Influence* and *Oligarchy*. *

The limits of an article will admit no more on the subject of causes. We come now to the chapter of remedies; on which, to do any considerable service, it would be necessary to enter into details for which we have no longer left room. The grand remedy no doubt would be, to abolish that corrupt *INFLUENCE*, in which all the evils of Ireland originate. To point out how this may be done, and to impress the public with the feeling of its necessity, would be the noblest service perhaps that any writer ever rendered his country. For us, we feel sufficiently, that it is beyond our competence, and, for the present, beyond our limits. Hereafter we may venture to suggest something with regard to it.

The object next in importance, undoubtedly, is the administration of justice. Without a tolerable administration of jus-

* The effects of this union upon the oligarchy itself,—habits of servility and intrigue on the one hand, and of tyranny and contempt of human nature on the other,—would be a curious subject of moral inquiry. It would afford some interesting scenes to the graphic pen of Miss Edgeworth.

tice, all social prosperity is absolutely impossible: and, where the administration of justice is good, the other vices of government must be enormous, to prevent the progress of improvement. To the mass of the people of Ireland, however, Justice has hitherto been administered in a manner infinitely more imperfect than could be conceived by those who take their ideas from the state of the sister kingdom.

‘The execution of the laws,’ says Mr Arthur Young, ‘lies very much in the hands of the Justices of the Peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chuses to call itself a gentleman, and the Justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront. It is a fact, that a poor man having a contest with a gentleman must.....But I am talking nonsense—they know their situation too well to think of it; they can have no defence but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassal as he would the sheep he intends to eat.’ When roused to insurrection, and guilty of atrocities, ‘acts,’ continues Mr Young, ‘were passed for their punishment which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary. This arose to such a height, that, by one, they were to be hanged, under certain circumstances, without the common formalities of a trial, which, though repealed the following sessions, marks the spirit of punishment;—while others remain yet the law of the land, that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection. From all which it is manifest, that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure, from overlooking the real cause of the disease: which in fact lay in themselves, and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows. Let them change their own conduct entirely, and the poor will not long riot. Treat them like men who ought to be as free as yourselves; put an end to that system of religious persecution, which, for seventy years, has divided the kingdom against itself. In these two circumstances lies the cure of insurrection. Perform these completely, and you will have an affectionate poor, instead of oppressed and discontented vassals. A better treatment of them is a very material point to the welfare of Great Britain. Events may happen, which may convince us fatally of this truth: if not—oppression must have broken all the spirit and resentment of men. By what policy the Government of England can, for so many years, have permitted such an absurd system to be matured, is beyond the power of plain sense to discover.’ *

The enlightened author of the ‘State of Ireland, Past and Present,’ says—

‘The law has never thoroughly mingled itself with Ireland. There lately were, perhaps still are, districts impervious to the King’s

* Young’s Tour in Ireland, vol. II. p. 129.

writs—castles, fortified against the sheriff, and legal estates invaded by force of arms—contumacies, not frequent indeed, but from which an inquirer will deduce, not unfairly, ordinary disrespect for the law. This in civil cases. In criminal—how large a share of our jurisprudence!—witnesses not unfrequently suborned, intimidated, or murdered—juries subdued—felons acquitted. In common transactions, the administration by Justices of the Peace, sometimes partial—generally despised, and unsatisfactory. The body—in England so effective—of mayors, bailiffs, and constables, unknown, or known as a jest. Parish offices sinecures. The Great man and the Strong man *executing*, the poor and weak *suffering*, the law. The blame is not easily apportioned. Much is in the pride and folly of the gentry—much in the native perverseness of the people—much in the indifference of the government—something in an indiscreet nomination of magistrates—more, and *most of all*, in the exorbitant taxation of legal proceedings; by which the law has become, not a refuge to the poor, but a luxury to the rich. The courts are open to the indigent—only as spectators. The peasant, oppressed, or defrauded to the amount of 10*l.*, cannot buy even a *chance* of redress in the lottery of the law for less than 60*l.* By victory or defeat he is equally and irremediably ruined. This system *must* be amended—or *abandoned*.’

Till the administration of justice is brought home to every man's door,—till the poor man is assured of redress upon terms accommodated to his circumstances, and of prompt and measured punishment for his crimes, it is perfectly vain to talk of the civilization or improvement of Ireland. To effect these objects, however, nothing has ever been thought of, but an imperfect application of the expedients employed in England. * These have been found altogether inadequate to the exigencies of the case; and a radical change must take place before the reformation of Ireland can begin. The very constitution of the magistracy, to which such extraordinary powers have been entrusted, would require an entire regeneration, by a rigorous revisal of the commissions of the peace for the whole kingdom.

Upon this head, Mr Wakefield has collected a body of evidence equally strong and irresistible. The very disturbances of the kingdom—the rebellion itself, have been ascribed to the misconduct of the magistracy, by such men as Lord Kingston and Lord Clare. It is not an institution adapted to the state of the country. As little is the slow, obscure, intricate, and expensive procedure of the higher Courts of English Law. For

* This is the usual patry, and lawyer-like scheme of England, when called to legislate for other countries.

the body of the people of Ireland. A more moderate and simple judicial establishment, with a brief and complete digest of the law, adapted to every man's capacity, and which every child in the schools should read, ought first to be provided. Along with this every thing—without it little can be achieved.

The use which is made of the mass of the people in Ireland for establishing parliamentary interests, is the next grand cause of the calamities which overspread the country, and which must be reformed, before the people can be improved, or their calamities extinguished. To talk of freedom of choice, in the wretched creatures whom a proprietor of Irish soil manufactures into voters upon his estate, would be a poor and unfeeling piece of derision. He drives them to the hustings, as he drives his hogs to market. By tenures for life of forty shillings, nominal or real, he makes electors almost at will. It is according to the number of his electors that he takes his station in the ranks of *Influence and Oligarchy*, and shares in the bounty of Government. The number of his electors, therefore, is the grand object of his ambition. He encourages premature marriages, among a people already too numerous for the means of employing them. The crop of wretches upon his estate, not of corn, is the grand object of his solicitude.

'The system of creating votes in Ireland,' says Mr Wakefield, 'is carried to an extent, of which the people in England can have no idea. The passion for acquiring political influence prevails throughout the whole country; and it has an overwhelming influence upon the people. To divide, and subdivide, for the purpose of making freeholders, is the great object of every owner of land; and I consider it one of the most pernicious practices that has ever been introduced into the operations of political machinery. It reduces the elective franchise nearly to universal suffrage, in a population who, by the very instrument by which they are made free, are reduced to the most abject state of personal bondage. I have known freeholders registered among mountain tenantry, whose yearly head-rent did not exceed 2s. 6d.; but, living upon this half-crown tenure, were enabled to swear to a derivative interest of forty shillings per annum.'

The consequences of such a deplorable system as this, are sufficiently apparent. By necessity, it reduces the Government to an Oligarchy, having an interest in the misery and oppression of the people. It has a direct tendency to multiply the numbers of the people, without any regard to their condition; nay, in a manner which reduces their condition to the lowest depth of wretchedness. To raise the qualification for voting, would be but an imperfect remedy; and, besides, would give rise, in the first instance at least, to still more frightful oppressions than

those it was meant to redress; for every land-owner would immediately exert himself to the utmost extent of his power, to parcel out his estate into as many voting possessions as the new rate would allow. To make way for the new race of tenants, the old must be turned out. But they have tenures for life! Why, then, oppression must make them glad to turn out. You would then have, all at once, perhaps not less than a million of unhappy wretches, without houses, without food, and deprived of all prospect of obtaining them any more:—reduced therefore to despair—and animated with all the sentiments which distinguish a people in despair:—You would have a rebellion of a new description; and such as, in all the varieties of human calamity, the world before never witnessed.

With proper precautions, however, some change in the qualification for voting might be beneficially introduced; and another palliative to the great evil complained of, might be found in some scheme for enabling the dependent voters to vote, free from the control of their landlords,—in other words, without their knowledge,—or by some process of private *balloting*;—a contrivance, to the virtues of which, both in preventing tumult and evading intimidation, we are surprised to find the people of this country so insensible.

Having said so much on the grand, comprehensive evils of Ireland, we shall be very concise on all inferior points. The list of derivative grievances is no doubt very large; and, as usual, they excite more attention than the fruitful causes from which they are derived. The Catholic penalties,—tythes,—middlemen,—want of education,—are all in succession held up as the evils which most imperiously call for redress. But if, like skillful drainers, we can only find out and cut off the springs, we shall speedily clear the land of its bogs. There is not one of these circumstances, the peculiar malignity of which is not derived from the state of judicature, and of parliamentary interest. We have religious disabilities, tythes, middlemen, and ignorance in England; but our laws and our parliamentary interests are differently administered—and our condition is different accordingly.

The *Catholic penalties* are an evil, as all religious penalties are evils; and the Catholic penalties are an evil proportioned to the extent of the population on whom they operate. But as they now affect neither property, person, nor industry, and only exclude from some of the highest offices of state, they cannot, of themselves, account for the misery of Ireland; nor would the removal of them, introduce prosperity. Causes still more powerful obstruct prosperity. The removal of Catholic penalties would not change the condition of forty-shilling voters; it

would neither afford a judge to protect the poor man from injury, nor with healing justice to repress his crimes; and though it might lessen, it would by no means destroy, either the interest or the power of the few, to keep the many in degradation.

Tythes are an obstruction to prosperity. That is not to be denied. But let us not exaggerate. *Tythes* will not account for the wretchedness of Ireland; nor would the abolition of *tythes*, to the last potatoe, introduce prosperity. Superior causes exist, amply sufficient to keep full the cup of misery, independent of *tythes*. In fact, it is only when a country is progressive, that *tythes* are an evil greater than a land-tax. Where there is no additional capital, or labour, ready to be employed upon the land, a *tythe* operates merely as a tax upon rent; a very inconvenient, and vexatious one, we allow,—but which has no peculiar tendency to restrain production. It is only where there is fresh capital and labour ready to be employed upon the land, that *tythes* are exorbitantly mischievous, and operate as a tax, often as a prohibition, upon *improvement*. Where other things are favourable, they will not, as is proved by England, altogether prevent improvement; but they will always make its progress slower. Whatever may be the rate of improvement of any *tyth*-ed country, it would always be greater were it not for the *tythes*. When improvement is the most easily obstructed, that is, when it is just beginning, *tythes* are naturally the most pernicious. In Ireland, therefore, the reason is peculiarly great for substituting a better, to this most impolitic of all imposts.

The blame, however, should not fall on the wrong place. The clergy are not materially in fault. They take, as any other men would take, the provision which the law appoints for them; and they are in general obliged to content themselves with much less than the law allows them. It is merely an illusion, or imposition of the imagination, from which one might expect that it would not be very difficult to wean the clergy, which makes them sticklers for the perpetuity of *tythes*, in which they have no interest. To the existing generation of clergymen, beyond the period of their own lives, the benefit of *tythes* does not extend. They leave them not to their heirs. It is the existence of a certain income for life, which is the interest of the existing clergy; and that, on every principle of justice, ought to be secured to them.

The matter of fact is, and not a fact of little importance, that the Church, that is, the riches, the emoluments of the Church, are the patrimony of the *Oligarchy*, among the relatives and dependants of whom they are, for the purposes of *Influence*, from

age to age, distributed. In *Influence and Oligarchy* is lodged the fee-simple; in the clergy, only a life interest, on the payment of a rent;—a rent of which the payment is pretty well secured—a rent of servility and dependence. The emoluments of the Church, when properly considered, will appear only as a great instrument in the hands of the Oligarchy, which they work for the confirmation of their own dominion, that is, for the degradation of the people. Abolish the usurpation of the *Oligarchy*,—and a beneficent composition with the Church, a composition for the benefit of all parties, will be easily arranged. Of the opposition which is now presented by the clergy to that arrangement, a small proportion arises from their clerical character or interests; it arises from them as the tools and organs of their political factions. The opposition of existing clergymen, who have no interest in the perpetuity of tythes, is the opposition of *Influence and Oligarchy*, to whom, and to whom solely, every particle of the benefit accrues.

We have long doubted whether *Middlemen* are intrinsically any greater evil in Ireland than in England; and some of the most careful of the late observers in Ireland—Mr Wakefield for example—share in our doubts. We remember when one class of middlemen, those who come between the grower of corn and the consumer, were as unpopular in England as the middlemen in Ireland. In a wholesome state of the country, it would be the interest of the middleman to encourage, not to oppress, the occupiers of his land. It is not the middlemen, to whom the unwholesomeness of that state is owing. Higher causes must be found. The body being full of corruption, the middlemen and the tythe-proctors are only irritable spots, upon which the eruption most conspicuously appears. Drive it back from these spots, without cleansing the constitution; and you only force it to appear in another part, or to mix itself more intimately with the system, and increase the malignity of the disorder.

Of the land of England, suppose that as great a proportion as of that of Ireland were let to middlemen, would it be in the power of these middlemen to lower the condition of the people of England? We can hardly believe that any one will say so. The case is then decided. The misery of the Irish is not the result of their having middlemen. The effect in England, were any middleman to adopt a system of oppression, would immediately be, to deprive him of tenants. In England, the country is not overstocked with a needy population; and the competition of land for cultivators is as great as that of cultivators for the land. Under an efficient administration of law, it would

be easy to secure the rights of the inferior cultivators, and render them as independent of the middlemen, as any other order of lessees are of their lessors. Without this grand security, all other proposals are ridiculous. In Ireland, however, to produce *independence*, to produce it *any where*, is the object, of all others, the most assured of desperate resistance. To produce independence, is to shake the pillars of the system. For the support of the system, the chain of dependence, of the Cotter upon the Middleman, and the Middleman on the Lord, is absolutely necessary. The consequences are—what the world beholds. The cure, so long as that chain remains unbroken, is a moral impossibility.

The *ignorance* of Irishmen, and its consequences, form a subject upon which we should have been well pleased to have had more time and space to bestow. We are well assured, that the *ignorance* of a people, and its attendant evils, subjugation to superstition, and abandonment to the priest, are the natural fruit of poverty and degradation. In the natural order of things, ignorance is an effect of misery, before it is a cause. Place any race of men in comfortable circumstances, and dependent, for their comfortable circumstances, upon their own works alone, and they will seek knowledge, as the eye seeks for light. As soon as you make the Irish happy, you will break the charm of the priest. Nothing is so effectual as the enjoyments of the present life for weakening the influence of those who pretend to a power over the character of a future one. Never yet was a very comfortable people found to be a very superstitious one; never was a very wretched one found to be otherwise.

Under the pressure of the circumstances which now tend to corrupt and debase the population of Ireland, we cannot flatter ourselves that the effects of artificial education would be very conspicuous. If the force of these circumstances was broken, artificial education would accelerate the progress of cure. But if the unhappy circumstances of that people have overcome the still more important faculties of speech, and of reason, and have rendered them almost an useless possession, what can we expect from the comparatively feeble endowments of reading and writing? Not that we think any exertion should be forborne to promote these acquirements. They are always something gained; and when the time arrives (which, sooner or later, must arrive), when the chains which bind Ireland from improving shall be taken away, the faculties of reading and writing will then be of primary importance; they are essential to the right exercise of the elective franchise, and, with a due knowledge of the nature of the art, should be rendered indispensable.

One of the great uses of artificial education would be, to spread the knowledge of the English tongue. The men the best acquainted with Ireland, Mr Grattan, Mr Wakefield, and others, concur in observing, that a deeper shade of barbarity accompanies, throughout Ireland, a total unacquaintance with the language of a civilized people. Even this circumstance, however, derives its malignity from the pestilent habits of Ireland in general. Diversity of language is, no doubt, an unhappy circumstance. But in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Wales, it has not given occasion to such complaints.

When one hears of schemes for the instruction of the Irish, and considers, that in many parishes of Ireland not a man understands English, and in a great proportion of parishes, very few, and that there is scarcely one of the clergymen of the Established Protestant Church, who knows any thing of the Irish language—and probably not one who ever preached or prayed in it,—it is impossible not to be struck with the pains which that Church has bestowed upon the religious instruction of that people. The Church of Scotland, however, provided somewhat differently for the instruction of her Celtic flocks. No minister can be ordained to a parish in the Highlands, who cannot speak the language of the natives, and who is not bound to perform divine service in it once every Sunday. The bible is translated into that language,—and the children are taught to read it in their schools. This is true pastoral care. In a letter from the Bishop of Limerick to Mr Wakefield, which he has published in his recent work, that prelate says, he had found ‘parishes in his diocese ‘which had never even seen a Protestant minister.’ Yet there would the tythe be collected—and naturally with more severity, than when the clergyman resided, and could not withdraw his eye from any hardships which severity might produce.

The grand concluding remark is,—that improvement is the natural tendency of human beings themselves. All that legislators have to do, is to remove obstructions: and it is melancholy to think, that, owing to obstructions which may be removed, mankind are, in so many situations, stationary in wretchedness.

ART. VI. *BIJA GANNITA, or the Algebra of the Hindus.* By EDWARD STRACHEY, of the East-India Company's Bengal Civil Establishment. London, 1813.

THE mere name of a work on Algebra, translated from the Sanscrit, is sufficient to excite the most lively interest in

all who take any concern in the history of human knowledge. The *Bijā Gannitā* is understood in India to be the work of BHASKARA ACHARYA, a Hindu mathematician and astronomer, who lived about the end of the 12th century of the Christian era; and who, beside this book on Algebra, has left behind him other mathematical treatises, particularly the *Lilavati*, on Arithmetic and practical Geometry. From a work which he composed on Astronomical Calculation, which has also been preserved, it appears, that Bhascara wrote about the year 1105 of the astronomical era of Salibahn. This era began in the 83d of the Christian era; so that the preceding date answers to the year of Christ 1188. Col. Colebrooke (*Asiat. R.* vol. 9.) has given the time of his birth (1063 Saca), or 1141 after Christ.

These books, written originally in Sanscrit, had the highest reputation in the East, and were translated into different languages. The *Lilavati* was translated by the order of the Emperor Akbar into Persian, on account, as FYZEE, the translator, says, of the rare and wonderful arts of calculation and mensuration which it contained. The *Bijā Gannitā* was also translated into Persian in the year 1634; and it is from the Persian that Mr Strachey has made the English translation, with which he has now favoured the public. The idea thus given of the original work, is certainly less perfect than if the translation had been made from the Sanscrit; but, in a matter where authentic information is so difficult to be obtained, we must be satisfied with what can be procured, though it may not be in all respects what we would wish. Mr STRACHEY appears to have great merit in the double capacity of a translator and commentator; and it adds not a little to the value of his communication, that it is accompanied with notes by Mr DAVIS, who is known to be deeply versed in Oriental science, from his papers on the Indian Astronomy. That gentleman, who is master of the Sanscrit, had been fortunate enough to procure a copy of the *Bijā Gannitā* in the original, out of which he made several extracts, and has added to them some notes and illustrations. Though these notes are evidently written only for the author's own use, they convey a great deal of information, and assist in distinguishing the original Hindu composition from the interpolations of the Persian translator.

Mr Strachey had also the use of a translation of the *Bijā Gannitā* from the Persian, by the late Mr REUBEN BURROW, which is now in the possession of Mr DALBY, of the Military School at High Wycombe: this, however, is less valuable than might have been expected from one so well acquainted with

the mathematical sciences. It is a fair copy of the Persian translation, with the English of each word written above the Persian, and, as it now stands, is not, it may be supposed, very easily understood.

It appears from Mr Davis's notes, that the references to Euclid's Elements, of which there are some in the Persian translation, are mere interpolations, not to be found in the original. It appears also, that the Hindu mathematicians have a particular notation, which is entirely wanting in the Persian, where the algebraic process is always expressed in words. These are the sources of the information now communicated to the public; and the conclusions to which they lead, cannot but form a very interesting article in the history of Oriental science.

The work of the Hindu algebraist consists of an Introduction and five Books. The Introduction contains the rules for the algebraic computations, addition, subtraction, &c. applied first to known, then to unknown quantities, and to surds. There are, besides this, still making a part of the Introduction, two chapters on Indeterminate Problems of the first and second degree. Of the five Books that follow, the first treats of Simple Equations; the second of Quadratic; the third on Indeterminate Problems of the first Degree; the fourth of those of the second Degree; the fifth of Products.

The work is said to have been written with a view to astronomy. A passage is quoted by Mr Davis, where Bhascara says, it would be as absurd for a person ignorant of algebra to write upon astronomy, as for one ignorant of grammar to write poetry.

Bhascara himself does not assume any character but that of a compiler, who was composing an elementary treatise from materials that already existed.

Though we are highly gratified by any thing that throws light on the ancient science of the East, and think ourselves much indebted to Mr STRACHEY for what he has done toward the elucidation of a subject so curious and interesting, we feel it necessary to remark, that the manner in which this translation and commentary are given, is not the most happily conceived. The work consists partly of a literal translation, partly of an abstract, and partly of the translator's own remarks. These are not always sufficiently distinguished, and never in the marked manner which was necessary. The literal translation is marked by inverted commas; the part, Mr Strachey says, that consists of his own remarks, will appear by the context; and all the rest is abstract. It is plain, that this last distinction is not sufficiently precise; and that the first, though

tolerably clear, is not marked with the force which the difference requires. Indeed, the error in this respect begins from the title page: *The BIJA GANNITA, &c.*—By Edward Strachey. A title could not be better contrived for repressing, by its conclusion, the curiosity excited by its commencement; and a modern name following, in the place of the author's, after a title that is ancient, and was meant to be considered as such, is a solecism which we know not how any editor could commit. Perhaps Mr Strachey found it difficult to express his triple character of translator, abstracter, and commentator; with the conciseness required in a title page. The work might have been called, *The BIJA GANNITA, &c.* abridged; with Extracts and Notes by, &c. This would not, perhaps, have formed an elegant title page; but it would have been a tolerably exact description of the book.

In the account we are to give, we shall begin with what relates to the Notation of the Hindu Algebra; next the Rules, and, lastly, the Problems, to the solution of which the rules are applied. This exposition will naturally lead to the question concerning the antiquity and originality of the Hindu Algebra.

In this notation, letters are used to denote quantities in the same manner as with us. The addition of quantities is denoted by \parallel placed between them; thus $a \parallel b$, is $a + b$. They have also a mark for negative quantities, which consists of a point over the letter: \dot{a} is $-a$, and $a \parallel b \parallel \dot{x}$, is $a + b - x$. The relation between positive and negative quantities, is illustrated by a reference to possession and debt, the same as with us; and it must naturally be so, whenever the operations of a calculus in which the magnitude of the quantities is not expressed by the symbols denoting them, forces on the computer the convenient fiction of a quantity possessing the power of destroying other quantities.

The product of quantities into one another, is expressed by writing the letters close to one another, ab , abc , being the products of a into b ; and of a into b and into c . When there is a numeral coefficient, it is written, not before the letters as with us, but after them; thus it is not $3ab$, but $ab3$. The Hindus, who write from left to right as we do, and the Persians, who write in the opposite direction, appear to give the same position to the coefficients. A surd is called *carni*; in the Persian translation, this word follows the number that it relates to, thus: 5 *carni*, signifies the square root of 5. Whether, in the Sanscrit, there be any sign equivalent to our radical sign, does not appear.

Letters are used to denote the quantities both known and un-

known. When there is but one unknown quantity, it is denominated the *thing*. It is remarkable, that at the introduction of algebra into Europe, this was the language employed. In Italian, the first of the western languages in which algebraic treatises were composed, the unknown quantity was called *cosa*; whence, as Dr H. remarks, algebra was called the Cossic art. But the most singular thing in the Hindu notation is, that when there are more unknown quantities than one, they call them *colours*; and speak of the multiplication, the addition of colours, &c. The third book of the Bija has its subject announced thus, *explaining how many colours may be equal to one another*. This is the language always used, both in the Sanscrit original, and in the Persian translation. Five letters are given by Mr DAVIS, as they also are by Dr HUTTON, which are used for denoting the unknown quantities; and we regret that we cannot copy them, as they are from types struck on purpose. Mr WILKINS has observed that they are the initials of words denoting colour: The first is *pā*, the initial of *panta*, pale or white; the second *kā*, the initial of *kālā*, black; the third *nā*, of *nīlā*, blue, &c. This seems very enigmatical; and we have not found, in what is said by Mr Sirachey, Mr Davis, or Dr Hutton, any conjecture concerning the analogy which must have suggested this extraordinary nomenclature. It so happens, however, that accident has put it in our power to offer what seems to us a very satisfactory explanation of it.

A friend of ours, who has devoted a good deal of time to the study of the mathematical sciences, and particularly of Algebra, for his own amusement, and for the instruction of the young people about him, contrived long since a kind of palpable Algebra, which employed counters to express and resolve equations; performing with them the real operations of addition, subtraction, &c. of which those on the conventional characters of Arithmetic or Algebra, are only indications. In this way it was easy to express the known quantities, which were all of one kind:—numbers and counters, sufficient to do this, would always be at hand. But the expression of the unknown quantities was often much more inconvenient. If there was but one unknown quantity, one kind of counter indeed would suffice, though there might be a necessity for many of the same kind, because if there was $3x$ or $5x$ to be expressed, this could only be done by repeating the thing which answered to x , 3 or 5 times. The embarrassment was much greater when there were several unknown quantities; for then counters of different kinds, and a considerable number of each kind, must be procured.

The pieces of money that one usually carries about him, are

the first materials for this sort of calculus that would occur; but they have not variety sufficient. Such counters as they use at cards would also answer; but with these a mathematician was not likely to be often provided. In this way our friend would find his progress stopped by a mechanical difficulty, as he was preparing to retrace the steps which, in his idea, had been often gone over in the infancy of science, when the transition was just making from real objects to conventional signs. A box of wafers, on which he happened to cast his eyes, immediately relieved him from all difficulty. The number and variety were both sufficient; one of the unknown quantities might be denoted by a red wafer, a second by a white, a third by a black; and, however many times each of these should be repeated, or, in the language of common algebra, however large the coefficients of the unknown quantities, the store was not likely to be exhausted. The names of the colours now came naturally, if the process of resolving an equation was to be described in words, to be put for those of the unknown quantities. Instead of saying, add $2x$ to both sides, or take $3y$ from both, he would say, add *2 reds*, or take away *3 whites* from both. Thus he was brought to use the very same language that occurs in the Hindu algebra; and all this happened long before any thing of the latter was known in Britain. The moment we read the rules of the *Bija Gannita*, a process which we had often attended to with considerable satisfaction instantly occurred to us; and we felt ourselves carried back to a period when the *jeu d'esprit* of our friend was the serious employment of an inventor in science. It was not necessary that the latter should have wafers for his marks; bits of coloured cloth, stained pieces of wood, perhaps leaves of flowers, might answer the same purpose.

Thus we have a very direct road by which the names of colours might be transferred to the unknown quantities in an algebraic equation; and the two things are in themselves so unlike, they are so far asunder, and in such different regions, that there probably does not exist any other pass by which a transition can be made from the one to the other. We may therefore conclude, with a good deal of confidence, that we have hit on the true explanation of a fact, which appears at first so extremely enigmatical. If this is granted, it will hardly be denied that we have found a fact strongly marking the infancy and nascent state of algebra. It is a state extremely similar to that which has imposed on its operations, as on those of arithmetic, the name of *Calculation*; a name that will probably continue, for ever, to point out the rude origin of the most refined system which man has yet contrived for the representation of

thought. We are thus (also enabled to supply a deficiency in the history of this branch of mathematical science; nothing almost being known of the very early state of algebra; which, at the first moment of its appearance in Europe, seemed to possess a considerable degree of strength and maturity. Hitherto, it might very fairly be said, that the science, of which the first introduction into the world was most accurately marked, was that of which the birth and education was the least known. We seem to have made a considerable advance toward the removal of this obscurity.

An objection may be made to one part of what is now stated, which is certainly not without considerable weight. It will be said, that though an art so necessary as that of arithmetic, or at least its first and most elementary operations, must often be required before the invention of writing, when of course pebbles or other counters must be resorted to, it is not the same with algebra, the use, and consequently the invention, of which, belong to a period of considerable advancement in civilization, and most probably greatly posterior to the use of writing. We admit the truth of this remark; but we must observe, that there is, either in the nature of the inhabitants of the East, or, as is more likely, in their want of the same facility of procuring the instruments and materials of writing which we possess in the West, something that has kept up among them the use of counters in arithmetical calculation, much longer than with us. The Chinese still use the *Swan-Pan*, which is only a methodical system of counters, in their common arithmetical computations; and the inhabitants of Hindostan use shells strung together, for the same purpose. They find, therefore, in the use of counters, some advantage above that of written characters, which we in Europe are not sensible of; and therefore with them the operations of algebra might be performed by the means described above, even though the invention of the science might belong to a period when the arts of civilization were considerably advanced. In any view of the matter, the application of the word *colour*, to denote an unknown quantity, if it is explained by a reference to the colour of the counters once employed to express such quantities, points to an Oriental origin, if not to one of very remote antiquity.

With regard to the other parts of the Hindu notation, though inconvenient and inartificial compared with that of Europe, it is quite adequate to the ordinary operations of the algebraic analysis. The way in which it is employed in addition and subtraction, is easily understood, from what was said of positive and negative quantities. In multiplication, the multiplicand is placed

in a horizontal line, and the multiplier in a perpendicular line; at one extremity; and the particular products are put down at the intersection of the horizontal and vertical columns, in the cells, as it were, of a rectangle, just as in the multiplication table. If a quantity, such as $3x + 2$ were to be multiplied by $5x - 1$, they would be set down thus.

	$3x, 2$
$5x$	$15x^2, 10x$
1	$3x, 2$

The product is $15x^2 + 7x - 2$, or, according to the Hindu notation, $xx.15, x7, 2$. The rules for the signs in multiplication are of course the same as with us, and are proved by the generalization of the common rules of arithmetical multiplication. They lay it down, that if $7 - 2$, for example, be multiplied by 3, the product is the same as if 5 were multiplied by 3. But it cannot be the same, unless, when we multiply both 7 and -2 by 3, we make the latter product negative. Affirmative into negative, therefore, gives negative. Next, if $7 - 2$ is multiplied by $5 - 2$, the product must be 15; and as 5 into -1 , and -2 into 7, are both proved already to be negative products, the sum of 15 cannot be made up, unless -2 into -2 be equal to $+4$. This is not a very refined way of treating the subject; but the argument is convincing, and is perhaps, after all, nearly as scientific as any that can be given.

The rules concerning Division are not sufficiently detailed, to enable us to judge of them; they seem to be entirely, or almost entirely, tentative; but they are accurate, as the algebraist does not satisfy himself with his quotient, till he find that when multiplied by the divisor it gives the multiplicand. They have also rules for extracting the square root; these are not fully explained, but appear to be founded, like our own, on the composition of the square of a binomial. Their arithmetic of surds is extensive and accurate; and appears, indeed, to be treated with great care. They have, however, no mark for a surd quantity, but the word *carni* written after it, as the word *roop*, or integer, is written after a rational number. Thus, what we would express by $5 + \sqrt{7}$, they would say, 7 *carni*, 5 *roop*, &c. Though this is obviously a very inconvenient notation, yet all the operations of addition, multiplication, division of surds, and even the extraction of the roots of compound surds, are performed by means of it with great exactness. The manner in which the rules are expressed in words, is often extremely ob-

scure, almost always elliptical, and sometimes imperfect. Mr STRACHEY has great merit in his interpretation of them, and in the very satisfactory explanations which he has given. He must have combined, in this work, great knowledge of the language, exemplary patience, and perfect familiarity with the subject. One may judge of the manner in which the Indian algebraist delivers his rules, from the following specimens. ‘*Know that the operation of the multiplicand is of use in many examples; as if by the rule I shall have brought it out, and any one destroys it, and some remains; by the operation of the multiplicand I can determine the numbers which have been destroyed from that which remains.*’ &c. The study of what goes before can alone give any idea of what is here meant. Both Mr BURROW and Mr STRACHEY agree in giving a very satisfactory explanation of it, into which, however, we cannot now enter. So again, the title of Chap. VI., in the introduction, is, ‘*On the operation of multiplication of the square; and that relates to the knowing of a square, such that when it is multiplied by a number, and to the product a number is added, the sum shall be a square.*’ The author then goes on to detail all the steps of the process, in a manner not more perspicuous, but which his English translator has perfectly explained and translated into the language of our ordinary algebra. The problem here proposed is no less than the very difficult one of finding x , so that $ax^2 + b$ shall be a square number. That this is truly a difficult inquiry, those who have considered the branch of algebra which is dedicated to the solution of Diophantine or indeterminate problems, need not to be told. The history of what has taken place with respect to it in Europe, may serve to convince those of the same thing who are not instructed in the matter by their own experience.

Diophantus, in his book of Arithmetical Questions, resolves a problem, which, when algebraically expressed, comes to this: to find x , so that $x^2 \pm 1$ may be a square, and a whole number.

This was a considerable advance; and it does not appear that any of the Arabic writers, or of the Europeans, after the revival of letters, went farther, till FERMAT, one of the first mathematicians of the seventeenth century, extended it to this formula, $ax^2 \pm 1$, which he made equal to a square and integer number. Having resolved this problem, he thought it a matter of such considerable difficulty, that he proposed it as a kind of defiance to Dr Wallis and the English mathematicians. The Doctor resolved the problem, however; but extended it no farther. This indeed was left for Euler to do; who has, in so many directions, advanced the boundaries of mathematical know-

ledge. He extended his solution to the very formula of the *Bija Gannita*, or that in which $ax^2 + b$ is to be an integer square number. This solution he first gave in the *Petersburgh Memoirs*, and since in the second volume of his *Algebra*, ch. VIII. p. 96. It is certainly not a little curious, that Euler's solution turns on the same principle with that of *BHASCARA*, viz. that the solution of the simpler formula $ax^2 \pm 1$, leads to the more general one, and that solutions of the latter are not to be found, if one solution, at least, is not previously known. These are circumstances to which great attention ought to be paid, as they point out the probable limit of the Hindu science, or the farthest point of its advancement in this quarter, and as they establish a strong and characteristic distinction between it and the Arabian algebra.

It appears to have been to indeterminate problems, especially of this kind, that the Indian Algebra was turned. It is a part of mathematical science not much connected with the rest, borrowing little from other branches, and contributing little to their advancement, except in as far as it exercises the ingenuity, and sharpens the invention of the analyst. The problems it considers are of great difficulty, and form a severe trial of the inventive powers.

Quadratic equations are resolved, as with us, by completing the square and extracting the root. The artifice of rendering one side of an equation a complete power, is sometimes applied to particular cases of cubic and biquadratic equations. In one instance the biquadratic given is $x^4 - 400x + 2x^2 = 9999$. Add $4x^2 + 400x + 1$ to both sides, we have $x^4 + 2x^2 + 1 \pm 10000 + 400x + 4x^2$, where both sides are complete squares, and, by extracting the square root, $x^2 + 1 = 100 + 2x$, which is afterwards solved by the rules given for quadratics. This is an example, however, of a process which the author knew very well was not general, and could only be occasionally applied. He adds, therefore, 'The solution of such questions depends on correct judgment, and the assistance of God.'

In an example which follows this, notice is taken of a quadratic equation having too roots. 'When one side is *THING*, and the numbers are negative, and on the other side the numbers are less than the negative numbers on the first side, there are two methods. The first is, to equate them without alteration. The second is, if the numbers of the second side are affirmative, to make them negative; and, if negative, to make them affirmative. Equate them; two numbers will be obtained, both of which will probably answer.'

There are a few geometrical problems to which algebra is ap-

plied, from which it appears, that the property of the right angled triangle was very well known to the Hindu mathematicians, and its use in subjecting geometrical figures to algebraic calculation. One of these, to find the sides of a right angled triangle, the sum of the three sides being given $= 40$, and the rectangle of the two sides about the right angle $= 120$, is very neatly resolved with a considerable display of geometrical knowledge and some address, in avoiding the introduction of surd quantities. If the sum of the sides be s , and the hypotenuse h , it is inferred from a lemma previously demonstrated, that $s^2 - h^2 =$ twice the rectangle of the sides, or 240. But it has also been shown that $(s + h)(s - h) = s^2 - h^2$, therefore $(s + h)(s - h) = 240$, and since $s + h = 40$, $s - h = 6$, so that $s = 23$, and $h = 17$. Therefore 23 is to be divided, so that the rectangle of the parts $= 120$, which gives an ordinary quadratic equation, from which the sides about the right angle are found to be 15 and 8. The Persian translator here, as in some other places, refers to the propositions in Euclid; but this is a mere interpolation, for which there is no authority in the original. *

On considering the whole of this Fragment, for as such we must regard it, we cannot but be of opinion, that it goes farther to resolve the question, whether the remains of mathematical science in India are derived from Arabia, and so from Greece, or are either the native productions of the country in which they are found, or emanations from a source which is entirely unknown, than any thing that has yet appeared. To judge as to the first of these, we must compare the methods of the *Bija* with those of Diophantus, and of the Arabian authors. With respect to Diophantus, the comparison is easy; and Mr Strachey has justly observed, in a memoir *On the Early History of Algebra*, that very little resemblance can be observed between them. The solutions of particular problems given by the Greek geometer, are extremely elegant, and do great credit to his ingenuity. As to general methods, we find none; and, much less, general formulæ. Accuracy and simplicity are the characters of Diophantus's investigations; but there is little of generalization. His work might be the foundation of such solutions as we find in the *Bija Gannita*; and it may perhaps be regarded as the foundation of those of Euler and La Grange. But much exercise of inventive genius, many

* The Arabian and Persian geometers quote the 47th of Euclid by the name of the *figure of the Bride*, and the *figure of the Chair*; one does not see from what analogy.

efforts made with great skill, must have been interposed between the one point and the other. It is not among the modern Hindus, nor among them such as they have existed for many ages, that these efforts can be supposed to have been made. The algebra of India, therefore, is not derived from that of Diophantus.

The same argument holds with respect to the science of the Arabs. Here traditional, and even historical accounts, are in favour of the Arabians having derived their science from India. Dr Hutton states this curious anecdote, that BOMBELLI, whose name is well known in the early history of Algebra, published a treatise on that science, at Rome, in 1579, in which he says that he had translated part of Diophantus, and that he found the Indian authors often cited in it, from which he concludes, that the science of Algebra was known to the Indians before the Arabians had it. This rests entirely on the testimony of Bombelli; and none of the manuscripts of Diophantus, that are at present known, contain any thing to the effect here mentioned. Whatever weight we allow to the testimony of Bombelli, it is certain that the Muslemans now residing in India, of whom there are some very learned in the mathematical sciences, all consider algebra as having originated in the latter country, as well as the arithmetic now in use. If we proceed farther, and inquire into the state of algebra among the Arabians, we shall find, that among the works of their own countrymen, there is none that can be compared with the *Bija Gannita*, in what respects the solution of indeterminate problems. Mr Strachey, during his residence in India, took particular pains to inform himself concerning the best treatises of algebra in Arabic; and he was led, on the authority of the most learned of that nation, to study with care the *Khulâsat-ul-Hisab*, the work of Baha-ul-din, an astronomer and mathematician, born at Balbec, in the year 953 of the Hegira, or 1578 of the Christian era. Mr S. made a translation of a great part of it from the *arra rone* interpretation into Persian, of a learned Musleman, MAULAVI-ROSHEN-ALI, who was perfectly master of the subject of the treatise, as well as of the Persian and Arabic languages. From the abstract given in the memoir above referred to, and inserted likewise in Dr Hutton's History of Algebra, (Tracts, Vol. II. p. 179, &c) we are led to form a very favourable opinion of this work. The first part contains arithmetic, and some practical rules of mensuration; and the second part carries algebra as far as quadratic equations, and on the whole nearly to the length it attained in the hands of the Italian mathematicians, who in the 14th and 15th century imported this science into Europe.

From this, however, to the methods contained in the *Bija Gannita*, the step is prodigiously great, in as much at least as regards indeterminate problems, a subject of difficult discussion, and treated of by the Hindu mathematicians, as we have already observed, in a manner not unworthy of the reputation of EULER and LA GRANGE. The Indian treatise, though so much more ancient, is much more profound than the Arabic, which at this moment is reputed the best in that language; a fact which furnishes a complete answer to the assertion, that the sciences of the former country are borrowed from the latter. We know indeed of no country, in a condition to lend the truths, which the Hindus are alleged to have borrowed, except modern Europe; and that only since the middle of last century.

This argument, in favour of the originality of the Hindu algebra, is quite independent of that which we formerly stated, as grounded on the singular application of the word *colour*, and the names of the different colours. This is a distinguishing mark, to which nothing similar occurs in the science of Arabia, or of any other country, and has a strong claim to the character of originality.

It is necessary to attend particularly to the import of the term *originality*, as employed here. We do not pretend, by it, to say of what country this algebra is the original production, but only that it is not derived from any known source, or any system of science with which the Western world has yet been made acquainted. It may either be an indigenous production of India; or it may be, as indeed there is reason to think it is, a fragment of a system that is lost; a remain of a great body of science which enlightened the world at some very remote period, when the Sanscrit was a spoken language, or when some parent language still more ancient, sent forth those roots which have struck with more or less firmness into the dialects of so many and such remote nations, both of the East and of the West.

Or it may be a fragment of antediluvian science, that has escaped the ruin produced by one of those great catastrophes which have shaken or overwhelmed the earth, and brought destruction on so many of its inhabitants.

But whatever opinion is formed at present, it can be considered only as probable, and provisionary, till such time as all the evidence can be examined. It would contribute essentially to this object, to have both the books of Bhascara, the *Lilavati* and the *Bija Gannita*, accurately translated from the Sanscrit originals, accompanied with such notes or commentaries as the translator should judge proper, but in such a form, that

these last should be quite separated from the text. It is not too much to hope for this from the Asiatic Society, to which we are already indebted for so much information concerning the antiquities of India. Perhaps it might be reckoned an undertaking not unworthy of the protection of the Company itself, whose very liberal and disinterested exertions in behalf of science, we have more than once had occasion to remark.

It would also be necessary, to render the *data* complete, to have fuller information concerning the Arabic works in algebra. Though Mr STRACHEY has given a very full and satisfactory account of one of the best of those treatises, and has done, indeed, all that an individual could be expected to perform, there may be other treatises on the same subject deserving of notice, and concerning which it were desirable that farther inquiry should be made. If Arabia have any claim to be considered as the instructor of India, it is in this way only that such claim can be established. Indeed we have very little doubt that the truth, to a certain length at least, would be ascertained on good evidence, if the question were discussed with perfect fairness and impartiality, without any love of paradox, on the one hand, or any desire to prove, at all hazards, the great antiquity of Indian science; and, on the other hand, without any fear of discovering proofs of such antiquity, or any desire of reducing it within limits previously determined. To one who is not quite aware how much prejudice warps all our opinions, it would seem very unnecessary to exhort men to impartiality on an inquiry into questions of the most remote antiquity, and that can affect, one should think, the personal interest of no one individual at present on the surface of the earth. Yet every one who has attended to what has already passed on the subject of the astronomy of India, must know, that such cautions as we are now presuming to offer, are by no means unnecessary. We cannot dismiss this subject without again reminding our readers how much they are obliged to Mr STRACHEY, for supplying a document so important in this question, as that of which we have been giving an account. He has entered on the research with candour and ability; has pursued it with great industry, and at great expense of time, in a situation where his time was probably of great value. He may, at least, have fairly the satisfaction to think, that he has done a service to all who are interested in the history of knowledge; and that nothing which has yet been produced, has thrown so much light on the science of the East, as that which he has laid before the public.

ART. VII. *A Tour through Italy, exhibiting a View of its Scenery, its Antiquities, and its Monuments, particularly as they are Objects of Classical Interest and Elucidation: With an Account of the present State of its Cities and Towns, and occasional Observations on the recent Spoliations of the French.* By the Rev. John Chetwode Eustace. 2 vol. 4to. pp. 1342. London. Mawman. 1813.

THIS is one of the best books of travels that have appeared since we began our labours; and, consistently with our high sense of its value, we cannot delay bringing it fully before our readers. Of the subject, little needs be said. It is, perhaps, the most interesting to which a traveller could devote himself. In the design, we may have occasion to regret certain omissions, and to wish that Mr Eustace had taken a somewhat wider range in his inquiries and observations. Of the execution, we must speak more in detail as we proceed.

Mr Eustace is a Roman Catholic clergyman, who travelled with an amiable young gentleman of the name of Roche, since deceased; and having, during the year 1801, fallen in company with Lord Brownlow and Mr Rushbrooke at Vienna, they all resolved to undertake together the tour of Italy, which they accomplished the following year. He does ample justice to the good qualities of his companions; and in particular, expresses his obligations to Lord Brownlow, for much valuable assistance in the course of his work. A good Catholic travelling in Italy cannot fail to find frequent opportunities of reminding his readers, that their religious creeds differ; yet we must say for Mr Eustace, that he is by no means narrow-minded or uncharitable in his observations. There is no doubt, however, that he is considerably tinctured with enthusiasm, religious as well as classical. He plainly feels inspired as much with the modern as the ancient recollections, excited by the scenes which he visits: But there is little or no bigotry mixed up with his enthusiasm; and we know not that his book is the worse for this peculiarity in his faith. It certainly lends animation and interest to many parts, which in former travellers were somewhat tame; and this may serve to make amends for the excesses of description into which it leads him, when he gets among churches and ceremonies. At all events, the frank and manly avowal contained in the following passage of his Preface, must be allowed to give the reader full warning upon this topic; and our Protestant alarmists have themselves to blame, if they run the risk of seduction, by entering the scarlet gentlewoman's dwelling, after reading so plain an inscription over the door-way.

' Religion, Politics, and Literature, are the three great objects that employ every mind raised by education above the level of the labourer or the mechanic; upon them, every thinking man must have a decided opinion, and that opinion must occasionally influence his conduct, conversation, and writings. Sincere and undisguised in the belief and profession of the Roman Catholic Religion, the Author affects not to conceal, because he is not ashamed of its influence. However unpopular it may be, he is convinced that its evil report is not the result of any inherent defect, but the natural consequence of polemic animosity, of the exaggerations of friends, of the misconceptions of enemies. Yes! he must acknowledge that the affecting lessons, the holy examples, and the majestic rites of the Catholic Church, made an early impression on his mind; and neither time nor experience, neither reading nor conversation, nor much travelling, have weakened that impression, or diminished his veneration. Yet with this affectionate attachment to the ancient Faith, he presumes not to arraign those who support other systems. Persuaded that their claims to mercy as well as his own, depend upon Sincerity and Charity, he leaves them and himself to the disposal of the common Father of All, who, we may humbly hope, will treat our errors and our defects with more indulgence than mortals usually show to each other.' Preface, p. xi. xii.

It is pretty manifest, that a person who feels thus warmly attached to the Catholic religion, visits Italy with far livelier interest than they who are merely attracted to it by its classical associations, or the objects which it presents to gratify more ordinary curiosity. He is making a pilgrimage, where others are only on a tour; and his spirit is edified by contemplations, which merely excite their speculations, or, at the most, awaken secular and profane recollections. He must also find himself more at home, as it were:—he is among his own sect; and in the places to which his thoughts have been turned from his earliest years. The influence of these circumstances is perceptible through the whole of the volumes before us. Mr Eustace sees Italy with far different eyes from Mr Addison;—exactly as the latter derived a gratification at each step of his journey, which one ignorant of Latin, or who had not been educated among the antiquities of the Romans, could neither conceive nor participate.

The title page has already informed the reader, that the principal object of our author is classical illustration; and unquestionably, this must ever form one of the most copious sources of gratification to the traveller who crosses the Alps and Appennines. But we regret that Mr Eustace has not extended his views of what is interesting and important a little farther. The political state of Italy, in its various communities and governments, forms a subject of contemplation scarcely less attractive to the

observer than its ancient history; and although our author by no means passes over this topic, it occupies him in a much less proportion than it ought. Two large volumes like those before us, should contain more valuable information than Mr Eustace has thought it worth his while to communicate. His quotations are numerous, and highly useful to the classical reader; though perhaps somewhat too frequently taken from the less exquisite sources of Claudian and Silius Italicus. His descriptions are proportionably copious; and if not very often distinguished by picturesque and happy touches, yet they faithfully and industriously go through the country, and register the prominent features of it as in a catalogue; though they can scarcely be said to preserve its image. But when we have said that our author quotes copiously, and describes diligently, we have well nigh exhausted his merits. In reasoning he deals moderately; his professed object being, as he repeatedly reminds us, *classical*, he dwells little upon those views of men and things which bear no relation to their ancient state; and he expressly states, that he considers the fine arts, excepting where they now and then force themselves upon him, as not within the scope of his design. If a good deal of the details respecting churches had been abridged, and the size of the work either reduced, or the vacant space filled up with facts and anecdotes, conducive to instruction or amusement, the book would have been, in either case, considerably lightened and improved. As for the style, it is rather free from great faults, than distinguished by any very striking excellences. It is somewhat monotonous, and by no means either close or concise. It is certainly sufficiently easy and copious, but frequently a little heavy and feeble. Our readers should, however, bear in mind, that it is rare indeed to find a book of travels written in so good a style; and that there is, perhaps, less of absurdity in the composition of these two volumes, than in those of any traveller who has for a long time past come before the public. For the rest, Mr Eustace seems to be not only a very learned and well-informed man, but an amiable and an honest one—which is a far better thing; and we sincerely rejoice to find, that there are persons of such accomplishments and apparent worth, to superintend the education of our Catholic countrymen.

The *preliminary discourse* contains a full account of the branches of information requisite, or at least highly advantageous to a traveller who wishes to visit Italy with profit. Our author certainly takes care to provide his traveller pretty handsomely. He must be intimately acquainted with the Latin classics, and also with the modern Latin poets of Italy. The language of Italy, and its history, must be familiar to him. He should be know-

ing in medals, and have a competent skill in architecture. He must know sculpture and painting; and to the former, 'some acquaintance with anatomy is a desirable preliminary.' As to music, he hesitates—from an apprehension that its seductions may lead towards idleness or bad company. He then recommends 'an unprejudiced mind;' and his chief argument, in favour of it, is rather of a bullying description. It seems, that 'Empire, like the sun, has hitherto rolled westward.' And therefore, though 'it now hovers over Great Britain,'—yet 'it is still on the wing,' and will either fly back 'to the East,' (which seems scarcely to follow from the premises), 'or continue its flight' across the Atlantic. Now, this being the case, we are desired, in visiting Italy, and judging of its fallen inhabitants and institutions, to remember that it may be our turn next. 'The inhabitants,' says our author, 'of these islands may, like the sons of Greece and Italy, lie prostrate at the feet of a victorious enemy, and claim his compassion as a tribute due to the greatness of their ancestors. Let us, therefore, extend our sympathy to the now enslaved offspring of our predecessors in the career of glory, of the former lords of human kind—*terre dominantis abumni*.' A similar exhortation to religious tolerance and charity is subjoined, though founded upon much more rational and practical grounds. The rest of the preliminary directions relate partly to the books (among which he warns us against the strong prejudices of Addison), maps, routes, accommodations, and other points of the same description—highly interesting to a real traveller, and therefore most fit to be inserted—but unnecessary for one who is only about to accompany the author on paper;—and partly to the general objects of a traveller's attention—scenery, ruins, churches, and monuments of modern art. Any thing relating to national manners, political institutions, or public economy, we presume our author considers as dangerous ground—leading, perchance, towards French principles, of which he seems to be haunted with a vague and superstitious terror throughout his whole journey; as if there existed the least fear of such principles taking root any where in the present day, when the French government seems itself to vie with the stoutest antijacobins of other countries in its abhorrence of them.

Our travellers left Vienna on the 28th of January 1802, and proceeded to Munich, where they remained a few days, and then went to Saltzburgh. Here they visited the ruins, (of which our author gives an interesting, though rapid sketch), and then hastened through the Tyrol, by Inspruck. Notwithstanding the unfavourable season, the noble scenery of this country seems

to have made a deep impression on him; and he describes it with considerable success. In passing along the precipices which abound in this route, he is struck with the reflection, how easily a traveller might be waylaid—and, by startling his horse, driven down and plundered. That this does not frequently happen, he conceives, is entirely owing to the ‘influence of Christianity, and the authority of the clergy,’ which have humanized the rude inhabitants of the Rhetian Alps. As long, he thinks, as ‘the pious mountaineer continues to adore the good Shepherd, and to beg the prayers of the afflicted Mother,’ the traveller is safe;—but, ‘if French principles should unfortunately pass from the courts and cities in the plains, to the recesses of these mountains, the murderer may shortly aim his rifle from behind the ruins of the Cross, and the nightly banditti lurk in expectation of their prey, under the roof of the forsaken Chapel.’ Now, although we are very far indeed from disputing the beneficial influence of religion generally upon the progress of human improvement, we think it rather unwise to pursue such a subject into particular details; and for this reason, if there were no other, that such exemplifications furnish the scoffer with frequent matter of insult and of momentary triumph. They resemble the attempts to trace, in the common detail of worldly affairs, that superintending care of Providence, which, in general, no rational man questions, but the special interpositions of which, so fondly dwelt upon by some sincere and pious Christians, may admit of much controversy, and lead to very unpleasant doubts. The influence of the gospel, and even of its Catholic propagators, has been as beneficial as it has been extensive, on the character of society:—But when, from excess of zeal, our author traces to it alone the security of travellers in the Tyrol, and anticipates a return to barbarism, from a diffusion of French principles, it is probable he will be reminded of the swarms of banditti in the dominions of their most Catholic and most Faithful Majesties in the Peninsula, and called upon to point out, in what period of monarchical France the jails were more thinly inhabited than in the present day.

At Trent, as may be supposed, Mr Eustace indulges in some remarks on the celebrated Council, which has bestowed its chief distinction upon this city. Such observations as the following are entertaining enough in the present times,—because they are couched in the very language used among us by the alarmists against all reform. ‘One of the great objects of the Council, says he, was the restoration of peace and unity among Christians.—In this respect it failed; animosity

‘ prevailed over charity; consciousness of authority on one side, *rage of innovation on the other*, would submit to no concession.’ Truly, if the same horror of innovation had been epidemic in the sixteenth century, which ushers in the nineteenth, the Reformation would have had much the same fate as our political bigots now flatter themselves awaits the cause of reform,—and yet it is somewhat singular, that these same alarmists are the most zealous advocates of the Protestant interest. In Mr Eustace, such sentiments are perfectly consistent;—he laments the Reformation; and had he lived in the days of Luther, would no doubt have done his utmost to oppose it. Our bigots, who decide against all reform, merely because it is a change, glory in the Reformation, (as well they may), and envy their ancestors who had a share in bringing about that mighty revolution. It is from the vocabulary of such persons, however, that our author seems always to have borrowed his expressions respecting the overthrow of the Romish religion. Thus, in another part of his work, (p. 130.) we find him speaking of ‘ *the era of the Reformation, that age of division and madness.*’

Our readers are now, we doubt not, desirous of being introduced to Mr Eustace himself, and we shall therefore present them with the account of his entrance into Italy, and description of Verona—the first object that attracts the traveller’s attention who enters the country by this route.—This will form an appropriate introduction to the rest of his tour.

‘ The descent (for from Steinach, or rather a few miles south of that village, three stages before Brixen, we had begun to descend) becomes more rapid between Roveredo and Ala; the river which glided gently through the valley of Trent, assumes the roughness of a torrent; the defiles become narrower; and the mountains break into rocks and precipices, which occasionally approach the road, sometimes rise perpendicular from it, and now and then hang over it in terrible majesty. Ala is an insignificant little town, in no respect remarkable, except as forming the geographical boundary of Italy. The same appearances continue for some time, till at length the mountains gradually sink into hills; the hills diminish in height and number, and at last leave an open space beyond the river on the right. In front, however, a round hill presents itself at a little distance, which, as you approach, swells in bulk, and opening, just leaves room sufficient for the road, and the river on the right, between two vast perpendicular walls of solid rock, that tower to a prodigious height, and cast a most terrific gloom over the narrow strait that divides them. As the road leads along a precipice hanging over the river, without any parapet, several country men, who live at the entrance of the defile, crowd round the carriage to sup-

port it in the most dangerous parts of the ascent and descent. A fortification, ruined by the French in the late war, formerly defended this dreadful pass, and must have rendered it impregnable. But French gold,

Perrumpere stat saxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.

‘ In the middle of the defile a cleft in the rock on the left gives vent to a torrent that rushes down the crag, and sometimes sweeps away a part of the road in its passage. After winding through the defile for about half an hour, we turned, and suddenly found ourselves on the plains of Italy.

‘ A traveller, upon his entrance into Italy, longs impatiently to discover some remains of ancient magnificence, or some specimen of modern taste; and fortunately finds much to gratify his curiosity in Verona, the first town that receives him upon his descent from the Rhetian Alps.

‘ Verona is beautifully situated on the Adige, partly on the declivity of a hill, which forms the last swell of the Alps, and partly on the skirts of an immense plain, extending from these mountains to the Apennines. The hills behind are adorned with villas and gardens, where the graceful cypress and tall poplar predominate over the bushy ilex and spreading bay-tree.

‘ The plains before the city are streaked with rows of mulberry trees, and shaded with vines climbing from branch to branch, and spreading in garlands from tree to tree. The devastation of war had not a little disfigured this scenery, by stripping several villas, levelling many a grove, and rooting up whole rows of vines and mulberry trees. But the hand of industry had already begun to repair these ravages, and to restore to the neighbouring hills and fields their beauty and fertility.* The interior of the town is worthy of its situation. It is divided into two unequal parts by the Adige, which sweeps through it in a bold curve, and forms a peninsula, within which the whole of the ancient, and the greater part of the modern city, is enclosed. The river is wide and rapid, the streets, as in almost all continental towns, are narrower than our’s, but long, strait, well built, and frequently presenting, in the form of the doors and windows, and in the ornaments of their cases, fine proportions, and beautiful workmanship. But besides these advantages, which Verona enjoys in common with many other towns, it can boast of possessing one of the noblest monuments of Roman magnificence now existing; I mean its amphitheatre, inferior in size, but equal in materials and solidity to the Coliseum. Almost immediately upon our arrival, we hastened to this celebrated monument, and passed the greater part of the morning in climbing its seats, and ranging over its spacious arena. The external circumference, forming the ornamental part, has been destroyed long ago; with the exception of one piece of wall, containing three stories of four arches, rising to the height of more than eighty feet. The pilasters, and decorations of

the outside were Tuscan, an order well adapted by its solidity and massiveness to such vast fabrics. Forty-five ranges of seats, rising from the arena to the top of the second story of outward arches, remain entire, with the different vomitoria, and their respective staircases and galleries of communication. The whole is formed of vast blocks of marble, and presents such a mass of compact solidity, as might have defied the influence of time, had not its powers been aided by the more active operations of barbarian destruction. The arena is not, as in Addison's time, filled up and level with the first row of seats, but a few feet lower; though still somewhat higher than it was in its original state. As it is not my intention to give an architectural account of this celebrated edifice, I shall merely inform the reader, in order to give him a general idea of its vastness, that the outward circumference is 1290 feet, the length of the arena 218, and its breadth 129: the seats are capable of containing 22,000 spectators. At either end is a great gate, and over each a modern balustrade with an inscription, informing the traveller, that two exhibitions of a very different nature took place in the amphitheatre some years ago. The one was a bull-baiting, exhibited in honour of the Emperor Joseph, then at Verona, by the governor and people; the seats were crowded, as may be imagined, on this occasion; and a Roman Emperor was once more hailed in a Roman amphitheatre with the titles of Cesar and Augustus, by spectators who pretend and almost deserve to be Romans. The other exhibition, though of a very different nature, was perhaps equally interesting. The late Pope in his German excursion passed through Verona, and was requested by the magistrates to give the people an opportunity of testifying in public their veneration for his sacred person. He accordingly appeared in the amphitheatre, selected on account of its capacity as the properest place; and when the shouts of acclaim had subsided, poured forth his benediction on the prostrate multitude collected from all the neighbouring provinces to receive it. The classical spectator would have amused himself with the singular contrast, which this ceremony must have presented, to the shows and pomps exhibited in the same place in ancient times. A multitude in both cases equally numerous, but then assembled for purposes of cruel and bloody amusement, now collected by motives of pity and brotherhood: then all noise, agitation, and uproar; now all silence, and tranquil expectation: then all eyes fixed on the arena, or perhaps on the Emperor; an arena crowded with human victims; an Emperor, Gallienus for instance, frowning on his trembling slaves: now all looks rivetted on the venerable person of a Christian Pontiff, who, with eyes and hands uplifted to heaven, implored for the prostrate crowd peace and happiness.' vol. I. p. 28—32.

He describes the other parts of this interesting place at great length, and remarks the indignation with which its inhabitants bear the French and Austrian yoke, considering both their mas-

ters as foreign tyrants,—yet detesting the former much more heartily. From Verona he proceeds to Vicenza; where he describes with much spirit the architecture of Palladio, and especially the celebrated theatre, the masterpiece of that great artist. In the mountains in the neighbourhood of Vicenza, there exists a very singular fragment of population, which it is unlucky that our author has done little more than mention. We allude to the *Sette Commune*, a colony of some Transalpine nation, which is supposed to have remained there, unconnected with the rest of the country, for many ages. Their language resembles the German; and it is conjectured by some, that they are descended from the remains of the Cimbri and Teutones, defeated by Marius, in the neighbourhood of Verona. Mr Eustace, indeed, sets down this as the undoubted origin of these tribes: But he ought to have known that nothing is more disputed among historians and antiquarians; and that the prevailing opinion is in favour of a much more recent establishment. A visit to this singular spot would at any rate have been well worthy the attention of our author—and what does the reader think prevented him? A sort of horror, somewhat strange in a *tramontano*, of any thing not Italian! ‘We felt,’ says he, no inclination to visit them; for a classic traveller cannot be supposed very partial to barbarian establishments in Italy, however ancient their date.’ (p. 53.) We rather think that this is the only very foolish thing in Mr Eustace’s two large volumes.

At Padua, the magnificent church of Saint Guistina, the fourth in Italy, if not the third—the Town-hall, 312 feet by 108, and 108 in height, esteemed the largest hall in Europe—and the University—chiefly attract our attention. The latter, though still considerable, has fallen off exceedingly from its ancient grandeur. It is said once to have numbered 18,000 students: Now it has not more than 600. As the Professors are men of learning and diligence, the funds quite adequate, and the cabinets and library extensive, and the attention of the government and the public carefully directed towards this institution, its declension can only, as our author judiciously observes, be ascribed to the changes which have taken place in other countries, where the multiplication of learned seminaries gives the youth the means of education at home. It is gratifying to dwell on the ancient glories of such a place; to recal the triumphs over ignorance and barbarism of which it is the scene; to carry the imagination back into those times when the best trophies that man can earn were here won by the friends of the human race. If, in wandering among the Schools of Padua, the traveller

feels less enthusiasm than in surveying the fragments of guilty magnificence from the Capitol, it is only because the perverse genius of mankind, converting into a badge of honour the mark which the divine curse imprinted upon the first murderer, has in all ages held out the highest encouragement to the enemies of their species, and laboured to spread misery over the earth, by appropriating to its authors the almost exclusive possession of power and renown. In despite of such a taste, we cannot help lingering over the remains of the Paduan school—and regretting, that there are not more notices of them to meet the eye in these pages. It is grateful to think of its vast celebrity,—of the thirst for knowledge with which men repaired to this sacred fountain from the remotest parts—from Turkey, Persia, and Arabia;—of the prodigious fame of its professors, so dazzling, that even in a rude and military age, nobles were ambitious of being, for the sake of distinction, enrolled amongst them. Nor is it less interesting to reflect, that among its scholars are to be numbered Petrarch, Galileo, and Columbus. The beautiful verses of Nangerius, cited by our author, apply far better to the present state of this city, than to what it was in the age of Leo, although, in that day also it seems to have suffered severely from the pressure of war.

‘Urbs, quam vetusto vetus ab Illo
 Post fata Troum tristia, post graves
 Tot patriæ exhaustos iniquo
 Tempore, tot pelago labores,
 Ducente demum Pallade, qua rapax
 Cultos per Agros Medoacus fuit,
 Diis fretus Antenor secundis
 Condidit, Euganeis in oris.
 Tu nuper & flos, & decus urbium,
 Quascumque tellus Italia continet:
 Magnas tot artes, tot virorum
 Ingenia, & studia una alebas.
 Te, septicornis Danubii accola,
 Te fulva potant flumina qui Tagi,
 Longeque semoti Britannii
 Cultum animi ad capiendum adibant.
 At nunc, acerbi heu sæva necessitas
 Fati, severas ut pateris vices:
 Ut te ipse vastatam vel hosti
 Conspicio miserandam iniquo.
 Quid culta tot pomaria conquerar?
 Tot pulchra flammis hausta suburbia?
 Quid glande deturbata athena
 Mœnia?’ p. 63, 64.

Before quitting Padua, we must set our author right in one matter. He considers an agricultural lecture as peculiar to Padua, (p. 62.) and expresses his surprise that none such should exist in any British university. There has been one for many years in the University of Edinburgh; and to those who know with what distinguished success and ability the duties of that office are discharged, no apology will appear necessary for having stopt to notice this mistake.

At Padua, our author embarked on the Brenta, and proceeded towards Fusina, where that river joins the Adriatic, and Venice opens to the view. His observations on this celebrated city are not such as to call for peculiar notice. He declaims, and most justly, against the unprincipled conduct of the French government in conquering it; gives to Buonaparte, who was the general employed in that service, the chief part of the blame; and ascribes the success of the enemy to the degeneracy of the inhabitants, but especially of the noble and wealthy classes. In all this we see nothing to find fault with; in one remark he is as liberal and just towards the people as could be wished. 'They are always,' he says, 'the last to lose a sense of national honour;'—an observation which some of his readers may not very much relish. But it seems somewhat unaccountable, that the part borne in the transaction by that staunch antijacobin, and excellent good catholic, the Emperor of Germany, should be wholly passed over;—that nothing should be said of the receiver, who excites the scuffle, and pretends to take part against the pickpocket, till he has a convenient opportunity of going aside with him and dividing the booty. We cannot help thinking, too, that Mr Eustace rather exaggerates the consequences of the revolution at Venice. If the people, at least the upper classes, were really so debased as he describes them, it is difficult to conceive any change of this kind having a very prejudicial effect. Yet he hesitates not to deduce from it the decrease of population, and to anticipate the entire desolation of this great city. The same event, too, he considers as having affected the spirits of the lower orders, and impaired the talent of the Gondolini in singing alternate verses. 'It has damped the ardor of the people,' says he, 'and almost extinguished their natural mirth and vivacity.'

Our author returned to Padua by the Brenta, and made from thence an excursion to the residence and tomb of Petrarch at Arquato, a village situated among the Euganean mountains. The following passage is extracted for the sake of the enthusiasm so honourable to the villagers which it records, rather than on account of the share borne by the travellers in these romantic doings.

' The garden is entirely neglected, but the house is kept in good repair, a circumstance which cannot but reflect much honour on the spirit of the proprietor and inhabitants of the village, when it is considered that more than four hundred years have now elapsed since the death of Petrarcha, and that many a destructive war has raged in the country, and many a wasting army passed over it since that event. His body lies interred in the churchyard of the village in a stone sarcophagus, raised on four low pillars, and surmounted with a bust. As we stood and contemplated the tomb by the pale light of the moon, we indulged the caprice of the moment; and twining a branch of laurel into the form of a crown, placed it on the head of the bust, and hailed the manes of the Tuscan poet in the words of his admirer.

Deh pioggia, o vento rio non faccia ritorno

All' ossa pie; sol porti grati odori

L'aura che'l ciel suol par puro e sereno.

Lascin le ninfe ogni lor antro ameno

E raccolte in corona al sasso intorno,

Liete ti cantin lodi e spargan fiori! *Aless. Piccolomini.*

' Several of the inhabitants who had gathered round us, during this singular ceremony, seemed not a little pleased with the whim, and cheered us with repeated viva's as we passed through the village, and descended the hill. Though overturned by the blunder of the drivers, and for some time suspended over the canal with imminent danger of being precipitated into it, yet as the night was bright and warm, and all the party in high spirits, the excursion was extremely pleasant.' p. 86, 87.

After a number of remarks on Petrarch and Laura, which we shall not stop to notice, our author concludes with the following well written passage;—well written except the last sentence, which is a specimen of feebleness and inanity not often to be found in these volumes.

' As to the sonnets of Petrarcha, in the eyes of a moralist they are trifles, and so are the elegies of Propertius and Tibullus, and all the numerous poems, both ancient and modern, that treat the same airy and unsubstantial subject: But trinkets may derive value from their materials and workmanship, and even love-songs may acquire both importance and interest from their language and sentiments. Genius communicates its own dignity to every subject that it chooses to handle; it can give weight to insignificance, and make even an amorous ditty the vehicle of awful truths and useful lessons. This observation is more applicable perhaps to Petrarcha than to any other poet. Equal, I had almost said superior, in felicity of expression, and harmony of language, to his Roman predecessors, he rises far above them in delicacy of thought, and dignity of sentiment. He borrows no embellishments from the fictions of mythology, and indulges himself in no pastoral tales, no far-fetched allusi-

ons. The spirit of religion, which strongly influenced his mind, in all the vicissitudes of life, not unfrequently gives his passion something of the solemnity of devotion, and inspires the holy strains that chant

Quanto piu vale

Sempiterna bellezza che mortale.

‘ This peculiar turn of thought, that pervades the poems of Petrarcha, and raises them so much above all other similar compositions, is noticed by his biographer as a distinction highly honourable to the Tuscan muse, *le quali, ha mostro, come altamente e santamente possono cantar d'amore*. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the poet himself should have rested, in a great measure, his hopes of fame on his Italian poems, and persisted in correcting and repolishing them with so much assiduity; or that posterity should have confirmed the author's judgment, and continued ever since to set a high value on these short, but highly laboured productions. While his Latin poems, histories, and moral dissertations, slumber undisturbed on the shelf, his Rime will sometimes amuse the leisure of the youthful reader, and now and then, perhaps, attract the attention of the philosopher, who will often find in them, intermingled with the frivolous graces of the subject, sublime sentiments, expressed in language the most harmonious.’ p. 89, 90.

Having returned to Verona by Vicenza, our author set out for the Lago di Garda, anciently celebrated under the name of Benacus, and always esteemed one of the grand ornaments of Italy. The classical traveller has here a treat indeed. Benacus, Mincius, Sirmio, are sounds of themselves most enchanting to ears on which the music of Virgil and Catullus dwells. They are names still in use on the spot; and the scenes to which they point have undergone but little change since they called forth the prodigies of Roman verse. Nor is it only in the song of ancient Rome that the beauties of this district live: some of the most exquisite of their modern Italian poets have chosen it for their subject. We shall present the reader with a part of Mr Eustace's description of Sirmio and the Lake, as illustrative both of Catullus and Virgil.

‘ The borders of the lake towards the south, though rather flat, yet rise sufficiently to display to advantage the towns, villages, and seats, with the olives, corn-fields, and vineyards that adorn them; and when lighted up by a bright sunshine, present a very exhilarating prospect. The shores, as they advance northward, assume a bolder aspect, and exhibit all the varieties of Alpine scenery. Rocky promontories, precipices, lofty hills, and towering mountains, in all their grotesque, broken, and shapeless appearances, rise in succession one above another; while the declining sun, playing upon the snow that capped their summits, tinged them with various hues, and at length spread over them a thin veil of purple.

‘ The peninsula of Sirmione, and the bolder promontory of Minerbo, the former about seven, the latter about fourteen miles distant, appeared to great advantage from Peschiera, and grew upon the sight as we advanced. Sirmione appears as an island; so low and so narrow is the bank that unites it to the main land. Its entrance is defended, and indeed totally covered by an old castle, with its battlements and high antique tower in the centre, in the form of a Gothic fortification. The promontory spreads behind the town, and rises into a hill entirely covered with olives; this hill may be said to have two summits, as there is a gentle descent between them. On the nearest is a church and hermitage, plundered by the French, and now uninhabited and neglected. On the farthest, in the midst of an olive grove, stand the walls of an old building, said to be a Roman bath, and near it is a vault called the grotto of Catullus. The extremity of this promontory is covered with arched ways, towers, and subterranean passages, supposed by the inhabitants to be Roman, but bearing, in fact, a strong resemblance to Gothic ruins. At all events, Catullus undoubtedly inhabited this spot, and preferred it, at a certain period, to every other region. He has expressed his attachment to it in some beautiful lines.

Peninsularum Sirmio, insularumque

Ocelle, quascunque in liquentibus stagnis.

Marique vasto fert uterque Neptunus:

Quam te libenter, quamque lætus inviso. *Catull. 32.*

‘ He could not, in fact, have chosen a more delightful retreat. In the centre of a magnificent lake, surrounded with scenery of the greatest variety and majesty, apparently secluded from the world, yet beholding from his garden the villas of his Veronese friends, he might have enjoyed alternately the pleasures of retirement and society; and daily, without the sacrifice of all his connexions, which Horace seemed inclined to make, in a moment of despondency, beheld the grandeur and agitation of the ocean, without its terrors and immensity. Besides, the soil is fertile and its surface varied; sometimes shelving in a gentle declivity, at other times breaking in craggy magnificence, and thus furnishing every requisite for delightful walks and luxurious baths; while the views vary at every step, presenting rich coasts or barren mountains, sometimes confined to the cultivated scenes of the neighbouring shore, and at other times bewildered and lost in the windings of the lake, and the recesses of the Alps. In short, more convenience and more beauty are seldom united; and such a peninsula is, as Catullus enthusiastically observes, scarcely to be matched in all the wide range of the world of waters. We left Sirmione after sunset; and, lighted by the moon, glided smoothly over the lake to Desensano, four miles distant, where, about eight, we stepped from the boat into a very good inn.

‘ So far the lake appeared very different from the description which Virgil has given in one expressive line, as his masterly manner is, of its stormy character. Before we retired to rest, about midnight

from our windows; we observed the lake calm and unruffled. About three in the morning I was roused from sleep by the door and windows bursting open at once, and the wind roaring round the room. I started up, and looking out, observed by the light of moon, the lake in the most dreadful agitation, and the waves, dashing against the walls of the inn, and resembling the swellings of the ocean, more than the petty agitation of inland waters. Shortly after, the landlord entered my room with a lantern, closed the outward shutters, expressed some apprehensions, but at the same time assured me, that their houses were built to resist such sudden tempests as occasionally blew from the Alps, and that I might repose with confidence under a roof, which had resisted full many a storm as terrible as that which occasioned our present alarm. Next morning, the lake, so tranquil and serene the evening before, presented a surface covered with foam, and swelling into mountain billows, that burst in breakers every instant at the very door of the inn, and covered the whole house with spray. Virgil's description now seemed nature itself; and, taken from the very scene actually under our eyes, it was impossible not to exclaim,

Teque

Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, marino.

Geor. ii. 160.

We cannot resist quoting some lines of Fracastorius on the death of his friend Flaminius, a poet and native of this district. They are truly Virgilian: though without such palpable marks of imitation as occur in many of Vida's most celebrated passages. The classical reader will probably admire the last line as the most exquisite, and object most to the rhythm of the sixth.

Te miserum ante diem, crudeli finire, Marce
 Antoni! atatis primo sub flore cadentem
 Vidimus extremâ positum Benacide ripâ,
 Quam media inter saxa sonans Sarca abluit undâ.
 Te ripæ flere Athetis, te voce vocare
 Audire per noctem umbrae manesque Catulli,
 Et patrios mœlere nova dulcedine lucos. *Symph. lib. 1.*

At Mantua our author found abundant reason to conclude, that the memory of Virgil is still cherished by his countrymen with proper veneration. Their regret for the loss of his bust, carried away by the French robbers, formerly their chief pride; the festivals which they are wont to celebrate in honour of his memory; and their indignation at the attempts of this kind made by their new masters, are proofs of this position. Even during the late war, when the neighbouring country was a prey to contending armies, and Mantua might expect speedily to be attacked, the inhabitants had planned a piece of ground with walks, groves, and a temple, in honour of the poet. The second siege put an end to this design, and destroyed the part of

it already executed. Another proof of the habitual veneration paid to the genius of the place, may be seen in the inscription over the entrance of the palace, where the Imperial Academy held its sittings. Mantua is there called '*Virgilii Patria*;' and nothing more. The neglect of living genius, except it be in the arts of misgoverning or destroying, and the extraordinary homage paid, when its possessor is far beyond the reach of praise, is a topic so trite, that it would be scarcely excusable even to mention it, though for the purpose of showing how carefully men always contrive to lessen the inducements to serve them: Yet we can hardly contemplate such an inscription without reflecting how certainly had Virgil lived in the time of the Archduke who placed it, he would have been employed, as a reward for having written the *Georgics*, in penning the praises of his Serene Highness, and describing him as the father of his country;—receiving, probably, for his trouble, the Emperor's picture set in rose diamonds, or a purse of two hundred rix-dollars!

From Mantua the travellers journeyed onward to Bologna, through Placentia, Parma, and Modena; where they made a short stay. We hasten to accompany them southward, and therefore shall pass over the notices relating to Bologna, and the different places on the road through Rimini, Pesaro, Forno, and Senigaglia; including the observations to ascertain the exact stream of the Rubicon, respecting which geographers are much divided. Ancona does not detain them long; and we then trace them to Loretto, where Mr Eustace treats the subject of the Santa Casa with great liberality and good sense. In truth, no Protestant can make lighter of the legendary tale than he does. At a period when so much is said of the superstition and intolerance of the Catholics, we are glad to have such an opposite testimony as the following passage on this subject affords.

'Every reader is acquainted with the legendary history of the Santissima Casa, or most holy house; that it was the very house which the Virgin Mother, with the Infant Saviour and St. Joseph, inhabited at Nazareth; that it was transported by angels from Palestine, when that country was totally abandoned to the infidels, and placed, first in Dalmatia, and afterwards on the opposite shore in Italy, close to the sea-side, whence, in consequence of a quarrel between two brothers, the proprietors of the ground, it was removed, and finally fixed, on its present site. This wonderful event is said to have taken place in the year 1294, and is attested by the *ocular* evidence of some Dalmatian peasants, the testimony of the two quarrelsome brothers, and, I believe, the declaration of a good old lady of the name of Laureta. Some had seen it in Dalmatia, others beheld it hovering in the air, and many had found it in the

morning on a spot, which they knew to have been vacant the evening before. Such is, at least in general, the account given at Loretto, circulated all over Italy, piously admitted by many holy persons, and not a little encouraged by the Popes. I need not say, however, that many men of reflection in Italy, and indeed within the precincts of Loretto itself, consider this wonderful story as an idle tale, or, at best, a pious dream, conceived by a heated imagination, and circulated among an ignorant race of peasants and fishermen. They suppose the holy house to have been a cottage or building long buried in a pathless forest, and unnoticed in a country turned almost into a desert by a succession of civil wars, invasions, and revolutions, during the space of ten or twelve centuries. A dream, an accidental coincidence of circumstances, might have led one or more persons to the discovery of this long forgotten edifice; and such an incident working on minds heated by solitude and enthusiasm, might easily have produced the conviction, and propagated the belief of the wonderful tale. But be the origin of the holy house what it may, the effect of artifice or of credulity, it gradually attracted the attention, first of the country round, then of Italy at large, and at length of the whole christian world. The miracle was everywhere heard with joy and admiration, and everywhere welcomed with implicit unsuspecting faith. Princes and prelates, rich and poor, hastened with pious alacrity to venerate the terrestrial abode of the incarnate Word, and implore the present aid and influence of his Virgin Mother. Gifts and votive offerings accumulated; a magnificent church was erected; gold, silver, and diamonds blazed round every altar, and heaps of treasures loaded the shelves of the sacristy; various edifices rose around the new temple, and Loretto became, as it still remains, a large and populous city. The church was planned by Bramante, and is a very noble structure, in the form of a cross, with a dome over the point of intersection. Under this dome is the Santa Casa, a building about thirty feet long and fourteen high, vaulted, of stone, rough and rather uneven.' p. 162-164.

From Loretto to Rome the road lies for the greater part through a very beautiful country, and passes at no great distance from the celebrated falls of the Velinò. To the scenery of these districts, as well as their perpetual classical interest, Mr Eustace does ample justice. His descriptions are among the best that have ever been given of the country; and we regret that we can only afford room for one passage—not selected because it is better than the rest, but because it is shorter, and relates to a part of these scenes less frequently dwelt upon than others, which are supposed to have more of what painters call subject.

'A little beyond Tollentino we began to enter the defiles of the Apennines; the hills closing and swelling into mountains, the river roughening into a torrent, and the rocks breaking here and there into huge precipices. The road runs along the sides of the hills, with

the Chienti rolling below on the left. A little beyond Beleforte, a view opens over the precipice towards a bridge, and presents a landscape of very bold features. Beleforte is an old fortress perched on the side of a rock in a very menacing situation, and well calculated to command the defile. A village on the opposite side of the river, adds not a little to its picturesque appearance. The grandeur of the scenery increased as we advanced. Beyond the stage Valcimara, the mountains are naked, rocky, and wild for some miles, till, on a sudden, they assume a milder aspect, sink in height, clothe their sides with sylvan scenery, and present on their wooded summits, churches, castles, and ruins, the usual ornaments of Italian mountains. The landscape continued to improve in softness and in milder beauty till we arrived at Ponte de la Trave, so called from a bridge over the Chienti. Here, though we had travelled two stages or eighteen miles only, and it was still early, we determined to remain during the night; partly from a just apprehension of danger in passing the steep and lonely fastnesses of Seravalle in the dark, and partly from an unwillingness to traverse the majestic solitudes of the Apennines, when incapable of enjoying the prospect. The inn, it is true, was indifferent; but the surrounding scenery extremely pleasing. The river rolling rapidly along close to the road, a convent seated in the middle of a vineyard, groves waving on the sides of the hills, the fields painted with the lively green of vernal vegetation, fruit trees in full blossom on all sides, farm houses interspersed in the groves and meadows, and broken crags surmounted with churches and towers in distant perspective, formed on the whole a scene, rich, varied, tranquil, and exhilarating. One would imagine that Addison, who travelled this road, had this delicious valley in view, when, in imitation of Virgil, he exclaims,

Bear me, some God, to Baiæ's gentle seats,
Or cover me in Umbria's green retreats;
Where western gales eternally reside,
And all the seasons lavish all their pride:
Blossoms and fruits and flowers together rise,
And the whole year in gay confusion lies.—*Letter from Italy.*

L. p. 168-170.

A few miles from Ostricoli, our author comes first in view of the Tiber, which excites, of course, considerable emotion. Soon after this begin the dreary solitudes of the Campagna, which he discovers to be more appropriate to the feelings of the traveller, and more consonant to the solemnity of the approach to Rome, than a more lively and interesting landscape. He seems indeed to have advanced under a heavy load of impressions. 'The solitude,' he says, 'that encircles the fallen metropolis of the world is singular and grand—it becomes its majesty—it awakens a sentiment of awe and melancholy. On the heights above Baccano the postillions stopped; and, pointing to a pin-

'nacle that appeared between two hills, exclaimed, "Romà!" That pinnacle was the Cross of St Peter's. The "ETERNAL CITY" now rose before us! (p. 193. Vol. I.)

The next chapter opens with reflections upon the peculiar interest which this famous city is calculated to inspire. Our author considers it as the instrument in the hands of Providence, whereby the three greatest blessings of which human nature is susceptible, have been communicated to Europe and a great part of Asia. The reader will form no very advantageous estimate of Mr Eustace's powers of reasoning and arrangement, when he is informed that these three heads, into which human blessings are divided, are, Civilization, Science, and Religion. But, passing over this criticism, we must protest against the substance of the statement, which alleges Rome to have been instrumental in promoting the happiness of the human race. A more signal curse was never surely inflicted upon humanity, than in the long duration of this savage empire, whose aim was universal conquest, and whose boast was, that fraud and murder were its trade. The admiration of Rome is one of the worst heresies which we bring with us from school; and it cannot admit of a doubt, that the elegance acquired from an early intercourse with ancient authors, is dearly purchased by the perverted notions of glory and greatness so generally imbibed at the same time. A wise teacher of youth will always endeavour to counteract impressions favourable to the character of the Romans, by representing them in their true colours, as a selfish, perfidious, cruel, superstitious race of barbarians, endued with the scanty and doubtful virtues of savage life, but deformed by more than its ordinary excesses; and whose original purity of manners and good faith among themselves, did not endure a moment longer than it enabled them to subdue the rest of the world. To represent them as instruments in the hands of Providence for civilizing mankind, and preparing the world for the true religion, is inculcating a lesson most dangerous to the foundation of all religious belief, and teaching, that the Deity compasses his ends by the extermination and wretchedness of his creatures. Any other scourge inflicted or permitted by Providence, might as well be called an instrument of good, and venerated as such. The plague and Buonaparte have the same titles to our esteem. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that such considerations ought in nowise to lessen the interest with which we trace the remains of Roman art and power, or study the genius and the virtue, which so often preserved that state from a just retribution by foreign conquest, and domestic strife.

It is by no means our intention to follow Mr Eustace through

the extensive range which he takes among the ruins and the modern edifices of Rome. To this subject he devotes a large portion of his book, and we can safely assure the reader, especially if he has the opportunity of taking it as a guide on an actual visit to the spot, that no work can be better calculated to assist his inquiries. We shall now do little more than extract his description of the aqueducts and fountains, as a specimen; and then subjoin a few desultory remarks on the execution of this part of his plan.

‘ Strabo says, that such a quantity of water was introduced into the city, that whole rivers seemed to flow through the streets and down the sewers, so that every house had its pipes and cisterns, sufficient to furnish a copious and perpetual supply. The modern Romans, though inferior in numbers and opulence to their ancestors, have shown equal taste and spirit in this respect, and deserve a just eulogium, not only for having procured an abundance of water, but for the splendid and truly Imperial style in which it is poured forth for public use in the different quarters of the city. Almost every square has its fountains, and almost every fountain has some particularity in its size, form, or situation, to attract attention. The three principal, however, will suffice to give the reader an idea of the variety and beauty of such edifices, especially as I have already described one or two, and may hereafter call his attention to others, too intimately connected with the objects around them, to be taken as detached pieces.

‘ The Fontana Felice, in the Piazza dei Termini on the Virginal Mount, deserves to be mentioned first, because first erected. It is supplied by the Aqua Claudia, drawn from the Alban or rather Tusculan hills, and conveyed to Rome by channels under, and aqueducts above ground; some of which are ancient, some modern. It discharges itself through a rock under an Ionic arcade, built of white stone, and cased with marble. It is adorned by several gigantic statues, the principal of which represents Moses striking the rock, whence the water issues. On the one side, Aaron conducts the Israelites; on the other, Gideon leads his chosen soldiers to the brink of the torrent: below, four lions, two of marble and two of basalt, ornamented with hieroglyphics, hang over the vast basin as if in haste to slake their thirst. The restoration of this noble fountain, and the ornaments which grace it, are owing to the spirit of Sixtus Quintus, and now it bears the name of Aqua Felice, and is supposed to be, as anciently, peculiarly wholesome.

‘ Nearly opposite, but beyond the Tiber, and on the brow of the Janiculum, rises an arcade supported by six pillars of granite. Three torrents, rushing from the summit of the hill, tumble through the three principal arches of this arcade, and fill an immense marble basin with the purest water. They then roll down the side of the mountain, turn several mills as they descend, and supply numberless

reservoirs in the plain, along the sides of the river, and even beyond it, in the Campus Martius. The lofty situation of this fountain renders it a conspicuous object to all the opposite hills. The trees that line its sides, and wave to the eye through its arches, shed an unusual beauty around it; and the immense bason which it replenishes gives it the appearance, not of the contrivance of human ingenuity, but almost the creation of enchantment.

In the Piazza di Trevi (in Triviis) on a rough, vast, and broken rock, rises a palace, adorned with Corinthian pilasters, and supported in the centre by vast Corinthian pillars. It is ornamented with statues, representing the salubrity and fertilizing powers of the waters, while the beneficent Naiad herself holds a conspicuous place among them, and seems to behold with complacency the profusion and glory of her springs. In the middle of the edifice, between the columns, under a rich arch stands Neptune on his car, in a majestic attitude, as if commanding the rocks to open before, and the waters to swell around him. Two sea-horses, conducted by two Tritons, drag the chariot of the god, and, emerging from the caverns of the rock, shake the brine from their manes, while the obedient waves burst forth in torrents on all sides, roar down the clefts of the crag, and form a sea around its base. In the heats of summer they overflow their usual limits, fill the whole marble concavity round the fountain, and rise to a level with the square, where, after sunset, the inhabitants of the neighbouring streets assemble to enjoy the united freshness of the waters and the evening. Such is the celebrated Fontana di Trevi, the noblest work of the kind in Rome, and probably the most magnificent fountain in the universe. The bason itself is of white marble, and the vast enclosure around it is flagged and lined with marble of the same colour. A flight of steps of white marble leads down to this bason; and to prevent accidents, a chain, supported by large blocks of granite, encloses the exterior border. I know that the architectural part of the Fontana di Trevi, and indeed of the Aqua Paola and Aqua Felice, has been severely criticized, and, in candour, I must acknowledge, that the criticism is in many respects well founded: for instance, it must be allowed that the elegance and lightness of the Corinthian or Ionic is ill-adapted to the simplicity of a fountain, where Doric would be more appropriate, because plainer and more solid. It will be admitted also, that these edifices are broken and subdivided into too many little parts, a process in architecture, as in painting and poetry, diametrically opposite to greatness and sublimity. In fine, it cannot be denied, that the superstructure is in all three too massive for the order, and too much incumbered with coats of arms and other supernumerary decorations. Yet, notwithstanding these faults, and they are not inconsiderable, while the spectator sits on the marble border of the bason, and contemplates the elevation of the columns, the magnitude of the edifices, the richness of the materials, the workmanship of the statues, and, above all, the deluge of waters

poured round him, the defects are lost in the beauties, and criticism subsides in admiration.' I. p. 261-264.

All this, certainly, is very respectably written; and affords a fair specimen of the author's powers of description: But we cannot help wishing that he had been less copious in his details respecting churches,—descriptions we can scarcely call them;—for they consist chiefly of enumerations of their admeasurements, or the numbers of their pillars, altars, chapels, &c.—one such building so nearly resembling another, as to spread a fatiguing uniformity, and (if we may be allowed such an expression) dullness over this branch of his work. To this subject, and the ceremonial of the Catholic worship, nearly ninety pages are devoted; and, what is really preposterous, the only drawings that accompany the work, are certain ground plans of these same churches; which, if the account in the text had left any thing unexplained to the reader, would assuredly never assist him in acquiring a more correct idea of the originals.

To this fullness some sacrifices seem to be made; and one of these is much to be regretted;—we mean the scanty notices of the Catacombs,—one of the most extraordinary parts of the whole subject,—but despatched by our author in a page and a half, between two churches of no particular interest. We must, however, except from this censure, that portion which is dedicated to the description of St Peter's, which has certainly never had such ample justice done to it, as by the taste and zeal of Mr Eustace. He seems, indeed, to feel a peculiar enthusiasm on the subject, which those who cannot share will at least excuse. A few flights there are, no doubt, which may be somewhat trying to the Protestant reader. After remarking that, 'if a convulsion of nature, or an explosion of human malignity,' should destroy it, ages must elapse before it could be restored, he exclaims, 'What then will be the astonishment, or rather the horror of my reader, when I inform him, that this unrivalled temple, the triumph and masterpiece of modern skill, the noblest specimen of the genius and the powers of man, was, during the late French invasion, made an object of rapacious speculation, and doomed to eventual, but certain, ruin!'

It seems that the French committee of public plunder, had barbarously ordered a company of Jews to estimate the value of the metal on the outside as well as inside of the building; and from the removal of this covering, our author, anticipating its destruction as sure, adds, 'But Providence interposed, and the hand of the Omnipotent was extended to protect his Temple: Before the work of sacrilege and barbarism could be commenced, the French army, alarmed by the approach of the Allies, retired

‘ with precipitation; and St Peter’s stands!’ The remaining part of the passage is whimsical enough—‘ After this *historical* detail, we may proceed on our way to the Vatican.’ (Vol. I. p. 346.) His enthusiasm is still more exalted when he enters the Cathedral, and passing ‘ the lofty Corinthian pilasters, with their bold entablature; the intermediate niches, with their statues; the arches that communicate with the aisles, and the graceful figures that recline on the curves of those arches,’ arrives at the dome itself. ‘ How great,’ he exclaims, ‘ your astonishment, when you reach the foot of the altar, and, standing in the centre of the church, contemplate the four superb vistas that open around you; and then raise your eyes to the dome at the prodigious elevation of four hundred feet, extending like a firmament over your head, and presenting, in glowing Mosaic, the companies of the just, the choirs of celestial spirits, and the whole hierarchy of heaven, arrayed in the presence of the Eternal, whose throne, high raised above all height, crowns the awful scene!’ In somewhat of the same strain, a little too warm for our Tramontane and Presbyterian temperature, though probably better adapted to the habits of the Episcopalian reader, is the following passage. He is discussing the propriety of placing in St Peter’s, statues of the founders of religious orders; and after observing that, on this, men will differ according to their opinions of such institutions, he proceeds—‘ Some will think them worthy of the *highest honour they can enjoy upon earth*, a statue in the Vatican; others will conceive that they might be stationed, without disrespect, in the porch or colonnade;’—and, without pretending to derogate, adds Mr Eustace, ‘ from the merit of these extraordinary personages, I am inclined to favour this opinion. In reality the statues of men of tried and acknowledged virtue and learning, might guard the approaches, and grace the porticos of the august temple: but the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs alone, should be admitted into the interior; *they should live in the sanctuary, and form an awful assembly round the throne of the Victim Lamb.*’ (Vol. I. p. 359.)

In the account given of the grand and imposing ceremonies of the Romish worship, our author’s enthusiasm has ample scope. Yet we cannot accuse him of exaggeration, or of any very unwarrantable display of prejudice. His imagination seems to be filled with the subject; but there are no marks of his judgment being materially perverted. He does indeed attempt an apology for the practice of reciting the service of the communion in a tone so low, as to be quite inaudible except in the immediate vicinity of the altar. This, it seems, was a necessary precaution in the times of heathen persecution, and has

been continued from the respect paid to antiquity: but he adds, that the laity, having the service in their prayer-books, lose nothing by the muttering. He is extremely liberal in treating the question of the language in which the liturgy should be pronounced, desiring that parts of it should be vernacular, in order to be comprehended by the people; and he expresses a wish to see the cup restored to the laity, by virtue of the power vested in the Pope by the Council of Trent. His argument for retaining the Latin service at all, we own, appears to us not quite so intelligible. The *two* ancient languages, he says, Greek and Latin, contain not only the models of science and literature, but 'the very title-deeds and proofs of divine revelation.' Their present wide diffusion is no absolute security against their disuse in some future age; and the French Government is attempting, by all its influence, to supersede the knowledge of them. Nothing but the 'still more extensive' and almost universal influence of the Catholic Church can counteract these attempts; and our author would be sorry to see the dialects of Plato and St Paul, of Cicero and Leo, entirely banished from the altar, and replaced by Romanic and Italian. This is very inconclusive, if we must treat it as reasoning at all. What share has Latin in preserving 'the title-deeds and proofs of divine revelation?' How can the extensive influence of the Catholic Church preserve the use of the Greek in the liturgy of the Greek Church? Is the service of the altar a matter of taste, or of devotion?—To argue with Mr Eustace, however, seems scarcely fair. We ought perhaps only to turn sentences, and patch in quotations. He has himself furnished us from Leo with a passage which admirably suits either purpose. '*Nihil sublimius (says that great man) collatum Ecclesiae tue exordiis quam ut evangelii sui praeconia linguis omnium credentium ora loquerentur—et vocum varietas edificationi ecclesiasticae non difficultatem faceret sed augeret potius unitatem.*'

The reader may now be desirous of hearing from Mr Eustace himself some of the glories of his favourite worship. The following is a part of his description of the most magnificent rite of the Catholic Church, the celebration of High Mass by the Pope, on grand festivals, at the high altar of St Peter's.

'When the Pope celebrates Divine service, as on Easter Sunday, Christmas Day, Whit Sunday, St. Peter and St. Paul, &c. the great or middle doors of the church are thrown open at ten, and the procession, formed of all the persons mentioned above, preceded by a beadle carrying the Papal cross, and two others bearing lighted torches, enters and advances slowly, in two long lines between two ranks of soldiers, up the nave. This majestic procession

is closed by the Pontiff himself, seated in a chair of state, supported by twenty valets, half concealed in the drapery that falls in loose folds from the throne: He is crowned with his tiara, and bestows his benediction on the crowds that kneel on all sides as he is borne along. When arrived at the foot of the altar he descends, resigns his tiara, kneels, and, assuming the common mitre, seats himself in the Episcopal chair on the right side of the altar, and joins in the psalms and prayers that precede the solemn service. Towards the conclusion of these preparatory devotions, his immediate attendants form a circle around him, clothe him in his pontifical robes, and place the tiara on his head: *after which, accompanied by two deacons and two sub-deacons, he advances to the foot of the altar, and bowing reverently, makes the usual confession. He then proceeds in great pomp through the chancel, and ascends the Pontifical throne, while the choir sing the *Introitus*, or psalm of entrance, the *Kyrie Elcison* and *Gloria in excelsis*, when the pontiff lays aside his tiara, and, after having saluted the congregation in the usual form, *the Lord be with you*, reads the collect in an elevated tone of voice, with a degree of inflection just sufficient to distinguish it from an ordinary lecture. The epistle is then read, first in Latin, then in Greek; and after it some select verses from the psalms, intermingled with Alleluiahs, are sung, to elevate the mind, and prepare it for the gospel. The Pontiff then rises, gives his benediction to the two deacons that kneel at his feet with the book of the Gospels, and, resigning his tiara, stands while the gospel is sung in Latin and in Greek; after which he commences the Nicene creed, which is continued in music by the choir. When the creed and the psalm that follows it are over, he descends from his throne, and approaching the altar, with the same attendants and the same pomp as in the commencement of the service, he receives, and offers up the usual oblations, fumes the altar with frankincense from a golden censer, and then washes his hands; a ceremony implying purity of mind and body. He then turns to the people, and, in an humble and affectionate address, begs their prayers; and shortly after commences that sublime form of adoration and praise called the Preface, because it is an introduction to the most solemn part of the liturgy, and chaunts it in a tone supposed to be borrowed from the ancient tragic declamation, and very noble and impressive. The last words, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of armies," &c. are uttered in a posture of profound adoration, and sung by the choir in notes of deep and solemn intonation. All music then ceases, all sounds are hushed, and an awful silence reigns around; while, in a low tone, the Pontiff recites that most ancient and venerable invocation which precedes, accompanies, and follows the consecration, and concludes with great propriety in the Lord's Prayer, chaunted with a few emphatical inflections.

Shortly after the conclusion of this prayer, the Pontiff salutes the people in the ancient form, "May the peace of the Lord be

always with you," and returns to his throne, while the choir sing thrice the devout address to the Saviour, taken from the gospel, "Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us." When he is seated, the two deacons bring the holy sacrament, which he first reveres humbly on his knees, and then receives in a sitting posture: * the anthem after communion is sung, a collect follows, and the deacon dismisses the assembly.

The Pope then offers up his devotions on his knees at the foot of the altar, and borne along in the same state as when he entered, passes down the nave of the church, and ascends by the Scala Regia to the grand gallery in the middle of the front of St Peter's. His immediate attendants surround his person, the rest of the procession draws up on each side. The immense area and colonnade before the church are lined with troops, and crowded with thousands of spectators. All eyes are fixed on the gallery, the chaunt of the choir is heard at a distance, the blaze of numberless torches plays round the columns, and the pontiff appears elevated on his chair of state under the middle arch. Instantly the whole multitude below fall on their knees, the cannons from St Angelo give a general discharge, while, rising slowly from his throne, he lifts his hands to heaven, stretches forth his arm, and thrice gives his benediction to the crowd, to the city, and to all mankind; a solemn pause follows, another discharge is heard, the crowd rises, and the pomp gradually disappears. This ceremony is, without doubt, very grand, and considered by most travellers as a noble and becoming conclusion to the majestic service that precedes it. In fact, every thing concurs to render it interesting; the venerable character of the Pontiff himself, the first Bishop of the Christian Church, issuing from the sanctuary of the noblest temple in the universe, bearing the holiness of the mysteries, which he has just participated, imprinted on his countenance, offering up his supplication in behalf of his flock, his subjects, his brethren, his fellow creatures, to the Father of all, through the Saviour and Mediator of all. Surely, such a scene is both edifying and impressive.' I. p. 376-379.

We may observe a slight inaccuracy in this statement, if by Catholic is meant in the note, the universal Church; for the custom in the Presbyterian Church is to receive the Sacrament sitting, after the manner of the primitive Christians. As to the magnificence of the 'servant of the servants of God,' our

* This is the only instance that exists, I believe, in the whole Catholic Church, of receiving the holy sacrament *sitting*; it is a remnant of the primitive custom; but as that custom was suppressed at a very early period, perhaps even in the apostolic age itself, I see no reason for retaining it in one solitary occasion. Benedict XIII. could never be prevailed upon to conform to it, but always remained standing at the altar, according to the usual practice.

author has rather a sly remark upon our Episcopalian brethren, by way of stopping their mouths upon this score. The Episcopal chair, he says, seems never to have reached its full magnificence till the middle of the last century, when it appears to have arrived at its acmè,—not however in Rome, as the reader may naturally imagine—but in the Cathedral of Durham, where the Lord Bishop is enthroned in far more than Papal eminence, and looks down upon the choir, the congregation, the altar, and the pulpit. It may probably be from some jealousy of the encroaching, though inferior splendour of his Holiness, that we observe a work lately advertised with the following title—‘*Vigilance, a Counterbalance to past Concessions (to the Catholics), and Safeguard against future Encroachments (of the Pope),* by Shute, Lord Bishop of Durham.’ We Presbyterians are rather of the mind of St Martin and his historian—‘*In Ecclesiâ nemo unquam illum sedere conspexit; sicut quendam nuper (testor dominum) non sine meo pudore vidi, sublimi solio quasi regio tribunali, celsâ sede residentem.*’

Before quitting Rome, we cannot avoid expressing a wish, that Mr Eustace had moderated, in some passages, the tone of his invective against the French;—not because their unprincipled rapine can be too severely condemned, but because merely calling names, however it may prove that you are in a passion, is neither the best way to move nor to convince. The indiscriminate pillage which marked the progress of the French armies through Italy, and the crimes of the Revolution, or its wars in general, deserve a much deeper and more effectual note of reprobation than any that can be derived from the columns of Treasury newspapers. And yet from some such source the language must be taken which calls Voltaire and Rousseau ‘villains,’ and ranks them with Marat. Speaking of the Church of St Genevieve at Paris, and the insecurity of the building, he says, ‘When the traveller peruses the inscription that still remains on the frieze, *aux grands hommes la patrie reconnaissante,*’ and recollects, that the *country* here meant was the bloody faction of the Jacobins, and the *great men* alluded to were the villains who prepared, or the fiends who accomplished the Revolution, Voltaire and Rousseau, Mirabeau and Marat, he will not regret, that a church thus profaned and turned into a Pandemonium, should tumble to the ground, and crush in its fall the impure carcases that are still allowed to putrefy in its vaults.’ (vol. I. p. 364.) In which most benevolent passage, we may remark, that the chief disgust attempted to be excited against the ‘villains’ and ‘fiends,’ is from the circumstance of their remains undergoing the common fate of all flesh, and partaking

of the corruption to which the Martyrs and Innocents themselves were doomed. Violence is apt to be inconsistent; and accordingly, when our author has occasion to dilate upon the character of the race whom the French have taken for their models, but have followed in their crimes with a very unequal pace, we find him praising their very vices, and defending their unprincipled thirst of blood, with a zeal which converts that worst of enormities into matter of positive eulogy. Upon this topic we have already expressed our own sentiments. The following passage contains those of Mr Eustace; who ought either to expunge it, or to strike out all his invectives against French ambition and rapacity, for the sake of a decent consistency.

‘ It is indeed impossible to leave this city without emotion; so many claims has it to our attention; so many holds upon our best passions.

‘ As the traveller paces along her streets, spacious, silent, and majestic, he feels the irresistible genius of the place working in his soul; his memory teems with recollections, and his heart swells with patriotism and magnanimity, two virtues that seem to spring from the very soil, and flow spontaneously from the climate—so generally do they pervade every period of Roman history. While the *great republic*, the parent of so many heroes, rises before him, he looks around like Camillus, at the hills—the plain—the river—for ever consecrated by their fame, and raises his eyes with reverence to the sky that seemed to inspire their virtues. In truth, no national character ever appeared so exalted, rose with such an accumulation of honour from so many trials, or retained its hard-earned glory for so long a period, as that of the Romans. *Nulla unquam respublica nec major, nec sanctor, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit*, says Titus Livius; and the assertion was not the effusion of national vanity, for the Romans were too great to be vain, but the result of well-grounded conviction. That deep sense of religion which distinguished the republic from every other state, and was according to Cicero one of the sources of its grandeur; that benevolence which taught them to respect human nature in their enemies, at a time when to slaughter or at best enslave the conquered, was deemed even by the Greeks themselves the right of the victor; that strict attention to justice and the law of nations in proclaiming and carrying on war; that contempt or rather defiance of danger and calm perseverance in spite of difficulties and obstacles; that disinterestedness and neglect of all personal indulgence, and, above all, that manly and unalterable consistency which in a peculiar manner marked and supported their conduct both in public and private: these were the grand and distinguishing features of the Roman character, features which they have imprinted on their edifices, their writings, their laws, and their language, and bequeathed to posterity as an endless claim to its gratitude and admiration. That each of these qualities may have shone

forth most conspicuously in other nations, and in many individuals, must be admitted; but never were they so intimately interwoven with the whole existence and being of an active people either before or since; and in consistency, in particular, they must be acknowledged to stand unrivalled.' II. p. 148—150.

And again,

'The ambition with which the Romans are so often charged, cannot with justice be considered as a flaw in their character, as no great nation, or illustrious individual, ever was, or indeed can well be, entirely exempt from that active passion, that *virida vis animi*, which always accompanies great talents, and is designed by Providence to develop and bring them into action. To which we may add, that a spirit of conquest generally originates from the necessity and success of self-defence; and it must be admitted that the far greater part of the early wars in which the republic was engaged, arose from the jealousy of the petty states in her vicinity.'* II. p. 151.

We are now to follow the travellers along the Appian Way, and through the Pontine marshes, to Naples. As this is the route of Horace in his well known journey, it might have been expected that our author would have made more frequent references to it; but he probably considered the subject as too well known. The most interesting observations that occur, are the notices of the draining of the marshes; particularly of the last successful operations which do so great honour to the memory of Pius VI.—and those relating to Cicero's Formian villa. We only lament that Mr Eustace did not dwell longer upon this ground; as unquestionably there is no scene within the bounds of classical association more deservedly endeared to the lovers of virtue, and the admirers of preeminent genius. How gladly would his readers have exchanged the descriptions of a score of churches, ground-plans and all, for a more minute account of the sacred banks of the Liris and Fibrenus; the island into which he delighted to withdraw himself when he had any thing on his mind, and where he has laid the scene of some of his most famous dialogues; the town of Arpinum, illustrious for his birth; the spot where his remains are supposed to be. 'Movemur enim' (as the orator makes Atticus say, in speaking

* The attempt to distinguish the conduct of the Romans in Greece from that of the French in Italy, vol. 2. p. 128, *et seqq.*, is completely unsuccessful; and full of the most evasive and gratuitous positions. A little reflection would have saved all this trouble. Why will not Mr Eustace recollect, that no kind of apology can be made for the French on the ground of the Romans having done worse?—and then he might safely state the case as it really is.

of this very spot, in a discourse of which the scene is here laid) ‘*movemur nescio quo pacto locis ipsis, in quibus eorum quos diligimus, aut admiramur, adsunt vestigia. Me quidem ipse illæ nostræ Athenæ non tam operibus magnificis, exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant, quam recordatione sumorum virorum—ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare sit solitus; studioque eorum etiam sepulchra contem-
plor.*’ *De Legg. II. 1.*

The account of Naples is by no means liable to the same objections which we urged against that of Rome. While a full description is given of its delightful neighbourhood, and the monuments of modern art within the city are not neglected, these are far from being so numerous or imposing as to occupy a disproportionate share of our author's attention. He accordingly details several particulars of some importance relative to the society and character of the inhabitants. The abundance of their charities is perhaps the most striking. These exist among the most profligate people in Europe, in a variety and extent almost wholly unknown elsewhere. They have founded institutions, the idea of which never entered into the less refined conceptions of more pure and sober-minded communities. There are above sixty public charities in the city, of which about thirty are receptacles for orphans, foundlings, magdalenes, &c.; and five banks for relieving the industrious poor, by small loans. The two principal hospitals contain two thousand, and eighteen hundred, respectively. These have villas annexed to them in the country, for those patients whose diseases, arising from confinement in a crowded town, require free air and exercise; and it seems to be the general practice, when a patient is discharged, to give him as much money as he would have earned during the period of his confinement, had he been in health. In the *Conservatorii*, or charity schools, an immense number of poor children are maintained, educated, and trained to handicrafts of various kinds. There are some schools devoted to music alone; and, among the fruits of these, the Neapolitans are justly proved to reckon Pacsielli, Caffarelli, and Pergolesi. Of the numerous confraternities, we may mention the one whose province is to provide for the comfort of capital convicts, and take care of their families; the Congregation of St Ivone, composed of lawyers, who manage the suits of poor clients, and defray all their expenses; and that of the ‘nobles for the relief of the bashful poor;’ a singular institution, and one of the refinements of charity above alluded to. ‘The object,’ says our author, ‘of this association, is to discover and relieve such industrious persons as are reduced to poverty by misfortune.’

‘and have too much spirit, or too much modesty, to solicit public assistance. The members of this association, it is said, discharge its benevolent duties with a zeal, a sagacity, and what is still more necessary for the accomplishment of their object, with a delicacy and kindness truly admirable.’ The want of chastity has generally been considered as a prevailing vice of the Neapolitans. Yet is it not for want of hospitals directed to this object. There are, as our author observes, ‘more retreats opened to repentant females, and more means employed to secure the innocence of girls exposed to the dangers of seduction, than are to be found in London, Paris, Vienna, and Petersburg united.’ He gives as an instance one *Conservatorio*, where four hundred are educated, and, when marriageable, portioned out. We fear that the reflecting reader will see no very unaccountable incongruity between all these facts and the admitted profligacy of Naples, in respect of sexual intercourse.

The remarks upon Neapolitan literature are by no means equally satisfactory. In fact, although Mr Eustace dares not assert roundly so wild a proposition, it is pretty manifest that he would set it up as a rival to the literature of France; which is really a piece of childish prejudice against our enemies—and merely because they are our enemies in a military and political sense—wholly unworthy of his accustomed liberality. He might just as rationally prefer the eloquence of ancient Gaul, whereof the name only has reached us in a single line, to the divine models of Rome, because Julius Cæsar invaded both Gaul and Britain. He appears, indeed, to be aware, that the names of his Neapolitan Voltaires not having passed the Alps, (he might have said the Appennines) is somewhat against him.—But it seems all this is accounted for in the old way,—French gold and intrigue,—the same means by which their conquests used to be performed before that entire annihilation of the French power, wherein the nation is at this moment rejoicing. Perhaps the reader may wish to see this extraordinary thesis supported.

‘Some Neapolitan authors carry their pretensions so far as to place the number and merit of their writers upon a level with those of Paris; and from the list of publications which they produce, an impartial man would find it difficult to decide against them. Their Parisian rivals object, that even the names of their authors, not to say their works, have scarcely passed the Alps, and are not known beyond the narrow circle of academicians even in Italy; while the names of *Voltaire*, *Marmontel*, &c. are celebrated in every capital of Europe, and their works perused in every circle. To this observation the Neapolitans reply, that the superior fame of French authors is owing to the prevalence of the French language, and that that

prevalence is certainly not to be ascribed either to its intrinsic merit, or to the superior excellence of its literature, but to the predomance of French power. Thus, say they, French dress has been generally adopted at courts, and was during a considerable part of the last century the dress of Europe; but nobody surely can be so absurd as to pretend that it owed its universality either to its gracefulness or its convenience. The literature therefore, like the fashions of France, was recommended first by power, and afterwards by custom; and when we add to the merits of the former a great deal of intrigue, of trick and of noise, we shall discover the real causes of its ill acquired superiority. In truth, Frenchmen of every description are never wanting in the praises of every thing French; and whatever their differences in other respects may be, all agree in asserting their national pretensions to universal superiority. The Italians are more modest, because they have more solidity; they write to please their own taste and that of those who choose to read them; they employ no journals to puff off their compositions, send no emissaries to spread their fame over distant countries, and pay no agents in foreign courts. They leave their language and their works to their own intrinsic merit, and rest their claim to glory on the undisputed excellence of their predecessors. As for the present reputation of French literature, our Neapolitans consider it as the fashion of the day, the delirium of the times; and doubt not, that it will ere long subside in contempt and indifference. Such indeed has been the fate of that absurd fondness for French dress which disgraced our ancestors; and as we now smile at their want of taste in giving the preference to garments so stiff, graceless and unnatural; so our descendants may possibly contemplate, with equal ridicule and surprize, the preposterous partiality which the present age has shown to the frippery and tinsel of French literature. In justice to the Neapolitans it must be admitted, that the progress of French literature has been considerably advanced by the spirit and intrigues of the philosophic party. The French language was the medium by which they were to disseminate their opinions; no expense therefore was spared, no exertion wanting to extend its use and influence. Teachers were hired and sent to the most distant towns, to disseminate its principles and facilitate its acquisition. Attempts were made to undermine, at least secretly to lessen, the respect paid to the ancient languages, particularly Latin; and the Gallic idiom, with its lumber of auxiliaries, its nasal dissonance, and truncated syllables, was compared, nay almost preferred, to the simplicity, harmony and fulness of that divine dialect. But independent of language, the Neapolitans certainly have the advantage in point of science and of ancient literature, particularly Greek, a language much neglected in France, and indeed in most continental universities.' I. p. 508-510.

We have already had occasion, more than once, to express our preference of Mr Eustace's descriptions to his reasonings.

We gladly, therefore, turn from this strange *discussion*, to a very picturesque sketch of an evening in the island of Procida, where the beauties and romantic accompaniments of the place seem almost too fine for real life, even in the Bay of Naples: But the undoubted accuracy of the author's narratives, and the air of perfect veracity which prevails through his whole work, relieves the reader from all anxiety and hesitation on this head.

The promontory is sufficiently lofty to entitle the island, of which it is the most conspicuous feature, to the epithet *alta*, which Virgil gives it, as the rocks which line its eastern and southern coast justify the word *aspera* employed by Statius. Besides the harbour which I have described, there are on the same coast several nooks and creeks, which afford shelter to fishing boats and small vessels, and contribute much to the variety and romantic beauty that eminently characterize this and the neighbouring islands and shores. There is no regular inn, I believe, in the town: but strangers are received and very well treated in the castle. This edifice is large and very roomy, though almost unfinished; it has a small garden to the west and north, surrounded by a wall that borders the brow of the precipice. A trellis supporting thick spreading vines covers this wall, and shades the walk along it, while large windows open at intervals, and enable the eye to range over the view that lies expanded beneath. At one of these windows I seated myself, and enjoyed the glorious exhibition of the setting sun, which then hung in appearance over the distant island of *Pandataria*, and cast a purple gleam on all the promontories of *Gaiola*, and the hills of *Formice*. The purple tints, as the sun descended into the waves, brightened into golden streaks, then softened into purple again, and gradually deepening into blue, at length melted away in darkness. The moon rose soon after; a table was placed before me covered with figs, apricots, and peaches. The man and woman who took care of the palace, a young couple, the husband strong and comely, the wife handsome, seated themselves opposite to me; their son, a smart lively boy, served at table. After a little conversation, the man took his guitar and accompanied his wife while she sung the evening hymn, in a sweet voice and with great earnestness. Occasionally the man and boy joined in chorus, and while they sung, the eyes of all three were sometimes raised to heaven, and sometimes fixed on each other, with a mixed expression of piety, affection, and gratitude. I own, I never was present at an act of family devotion more simple or more graceful. It seemed to harmonize with the beauty of the country, and the temperature of the air, and breathed at once the innocence and the joy of Paradise. Shortly after, similar little concerts rose from the town below, and from different parts of the island, and continued at intervals for an hour or more, sometimes swelling upon the ear, and sometimes dying away in distance: and mingling with the murmurs of the sea. One would almost ima-

gine that Milton, who had visited all this coast, had these concerts in mind when he speaks of

Celestial voices to the midnight air
Sole or responsive each to other's note
Singing their great Creator——' I. p. 560, 561,

We regret that our limits prevent us from accompanying Mr Eustace more minutely over the rich classical ground on which he treads, both in the immediate vicinity of Naples, and in his excursion to Pastum. We must now confine ourselves to matter of a very different kind—the account he gives of the Court; because such a subject is more rare in the volumes before us, and better adapted to an abstract. It seems, that at the moment the travellers were preparing to set out for Rome to attend the festival of St Peter, the Court returned from Palermo to Naples; and this event delayed the journey. They were presented; and Mr Eustace takes occasion to elucidate the characters of the principal personages. The King, Ferdinand IV., he represents as considerably more amiable than intelligent. His manners are easy, his conversation affable—two of the most ordinary accomplishments of the profession. 'But,' adds Mr Eustace, with a most unnecessary apology, 'his whole deportment (princes will pardon me, if I presume to mention it as a compliment), is that of a thorough gentleman.' (vol. 2. p. 33.) His mental endowments, it seems, are in the state best fitted, according to our author's ideas, for his situation and office—that of mediocrity, 'without either defect or excellency.' The learned author, indeed, is of opinion, that if a monarch is one degree below this happy mark, he 'becomes the tool of every designing knave about his person, whether valet or minister; if *only one degree above it, he becomes restless, and unintentionally mischievous*; if cursed with genius, he turns out a conqueror and a despot.' Now, Ferdinand's intellect being the *golden mean* recommended for all sovereigns, we shall see in what light it places him. His ignorance, it appears, is excessive—such as frequently to come out in a way that 'startles even well-trained courtiers.' Thus, mention being made one day of the magnitude of the Turkish power in former times, his Majesty was graciously pleased to observe, that 'it was no wonder, as all the world were Turks before the birth of our Saviour.' Upon another occasion, the conversation turned on the murder of Lewis XVI.; and a courtier having alluded to the execution of Charles I. as a parallel case, the King treated it as a pure fiction, having never before heard of that portion of history. 'Depend upon it,' said he, 'it is a mere tale trumped up by the Jacobins at Paris to excuse their own guilt.' Mr Eustace mentions some circumstances which tend to show, that the King was purposely

kept in this state of deplorable ignorance, by those who had the charge of his education; and once, in particular, the French ambassador having attempted to draw his mind towards reading, and persuaded him to try the experiment upon the Life of Henry IV., his Majesty returned it untouched after a month, saying, 'There is your book untouched; they don't wish me to read, so I have given it up.' With all possible veneration for the Royal office, and affection for the person of our illustrious ally, one may be permitted to doubt whether this is really the most perfect condition of a kingly understanding. Mr Eustace, however, subjoins some anecdotes highly creditable to Ferdinand's heart and feelings, and evincing that he possesses far kinder and nobler dispositions than some great princes, who, without being much his superiors in understanding, and deviating, perhaps, by little more than one degree from the golden mean above praised, are nevertheless well able to read and write. We should remember, however, that if a prince is but one degree above that level, '*he becomes restless and mischievous.*' Of the Queen our author says little—probably out of respect for Royalty. He admits, however, that a Royal consort taking her place at the Board of Council, was for the first time witnessed in Naples, when the best of possible Kings married this clever and violent princess. Probably a prince '*one degree above mediocrity,*' would not have submitted to this interference of his helpmate. A love of show and fêtes seems to prevail among the princes of the true standard, as well as those whose abilities are too great. Accordingly, Mr Eustace has given us a long account of the festival, with its immense illuminations, occasioned by the happy event of the Court's return.

Our author concludes his observations on Naples, with some reflections upon the character and manners of the people, which, after allowing them to be far from pure, especially in the higher classes, he vindicates from the exaggerated charges that have been brought against them by prejudiced and superficial persons. His account of the *Lazzaroni* we believe to be perfectly correct. The stories told on this subject, have been repeated from age to age, until a belief has become rooted in the minds of foreigners, that there is a peculiar caste—a separate race of vagrants, without home or occupation, inhabiting the streets of Naples, and ready for every sort of mischief and vice. The following statement places this matter in its true light.

'The fact is, that this peculiar tribe is neither more nor less than the poorer part of the labouring class, such as are attached to no particular trade, but willing to work at all, and to take any job that is offered. If in London, where there is a regular tide of commerce,

and a constant call for labour, there are supposed to be at least twenty thousand persons who rise every morning without employment, and rely for maintenance on the accidents of the day; it is but fair to allow Naples, teeming as it is with population, and yet destitute of similar means of supporting it, to have in proportion a greater number of the same description, without incurring the censure of laziness.

The *Lazzaroni* are the porters of Naples; they are sometimes attached to great houses, under the appellation of *Facchino della Casa*, to perform commissions for servants, and give assistance where strength and exertion are requisite; and in such stations they are said to have given proofs of secrecy, honesty, and disinterestedness, very unusual among servants. Their dress is often only a shirt and trousers: their diet macaroni, fish, water melon, with iced water, and not unfrequently wine; and their habitation the portico of a church or palace. Their athletic forms, and constant flow of spirits, are sufficient demonstrations of the salutary effects of such plain food, and simple habits. Yet these very circumstances, the consequences or rather the blessings of the climate, have been turned into a subject of reproach, and represented as the result of indifference and indolence in a people either ignorant of the comforts of life, or too lazy to procure them. It would be happy, however, if the poor in every other country could so well dispense with animal food, and warm covering.

The name, or rather nickname, by which this class is designated, naturally tends to prejudice the stranger against them, as it seems to convey the idea of a sturdy beggar. Its derivation is a subject of conjecture; the most probable seems to be that adopted at Naples itself, which supposes it to originate from the Spanish word *lacerado*, derived from *lacerus*, signifying tattered, torn or ragged, pronounced by the Spaniards as by us, *lussero*, and converted by the Neopolitans into, *luzzero*, *lazzaroni*. It ill became the Spaniards, after all, to give contemptuous appellations to a people whom they oppressed, pillaged, and degraded, and to ground those appellations on the misery, nakedness, and general poverty, produced by their own injustice.

Several anecdotes are related of the *Lazzaroni*, that redound much to their credit, and imply feelings which do not superabound in any rank, and would do honour to the highest. They are said to have shown a rooted aversion to the Inquisition; and by their resolute and unabating opposition, prevented its establishment in the kingdom of Naples, while the other inhabitants submitted to the measures of the Court, and received it without reclamation. They have manifested, whenever an opportunity enabled them to express their feelings with energy, a warm attachment to the cause of liberty, and an abhorrence of oppression and injustice, which have more than once checked the career of government in its way to despotism. In these exertions they had the danger and the glory re-

tirely to themselves; and may with reason boast, that where the nobles yielded, they made a stand; and, by their perseverance, saved from utter hopeless slavery, that country which their superiors were ready to betray. Even in the late invasion, they generously came forward, and offered their persons and lives to their sovereign; and finding neither chiefs to command, nor officers to lead them on, they reluctantly submitted to inaction, but with a surly silence and threatening aspect, that awed the invaders, and checked for once the insolence and rapacity of a French army. Such is their public spirit—their private feelings have oftentimes been displayed with equal advantage.' II. p. 42-44.

He adds, that some Neapolitan writers assert that the *Lazzaroni*, properly so called, are the most laborious and disinterested part of the population,—attached to religion and order, simple and sincere in their manners, and faithful to their employers,—rather than wrong whom, they would shed their blood. This eulogium they qualify, however, by confining it to the 'true-born Neapolitan *Lazzaroni*,' as distinguished from a set of beggars who infest the churches and public places—for the most part foreigners, and who, being always ready to impose on travellers at the hotels, have brought disgrace on the regular *Lazzaroni*. It is a singular omission in our author to pass over, unnoticed, the celebrated miracle of the priests at Naples, (borrowed apparently from the Heathen miracle alluded to in Horace's journey), the liquefaction of St Januarius's blood. This skilful trick, which has been the means of making many a convert, and actually deceived Paschal, who, from thence, drew an argument in favour of the true religion, had ceased, we believe, to be much regarded by the Neapolitans themselves, for some time before the French put an end to it. But so manifest a piece of jugglery ought to have been noticed by Mr Eustace; and, if the omission was intentional, it is almost the only specimen of want of candour exhibited in his work.

The travellers returned by their former route to Rome; and here Mr Eustace renews his observations upon the remains of antiquity, and on the character of the ancient and modern inhabitants—observations which would certainly have been more conveniently placed in the former part of his work. Indeed, there is nothing more defective in his book than the arrangement; and the consequence is, frequent repetition, and considerable indistinctness of statement. We shall not stop to extract any of his remarks during his second visit, but follow him to Florence, whither he proceeded next. Passing through Assisi, the birth-place of St Francis, he pauses to give an eulogium of that singular person, whom he ingeniously compares to Lycargus. Indeed, we know about as much, in an authentic

form, of the one as of the other; and though there can be no doubt of the extensive effects produced by the Saint's preaching and other efforts, it is manifestly absurd to pretend that any reliance can be placed on the legendary and traditional accounts of his perfect purity and holiness. There is exactly the same evidence for the miracles of the age. We shall subjoin the passage; and premise this further remark, that if St Francis was right—if this sort of life be really the life enjoined by the Christian dispensation, then the divine law can only be fulfilled by the conversion of all mankind into hermits during one generation, and their utter extinction when that generation is gone.

‘ A man who has imposed, upon so many thousands of voluntary disciples, laws far more severe than those of Lycurgus, and given to his laws a longer duration, as well as a far more extensive influence than that legislator, or indeed most others have been able to impart to their institutions, must certainly have been a very extraordinary person, and must have possessed means of persuasion derived either from his virtues or his accomplishments unusually efficacious. His birth and education were naturally calculated to confine him to mediocrity; but an ardent piety, and a disinterestedness that knew no bounds, soon raised him into notice, and made him an object of contempt to some, of admiration to many. The solemn determination, taken at the age of twenty-one, to practise strictly and literally the sublimest lessons of Christian self-denial, and the courage to support that resolution, without the least deviation, during a life of forty-six years, may be considered as proofs of most extraordinary energy and consistency of character. When to these qualities we add two others of a very different and almost opposite nature, the simplicity of a child, and a humility that almost seemed to border upon pusillanimity, we shall make the picture still more wonderful, without diminishing its resemblance. To renounce every species of property, every honourable distinction, every mark of respect from others, nay, even to stifle every emotion of self-complacency, every sentiment of self-applause, and consequently to extinguish every spark of self-love in his own bosom, and then to replace this active principle by a love of God and Man still more active and more efficacious, was the perfection to which this singular personage aspired, and which he appears in some measure to have attained. Hence his whole life was a series of generous sacrifices, patient sufferings, and above all, of acts of devotion ardent and almost impassioned. To the warmth of this sublime affection the Italian language owes two of its earliest poetical flights; which, as they show the mind and talents of the composer, as well as the language and versification of the age, I may insert elsewhere, especially as they are uncommon, or at least not likely to fall in the way of the greater part of my readers.

‘ But the most singular part of the character of St Francis was,

that he could communicate the fire that glowed in his own bosom to his hearers, or rather to the spectators of his virtues, and, by his example more than by his words, prevail upon thousands of his contemporaries, and among them many of rank, talents, and education, to adopt the same most austere and laborious mode of living. The Spartan legislator is supposed to have given an astonishing proof of his influence and address, in prevailing upon his countrymen to adopt laws that imposed a few restraints, but proscribed no pleasures, and stifled no passions; and Cicero is said to have carried the powers of eloquence to the utmost pitch, when he engaged the Roman people to forego the advantages of the Agrarian law. What then must we think of the persuasive powers of St Francis, who triumphed over the most powerful passions that rage in the human breast, and induced so many myriads of disciples to renounce property, name, pleasure, nay, their very will itself, to follow him in the rugged path of self-denial and mortification? Either his talents, or his virtues, or both, must have been transcendent; and, without being his disciples, we may very safely consider him as a great and wonderful personage. St Francis was born about the year eleven hundred and eighty, and died about twelve hundred and twenty-five, having witnessed the rapid propagation of his order, which contained, previous to his death, more than fifty thousand persons.' II. p. 182-184.

Mr Eustace's observations on Florence and Tuscany, commence with some very appropriate encomiums upon free governments; for, by republics and monarchies, which he contrasts to the great advantage of the former, we presume he means popular and absolute forms of government. He most justly remarks, in answer to the hackneyed theme of the crimes of republican states, that the crimes of despotism are far more black and numerous, while they are redeemed '*nulla virtute—
a vitiis.*' All the crimes of all the Grecian republics united, says he, would not equal the mass of guilt that might be collected from the reign of one Persian monarch,—as all the murders perpetrated in the Italian commonwealths, when balanced against the bloody deeds of Philip II., or Henry VIII., would kick the beam. He adds some judicious observations upon the illustrious House of Medici, and their wisdom in remaining so long content with the glorious and sober distinction of first citizens in a free state;—and he then expresses the feelings of contempt which every one must cherish for Alexander di Medici, who took a foreign title of sovereignty, and prevailed over the liberties of his country. This introduces a remark on the dangers of having too much virtue and popularity on the throne; and our author concludes, in a strain truly alarming to the freedom of these realms, 'that it is advantageous to the cause

of liberty, that the chief magistrate should not be of a character too popular and engaging.' Coupling this with the rule laid down at Naples for the dimensions of the Royal Intellect, we shall arrive at the true delineation or idea of a patriot king. He must neither be a wise nor a virtuous personage. On the contrary, if his talents are of the most ordinary description, his accomplishments base and grovelling, his manners, habits, and propensities disgusting in the eyes of his people, and his vices fitted to secure their hatred, then is the state safe. It is rather awful to reflect what risks the liberties of some countries have been running during the last half century: And yet, so perverse are the desires of men—we really believe there are millions who, from old habit, or some other strange delusion, would be very well pleased to run the same risks over again.

The accounts of our author's excursions in the delicious neighbourhood of Florence, are among the happiest parts of his descriptive performances. That of Vallombrosa is of course the best; and we regret that the length to which this article has already extended, prevents us from dwelling longer on these delightful scenes,—delightful in themselves, and rendered doubly interesting by the singular regard with which they were honoured by the illustrious Poet of Freedom, who is supposed from hence to have borrowed many of the features of his Paradise. We can only afford room for a single observation on Monasteries, which though very obvious, is yet striking, and as far as we know, original.

'There is something extremely striking in the duration of these monastic establishments. Kingdoms and empires rise and fall around them—governments change—dynasties flourish and fade—manners and dresses alter, and even languages corrupt and evaporate. Enter the gates of *Camaldoli* or *Monte Cassino*—the torrent of time stands still—you are transported back to the sixth or the tenth century—you see the manners and habits, and hear the language of those distant periods—you converse with another race of beings, unalterable in themselves though placed among mortals, as if appointed to observe and record the vicissitudes from which they are exempt. Hitherto these monuments of ancient times and past generations have been placed above the reach of that mortality, to which all the other works and institutions of man are subject: But is not the term of their existence at hand? or are they destined to survive the tempest that now scowls over Europe, and where it falls, levels all that is great and venerable in the dust?' II. p. 241, 242.

In his account of Florence, Mr Eustace enlarges more upon the fine arts than in other parts of his work; and he by no means overloads his descriptions of its churches. He gives but

a meagre notice of the present state of literature in that once celebrated seat of letters ; but having remarked the guttural, or harsh pronunciation of the language, he is led to insert a variety of remarks on the antient dialects of Italy, and to give some curious specimens of them from different authorities, collected by Lanzi. This forms a very interesting chapter, and well worthy the attention of the speculative grammarian. From Florence his route lay through Lucca, Pisa, and Leghorn to Genoa ; from whence he went through Pavia to Milan. Upon each of these celebrated cities he bestows the portion of attention which they so well merit ; and, after devoting two chapters to the Lakes, he concludes his narrative with Turin and the Alpine passage of Mount Cénès. Over this part of his progress we do not even pretend to follow him ; but we can refer the reader to it without any fear of his being disappointed in the search both of entertainment and instruction.

The work closes with an elaborate, or we ought perhaps rather to say, a long Dissertation, extending to about 180 pages, on Italy in general, and the character of the Italians ; and an appendix of about forty pages, but extremely interesting, containing, indeed, some of the most curious parts of the whole work, on the Papal government and its interior administration. The Dissertation, from its plan, necessarily comprehends a great deal of what should have been delivered under the different heads as they successively came into view, and not a little of what had actually been so given. Many general, or rather declamatory passages, are little more than repetitions, in somewhat altered words, of remarks previously introduced, when the objects which seem to have suggested them were described in their proper places ; and, with the title and pretensions of a treatise, the discourse has not the cardinal qualities of system and method. But its chief defect as a disquisition upon matters of fact, and that which takes away much of its weight as a guide and authority, is, that it espouses a side throughout,—and almost avowedly assumes the form of a defence of the Italians, and a praise of their country, and its institutions. The author seems to consider himself as ranged on one side of a controversy, and proposes for his object to praise and magnify Italy, and to cry down France. Much of what he says is undoubtedly true ; and no one can blame his partialities, who reflects on the warmth of his religious and classical enthusiasm. Nor is it very inexcusable in an Englishman, to lean at all times, and on every subject, against the French and their extravagant pretensions. But the question, after all, is not one of feeling ; and, after exhausting all those topics of excuse, we shall be forced to admit, that the Dissertation fails in its object, and is, as a piece of reasoning or statement, materi-

ally defective, although the author may not incur any severe censure for the warmth of those sentiments which have led him astray.

If a specimen of these little ebullitions were wanting, after what has been already laid before the reader, under other heads, we might refer to his belief, which seems quite sincere, that the dissemination of the French language has mainly contributed to the overthrow of European independence. He not only declaims against the preference given to ‘*a semibarbarous jargon*’ (as he terms the language of the *Henriade*, the *Jardins*, the *Héloïse*, of Bossuet and Fenelon) as a matter of taste; but he complains at great length, and with a semblance of argumentation, of its various political effects. The reader may imagine that these are deduced from its being made the vehicle of Infidelity—of what Mr Eustace calls the ‘voluminous and cumbersome *Encyclopedie*,’ and which he seems to imagine is a mere dictionary of atheism.—But if this were all, unhappily translation would be as effectual as the knowledge of the original. Mr Eustace, however, argues from its influence in negotiations; and ascribes to it the assumed fact, that England has generally thrown away at a peace, all she had been gaining by war. ‘This is a large field, and we cannot now enter on it;—but we believe no proposition is capable of a more clear demonstration than this—That where England has made inadequate treaties, as, Heaven knows, she but too often has done—the fault lies, not in the bad French of her ambassadors, nor yet in their want of diplomatic skill (the effects of which are confined to a very subordinate sphere in all negotiations) but must be ascribed to the popular form of her government; which, with all its incalculable advantages, has one inseparable drawback, that it stands frequently in the way of successful diplomacy; and this, not only by hampering the Executive, where it should be most efficient, nor yet by the publicity which it gives to cabinet measures, but with a view at least to questions of peace, because, after war has continued too long, and the people get tired of it, they hurry their rulers into any treaty whereby it may be got rid of, and lose, in the feeling of present burthens, all recollection either of the original cause of quarrel, or of the successes of their arms. As a remedy for all this, our author gravely recommends, that Latin be henceforth used in negotiations; but we believe he would come down a little, and, splitting the difference, take Italian;—in short, any thing, rather than the ‘jargon which is made an instrument of slavery, and a tool of atheism,’—‘the cup of Circe, which makes him who imbibes it forget his God, his country, his very nature,—and become *Epiciuri de grege porcus*.’ (Vol. II. p. 269.)

The most interesting part of the Dissertation relates to the Italian clergy, secular and regular; and, for the purpose of correcting the prevailing errors on this subject, in foreign countries, we shall extract some passages; premising, that it would be quite superfluous to enter into any argument at this day, to show, that the learned author greatly underrates the force of the objections urged against monastic institutions.

The traveller must not confound with the clergy a set of men who wear the clerical habit merely as a convenient dress, that enables them to appear respectably in public places, to insinuate themselves into good company, and sometimes to cover principles and conduct very opposite to the virtues implied by such a habit. The intrigues and vices of these adventurers have too often been attributed, by hasty and ignorant persons, to the body whose uniform they presume to wear, with just as much reason as the deceptions of swindlers might be ascribed to the gentlemen whose names are sometimes assumed for such sinister purposes. It must however be acknowledged, that the clerical body in Italy is too numerous; that many supernumeraries might be retrenched; and that such a reform would contribute much to the edification of the public, and to the reputation of the body itself. But, wherever any profession has acquired celebrity, or any corporation seems to open a wider or a shorter road to preferment, its ranks will necessarily be crowded, and the very avenues to it besieged with pretenders. This evil is now rapidly decreasing. The ecclesiastical profession, since the Church has been plundered and insulted by the French, is no longer the road either to fame or to fortune. The attractions it retains are merely spiritual, and not likely to allure a multitude, or to compensate, in the opinion of many, the restraints which it necessarily imposes.

We now come to the regular clergy, so called because they live under certain rules or statutes, and take upon themselves obligations not connected with the clerical profession. This body is very numerous, exhibits a great variety of dresses, and strongly attracts the attention of an English traveller, who, if a zealous Protestant, is apt to feel, at the sight of one of its individuals, an aversion or antipathy similar to that which some hypochondriac persons are said to experience in the presence of cats and other domestic animals. The regular clergy may be divided into two great classes. Monks and Friars, who, though they are bound in common by the three vows of Poverty, of Chastity, and of Obedience, yet live under very different regulations. The former, under various appellations, follow almost universally the rule of St Benedict, who, in the sixth century, attempted to regulate the monastic life which had been introduced into Italy and the Western Church in the age preceding. His rule is rather a treatise of morality than a book of statutes, as it recommends many virtues, and prescribes few regulations, which re-

gard principally the disposal of time, and the order of the psalms, the duties of the two principal officers of the abbey, and the practice of hospitality. It enjoins manual labour, and presupposes the existence of a library in each monastery. Much is left to the discretion of the Superior; particularly the dress, in which the prudent founder recommends plainness, and cautions against singularity. The truth is, that in their hours, their habit, their diet, and their employments, the first monks nearly resembled the better sort of peasants. The *cowl*, a long black gown or *toga* intended to cover their working dress, and to give them a decent appearance in church, was, at first, the only external distinction. In process of time, the general promotion of the monks to holy orders, their application to literature, and, above all, their adherence to the forms, the hours, and the manners of the age of their institution, made the distinction more striking, and at length marked them out as a peculiar and separate tribe.

It would be unjust to pass over in silence, two circumstances highly creditable to this Order. In the first place, the Benedictins have ever been averse to innovations, and have endeavoured to retain, in the liturgy, and in the public service of the Church, the forms and the order that prevailed in the times of their founder; and thus, by discouraging petty practices and whimsical modes or expressions of devotion, invented by persons of more piety than prudence, they have in a certain degree preserved, unadulterated and undegraded, the purer and more majestic ceremonial of the ancients. In the next place, in political struggles, the monks have either observed a charitable neutrality, befriending the distressed, and allaying the animosities of both parties; or, if forced to declare themselves, they have generally joined the cause, if in such cases either could claim to be the cause, of their country and of justice. In scholastic debates, which have not unfrequently been conducted with great rancour and some mischief, they have acted with the coolness of spectators unconcerned in the result, and seem occasionally to have laughed in secret at the furious zeal with which the contending parties supported or attacked air-built theories and visionary systems. Even in the more important contests on religious articles, which sometimes burst forth before the Reformation, and have raged with lesser or greater, but always with most malevolent animosity, ever since that event; in contests which have ruffled the smoothest minds, and soured the sweetest tempers, the Benedictins alone seem to have been exempt from the common frenzy, have preserved their usual calmness in the midst of the general tempest, and have kept strictly within the bounds of christian charity and moderation. Among them we find no inquisitors, no persecutors. Though plundered, stripped, insulted, in most reformed countries, they seem rather to have deplored in silence, what they must have considered as the errors and the madness of the times, than inveighed against it in public; and, content with the testimony of their own

consciences, they appear to have renounced, with manly piety, the pleasure of complaint and of invective.' II. 539—547.

Of the mendicant orders of friars, our author speaks very differently. After enumerating several of their classes, he says,—
 'All these, and others of less note, were originally intended to act as assistants to the clergy in the discharge of their parochial duties; but in process of time, the auxiliaries became more numerous than the main body, and not unfrequently excited its jealousy and hatred by trenching upon its prerogatives, and by usurping part of its credit and of its functions.' In fact, they had contrived, first, by pontifical exemptions, to shake off the legal authority of their respective bishops; next, by similar concessions, to acquire some share of their apostolical powers; and, lastly, by certain privileges annexed to their oratories, to gather congregations, and to draw the people away from the regular parochial service. These were great abuses, and in towns, where the Friars had numerous convents, tended not a little to divert the attention of the public from the spirit and the simplicity of the ancient liturgy, to shows, images, and exhibitions. However, to compensate, if any compensation can be made for such evils, the mendicant Orders produced several great men: each, in its time, had roused the age from a lethargy of ignorance, and had awakened, partially at least, a spirit of inquiry and of improvement. Besides, in small towns, in numerous villages, and in lonely or distant provinces, they still continue to fulfil their original object, and, as I have hinted above, to afford a necessary assistance to the ordinary pastors. They are, in general, considered as too numerous; and from the frequency with which they meet the eye in certain capitals, I am inclined to admit this conclusion. But, as the population of Italy is very great, amounting to eighteen millions at least, and as all that immense population professes the same religion, the surplus may not be so excessive as is usually imagined. At all events, this evil is daily diminishing, and the succeeding generations in Italy, as in most other countries, will probably have reason to lament the want, rather than complain of the number, of religious ministers.' II. p. 550, 551.

And in a former passage of his book, we find language on this subject, strong enough to satisfy even our strong Presbyterian antipathies. 'The mendicant orders, he says, (vol. II. p. 245), 'are every where remarkable for absurd practices, childish forms of devotion, and pious trumpery of every kind, to amuse the populace, and attract them to their churches.'

The Appendix, as we have already observed, contains the most curious particulars of the Romish hierarchy to be met with in this work. Indeed we know not that any book on the subject lets us so much into the secret, especially of the papal court. Our limits will only allow of one extract, relating to this singular

subject; and, with this, we reluctantly close these volumes,—once more expressing our unfeigned respect towards the author, and our gratitude for the pleasure he has afforded us.

‘Whenever he (the Pope) appears in public, or is approached even in private, his person is encircled with reverence and with majesty. In public, a large silver cross raised on high is carried before him, as a sacred banner, the church bells ring as he passes, and all kneel in his sight. When he officiates at the patriarchal Basilica he is carried from his apartments in the adjoining palace to the church in a chair of state, though in the chancel his throne is merely an ancient episcopal chair, raised only a few steps above the seats of the cardinals or clergy. In private, as the pontifical palaces are vast and magnificent, there are perhaps more apartments to be traversed, and greater appearances of splendour in the approach to his person, than in an introduction to any other Sovereign. In his antichamber, a prelate in full robes is always in waiting, and when the bell rings, the door of the pontifical apartment opens, and the Pope is seen in a chair of state with a little table before him. The person presented kneels once at the threshold, again in the middle of the room, and lastly, at the feet of the Pontiff, who, according to circumstances, allows him to kiss the cross embroidered on his shoes, or presents his hand to raise him. The Pontiff then converses with him a short time, and dismisses him with some slight present of beads, or medals, as a memorial. The ceremony of genuflection is again repeated, and the doors close.

‘The pomp which environs the Pontiff in public, and attracts the attention so forcibly, may perhaps appear to many, a glorious and enviable distinction; but there are few, I believe, who would not, if accompanied by it in all the details of ordinary life, feel it an intolerable burthen. Other sovereigns have their hours of relaxation; they act their part in public, and then throw off their robes, and mix in the domestic circle with their family or their confidants. The Pope has no hours of relaxation; always encumbered with the same robes, surrounded by the same attendants, and confined within the magic circle of etiquette, he labours for ever under the weight of his dignity, and may, if influenced by ordinary feelings, often sigh in vain, for the leisure and the insignificance of the college or the cloister. A morning of business and application closes with a solitary meal; a walk in the gardens of the *Quirinal* or the *Vatican*, a visit to a church or an hospital, are his only exercises. Devotion and business, the duties of the Pontiff and of the Prince, successively occupy his hours, and leave no vacant interval for the indulgence of the taste, or the arrangement of the affairs of the individual. What honours can compensate for a life of such restraint and confinement!

‘I have said, a solitary meal,—for the Pope never dines in company, so that to him a repast is no recreation; it is consequently short and frugal. Sixtus Quintus is reported to have confined the expenses of

his table to about sixpence; Innocent XI. did not exceed half-a-crown; and the present Pontiff, considering the different valuation of money, equals them both in frugality, as his table never exceeds five shillings a day. These unsocial repasts may have their utility in removing all temptations to luxurious indulgence, and all opportunities of unguarded conversation; two evils to which convivial entertainments are confessedly liable. Yet, when we consider on the one side the sobriety and the reserve of the Italians, particularly when in conspicuous situations, and on the other the number of men of talents and information that are to be found at all times in the Roman court, and in the college of cardinals, we feel ourselves disposed to condemn an etiquette which deprives the Pontiff of such conversation as might not only afford a rational amusement, but oftentimes be made the vehicle of useful hints and suggestions. Another advantage might result from a freer communication. The smiles of greatness call forth genius; admission to the table of the Pontiff might revive that ardor for literary glory, which distinguished the era of Leo X., and might again perhaps fill Rome with Orators, Poets, and Philosophers. And though we applaud the exclusion of buffoons and pantomimes, and the suppression of shows and pageantry, yet we may be allowed to wish that the halls of the Vatican again resounded with the voice of the orator, and with the lyre of the poet; with the approbation of the Court, and with the plaudits of the multitude. But can Rome flatter herself with the hopes of a third Augustan age?

On the whole, the person and conduct of the Pope, whether in public or in private, are under perpetual restraint and constant inspection. The least deviation from strict propriety, or even from customary forms, would be immediately noticed, published, and censured in pasquinades. Leo X. loved shooting; and by the change of dress necessary for that amusement, gave scandal. Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) was advised by his physicians to ride: he rode in the neighbourhood of his *Alban Villa*; and it is said, offended the people of the country not a little by that supposed levity. Benedict XIV. wished to see the interior arrangement of a new theatre, and visited it before it was opened to the public. The next morning an inscription appeared over the door by which he had entered, *Porta sancta; plenary indulgence to all who enter*. These anecdotes suffice to show the joyless uniformity of the papal court, as well as the strict decorum that pervades every department immediately connected with the person of the Pontiff.' II. p. 621-625.

ART. VIII. *Reflexions sur le Suicide.* Par Madame la Baronne de Staël-Holstein. London. 1813.

THE appearance of a dissertation on a subject which has already produced so many volumes of commonplace, is in

itself alarming. But the name of a celebrated writer dispels this natural apprehension, and excites an expectation of more than ordinary originality, which is the only good reason for the reviving a question apparently exhausted. In fact, it may require as vigorous an effort to dig through the rubbish with which mediocrity has been for ages loading a truth, as it did originally to conquer the obstacles which obstructed the first thinkers in their way to it.

It must however be owned, that the present publication is chiefly remarkable as an event in the life of the author. The persecution of Madame de Staël will be remembered among the distinctions of female talent. It is honourable to the sex, that the independent spirit of one woman of genius has disturbed the triumph of the Conqueror of Europe. 'All this' avaleth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the King's gate.' This almost solitary example of an independence not to be intimidated by power, nor subdued by renown, has very strikingly displayed the inferiority of Napoleon's character to his genius. That he is disquieted by the disapprobation of a powerful mind, may indeed be considered as a proof that he has not lost all the sentiments which ought to accompany a great understanding,—and that power and flattery have not yet obliterated all sense of what constitutes the true value of praise. But this disquiet has driven him into a persecution so little both in its principle and its means, as to form a characteristic incident in the life of this extraordinary man. He appears to have curiously sought out the most susceptible parts of her mind, and the most vulnerable points of her situation, that he might inflict his wounds with more ingenious cruelty. He has harassed her by successive mutilations of those works of which he professed to allow the publication. He has banished her from the societies where the terror of his power could not silence the admiration of her genius, and where the blended intercourse of friendship, reason, wit, and eloquence, formed a gratification which a refined enemy would have thought it honourable to spare. Every suffering was through some kind affection, or some elegant taste. Every wound was aimed at a noble part. In her escape from his dominions, she found one of his generals become the actual sovereign of the country of her husband; and to him she dedicates this little volume, from which we learn, with singular interest, and with scarcely any surprise, that there were moments in which misfortune made her seek the aid of meditation to compose and strengthen her mind, and that she now offers to her fellow-sufferers the medicine which has quieted her own agitations.

From the time of Rousseau to the rebound of public opinion

caused by the issue of the French revolution, suicide was one of the favourite themes of paradox and declamation; and Madame de Staël it seems had formerly written on it, not so much with the temper of philosophy, as with that hostility to received doctrines to which the vivacity and pride of youthful genius are prone. Her mature reason has easily discovered, that the more general judgments of the human race on subjects of moral conduct, disguised as they are under a thousand fantastic forms, obscured by vague, passionate, hyperbolic, and even contradictory forms of expression, debased by the mixture of every species of prejudice and superstition, and distorted into deformity in their passage through narrow and perverted minds, have still some solid foundation in the nature and condition of man. Very little moral truth is to be found in its native state: and it is one of the most important offices of philosophy, to recover it from the impure masses with which it is confounded by the common observer.

It is natural that reparation for youthful paradox should be ample even to excess. A generous mind deems no atonement sufficient for its own errors; and disdains the arts by which the inevitable variations of human opinion are easily concealed from the multitude. As eloquence always partakes of exaggeration, it necessarily magnifies the apparent dissimilarity between the different opinions of an eloquent writer. Where the colouring is most splendid, the contrasts are most striking; and even the slightest shades of difference will be more perceptible. Every revolution of the present age has been an event in Mad. de Staël's private life. In a person of ardent sensibility amidst the agitations of an eventful life, we shall not severely blame some tendencies towards new exaggerations; and we cannot wonder that she should be disposed to an almost undistinguishing partiality for the character and measures of the enemies of her persecutor. The operation of so just a resentment on judgment, is neither to be forgotten nor condemned. In estimating her character it may perhaps be respected; but in weighing her authority it must be deducted. Whatever may be the oscillations of a susceptible mind in a stormy atmosphere, Madame de Staël, we are persuaded, is destined to be the permanent advocate of justice, of humanity, of resistance to tyranny, and reformation of abuse. Her animosity to corruption and oppression will ultimately be without distinction of party or country—or with no other distinction than that superior indignation which enlightened minds feel, when these evils disgrace and weaken the cause which they themselves espouse.

On the question of Suicide, it is perhaps possible to state the whole truth more plainly and dispassionately than has been

hitherto done. It must be admitted, that every act by which a man voluntarily causes his own death, is not criminal. All such acts are, however, suicides. Whether a man produces his own death by swallowing a cup of poison, or by mounting a breach (supposing death to be in both cases foreseen as the inevitable consequence of the act), it is evident, that in both cases he equally kills himself. But it is obvious, that there are circumstances in which it is a duty, to do acts of which a man's own death is the necessary result. This is no uncommon dictate of military obedience. In all operations of war, it is a duty to hazard life; and a greater degree of the same obligation may require its sacrifice. If it were constantly criminal to cause the destruction of one's life, there must be a criminality of the same kind, though of an inferior degree, in risking it. It is vain to say, that a volunteer on a forlorn hope has a chance of escape; for it may be said with equal truth, that there is also a chance of the failure of the deadliest poison. The agent, in both cases, expects his own death: and in that of the soldier, the moral approbation is highest, and the fame is most brilliant, where death is the most certain. This, indeed, is so far from being an uncommon case, that it comprehends a very large class of human actions; being not only the duty of soldiers, but of all those who are engaged in eminently perilous occupations—and occasionally of all human beings. It is required from men of the most obscure condition, who are neither trained to any delicacy of moral perception, nor supported by the prospect of reputation. Its violation is punished by death, or by the heaviest and most irremissible disgrace. Maternal affection renders the feeblest and most timid women capable of discharging this stern and terrible duty.

Besides these suicides of duty, there are other cases of the hazard or sacrifice of life, which, not being positively prescribed by the rules of conduct, are considered as *acts of virtue* of the most arduous nature, requiring singular magnanimity, and justly distinguished by the most splendid reputation: Codrus and Decius present themselves to the recollection of every reader. When a Scotch Highland gentleman personated Prince Charles Stuart—when Madame Elizabeth presented herself to the furious rabble as Marie Antoinette—every human heart acknowledges the generous virtue which made the first sacrifice, and the second expose life, in order to preserve the life of others, to whom they were bound by no stronger ties than those of attachment and friendship, strengthened by the momentary impulse of compassion. But these suicides of patriotism or loyalty are acts done in a conspicuous place, by those who are bred from their infancy to consider honour and disgrace as the first objects

of human pursuit and avoidance. Innumerable instances, however, of the same sort, in totally different circumstances, show the power of human nature to do the same acts without the bribe of fame. Backwardness in mounting a breach, or boarding a ship, is a rare occurrence. Volunteers for service of the most desperate danger are easily found. Every case of a shipwreck, or a fire, exhibits examples of devoting life, for the preservation sometimes of utter strangers—very often, indeed, of persons to whom there is no obligation of duty, and no tie of affection. Mere compassion renders the lowest of the mob for a moment capable of so sublime a sacrifice.

There are other suicides, which, without being either demanded by duty, or performed for the preservation of a community or an individual, are yet generally considered as acts which, whether they be strictly moral or not, can only be performed by minds of the most magnanimous virtue. The suicide of Cato is of this class. It was not to defeat usurpation, or to preserve the laws and liberties of Rome, that he destroyed his own life. In that case, the moral qualities of the act would have admitted no dispute: But it was done when he despaired of his country. It arose from his horror of tyranny, and the feeling of intolerable shame at the prospect of life under an arbitrary master; and it is to be justified by the tendency of the example to save the world from future tyrannies, by strengthening and perpetuating these most useful sentiments, and to contribute throughout all ages to diffuse the love of liberty among mankind. As liberty is the only security for just and humane government, it must be owned, that the diffusion of such sentiments seems to be a higher interest of mankind, and a more worthy object of self sacrifice, than the preservation of any individual, or even of any state. But it is scarcely worth discussing what precise judgment ought to be formed of the act of Cato, as long as all good men must unite in admiration and reverence for the mind from which it proceeded. The merit of Regulus's return to Carthage was enhanced, in the opinion of one of the most sensible and moderate of moralists, principally by his certain knowledge of the death which his barbarous tormentors had prepared for him. His voluntary death was, however, very different from that of Cato. The strictest rules of duty required, that he should neither advise his country against his conscience, nor violate his pledged faith to the enemy. Every case where a man prefers death to guilt, is a suicide of duty. Of this nature is all martyrdom, where life is to be saved only by false professions, or by compliances which the conscience of the martyr deems still more criminal. Among the early Christians, as indeed among most persecuted bodies of men, there

prevailed a sort of ambition of martyrdom, which the Fathers of the Church condemned as the fruit of misguided zeal, but which was considered by the people with reverence, as an honourable proof of a more sincere and intrepid attachment to religion than that which was shown by the cautious prudence of lukewarm brethren. Dying men deplored the natural death which robbed them of the honours of martyrdom. Many who were present at the trial and condemnation of their fellow Christians, cried out, 'We too are Christians,' that they might follow their brethren to the stake. Those who fled from persecution were stigmatized by the more severe Fathers; and those who purchased an indemnity from the magistrate, were thought little inferior in guilt to those who sacrificed to idols. So great was the rage for this species of suicide, though evidently unjustifiable, that the Roman magistrates sometimes (though too seldom and too late) discovered their best policy, even for their own purposes, to consist in mortifying and repelling the crowds of candidates for martyrdom.

Another sort of suicide was allowed by the most illustrious of the early Doctors of Christianity. Led probably by that fanatical and ascetic spirit which tainted their moral doctrines respecting the intercourse between the sexes, they allowed a woman to kill herself, in order to prevent an involuntary, and therefore imaginary, pollution of the body, where the mind was to remain perfectly spotless. They did not, indeed, with Lucretia, claim this privilege, from the shame of past violation; but they permitted it, for the prevention of that which was to come. It is unnecessary to observe that this opinion can be justified by no principle; but it is evidently an excrescence from the principle of a suicide of duty, and proceeds partly from the confusion of guilt with disgrace, and partly also from the abusive application of moral terms to physical things. Though actions not immoral seldom continue long to be thought dishonourable among a civilized people, yet the degree of disgrace is often by no means proportioned to that of immorality. Thus, mercenary prostitution, when it arises from poverty, extenuates the vice, but renders the degradation deeper. Every outward mark of a disgraceful act is itself disgraceful. Though nothing can be immoral which is not voluntary, yet it may be ignominious to have involuntarily suffered from the brutality of others. A Bramin forfeits his civil rank and sacred character by what only the utmost cruelty could have compelled him to endure. The case of a virtuous man, discredited by calumnies, of which refutation does not repair the injurious effect, must be owned to be attended with considerable perplexity. But the more sound casuistry must forbid him to take refuge in volun-

tary death. The possibility of escaping from dishonour is a temptation to undervalue honour. A good man ought not to murmur at that necessity which compels him to confute calumny by his life. But though it be not a justifiable case of suicide, it seems to be one of the most excusable which can be imagined; and when a mind, stung by unmerited dishonour, determines on this dreadful remedy, and resolves on leaving an example which may deter some from calumny, and others from the imprudence which supplies the calumniator with weapons, though the action must be blamed as a deviation from the most elevated morality, yet the man may be pitied, and even loved, for a purity and ardour of moral feeling, of which the rigorous censors of his conduct were probably incapable.

Opposed to these voluntary deaths, which are enjoined or applauded, are two classes of culpable suicide, which may be termed the criminal and the vicious. A criminal suicide is that by which a man, under the influence of selfish impatience or apprehension, withdraws himself from the performance of evident, urgent, and important duties. Every duty imposes the secondary obligation to preserve the means of performing it, and consequently to preserve life, which comprehends all these means. The most homely instances are the best illustrations. A man on whose labour a family depended for bread, could not disable himself from earning it by mutilating his limbs, without a great crime:—but in destroying his life, he commits a greater crime of the same nature. To escape from his difficulties to America or China, while he left a family destitute in England, would be a crime of great magnitude:—but to commit suicide, in like circumstances, would be to abscond without the possibility of return. Men are so linked together, that this plain consideration is sufficient in most cases of blameable suicide. Where a man is so insulated, that his duties become faint and general, all selfish suicide argues at least the vicious purpose of withdrawing from the practice of virtue, and destroying the power of rendering service to mankind. For these purposes, life is to be endured when it is miserable, as well as sacrificed when it is most happy; and though the speculator may assign the boundaries of the obligation, they will not be discovered by a generous man when he is called to make the effort. It is a fact, which must be equally acknowledged by the followers of all moral theories, that it is a more excellent habit to regard life as an instrument of serving others, than as a source of gratification to ourselves. It is also equally true, that this habitual disposition renders him who feels it more happy, as well as more virtuous, than if his mind were more constantly directed

towards his own enjoyments. Whether this last circumstance be the motive which *does*, or the reason which *ought* to make good men applaud and cultivate benevolence, is a question disputed by moral theorists, but wholly foreign to the present purpose. All systems agree in what is essential to the regulation of moral judgement or moral conduct. According to all principles, it is evident, that it is never praiseworthy, or even lawful, to sacrifice life, but in the observance of duty, or in the practice of virtue; that suicide, to be moral, must be for others; and that if there be a few beings so eminently useless, as well as miserable, that their case approaches to an exception, they are to be viewed with that mercy which is the first virtue of frail creatures, and without which we are unable to contemplate perfection.

Madame de Staël calls the suicides of duty and virtue by the names of devotion and sacrifice; and perhaps thus to distinguish them from the suicides of selfishness, may have an useful effect on the feelings. But to arrange the various sorts of suicide according to their motives and tendency—as criminal codes distinguish homicides—into justifiable, excuseable, and culpable—seems to us a manner of considering the subject which is not without its use, and which we have accordingly followed, without pretending that it is universally the best. It is impossible not to concur with Madame de Staël in rejecting that very vulgar commonplace, which represents suicide to be a proof of cowardice. To suffer well, is a proof of patience, of fortitude, or of firmness; but boldly to seek the means of deliverance from suffering, is the office of courage. Patience endures the gangrened limb,—courage encounters the terrors of the amputation. It is a distortion of words from their natural sense, to call that man a coward, who has completely conquered the fear of death.

Among the most remarkable persons who have contended for the innocence, and even for the merit of some suicides, are two eminent English Divines of the seventeenth century, whose writings are now little read. The first was the celebrated Dr Donne, who was probably driven to the contemplation of this question by his own sufferings. While he was secretary to Lord Chancellor Egerton, he married a young lady of rank superior to his own, which gave such offence to his patron, that he was dismissed from his office. He suffered extreme poverty with his wife and children; and in a letter, in which he adverts to the illness of a daughter whom he tenderly loved, he says, that he dares not expect relief, even from death, as he cannot afford the expense of the funeral! He afterwards took orders, and was promoted to the Deanery of St Paul's. In the early

part of his life, and probably during the period of his sufferings, he wrote a book, entitled *Biadavatos*, 'A declaration of that paradox, or thesis, that self-homicide is not so naturally sin, that it may never be otherwise.' He did not publish it, but, on the contrary, forbade it 'both the press and the fire.' He desired 'it to be remembered, that it was written by Jack Donne, not by Dr. Donne;' and it was published many years after his death, by his son, a dissipated young man, tempted by his necessities to forget his father's prohibition. It is a very ingenious book, and in substance correct; but written in that paradoxical temper which thrusts forward whatever truth is averse to common opinion, and slightly acknowledges whatever agrees with it. His margin, crowded with references, is a curious proof of the great revolution which a century and a half have produced in the reading of Europe. Of the innumerable multitude of canonists, jurists, and schoolmen whom he has cited, there are not a dozen names now known to the most curious inquirer. Henry Dodwell, the learned Nonjuror, had that propensity towards singular speculations, in which ingenious men, who profess slavish principles of government, not unfrequently give vent to the native independence of their understanding. He maintained the innocence of suicide in some cases, in an apology for the philosophical writings of Cicero, prefixed to a translation of 'Cicero de Finibus,' by his brother non-juror, the noted Jeremy Collier, a writer remarkable for vulgar shrewdness and coarse vigour, who, by a fatality not unparalleled among translators of a higher order, chose an original the most dissimilar to himself, and attempted an English version of the most elegant and majestic of prose writers.

ART. IX. *Sketch of the Sikhs; a singular Nation, who inhabit the Provinces of the Panyah, situated between the Rivers Jamma and Indus.* By Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, Author of the Political Sketch of India. London, 1812.

THE description of the Sikhs, who now form a great nation in India, and occupy a grand division of its territory, merits peculiar attention, not merely as a leading chapter in the statistical account of the country, but as throwing the greatest light upon the moral and political state of the principal portion of its inhabitants.

As the measures which we adopt with regard to India affect not only their interests but our own, it is very important that

that we should possess as accurate a knowledge as possible respecting the character and civilization of the men whom we govern. Our proceedings must necessarily be wise or foolish, beneficent or prejudicial, according as they are well or ill adapted to the intellectual and moral condition of the people upon whom they are to operate. Many very fantastic and absurd notions are current with regard to that people; and as this account of the Sikhs is calculated to dispel at least one great class of those prejudices, there are few works to which we turn with greater satisfaction, than the little volume before us.

The information which we formerly possessed concerning this extraordinary people, was scanty indeed; although some important notices were scattered about in the *Seer Mutakhareen*, a very few copies of a very imperfect translation of which had made their way to Europe. Even the statements which Colonel Malcolm has been able to collect, are far from complete. But they relate to some of the most important points; and authorise us to draw an outline, which a general knowledge of the Indian character will enable the intelligent reader pretty well to fill up.

The Sikhs are, in fact, Hindus; with certain important differences, introduced by a recent and extraordinary change in their religious and civil institutions. With the exception of these differences, they are merely Hindus; and it is therefore to the differences that the judicious inquiries of the author before us have been chiefly directed.

Sir John Malcolm accompanied the army which followed Holkar into the Penjab in 1805, and enjoyed opportunities both of observing the outward manners of the Sikhs, and of acquiring some of their sacred and historical books. The information which these advantages enabled him to collect, is embodied in the work which he has here given to the public. The details of their history, which in truth are the meaner part of the subject, exhibiting the disgusting uniformity of sanguinary feuds and struggles among a rude people, his avocations have induced him to defer; and he describes his object in the present work as having solely been, 'to give a short and hasty sketch of their history, customs, and religion.'

The Sikhs now occupy by far the most valuable part of that extensive territory which constituted the Mogul empire in its proudest days. From latitude $28^{\circ} 40'$ to 32° N., and even farther, they inhabit the whole of that extensive and fertile country which is watered by the five branches of the Indus, a part of the province of Multau, and almost all that tract of country which lies between the Jumna and the Sutlej, touching the ter-

ritories of the King of Cubal on the one side, and those of the English on the other. Their importance in the population of India, therefore, is sufficiently obvious. If a conqueror indeed had the choice of a spot in which he might establish an empire which might domineer over the whole of India, from the Himmalaya mountains to the Sacred Bridge, he would probably select the very ground which is now covered by the Sikhs. When the productive qualities of the soil, and the health and strength of the inhabitants, are taken into account, there is probably no portion of India which deserves to be compared with it.

The inhabitants of this country, like their Eastern neighbours, were Hindus. Anciently, it was the seat of their most remarkable nations. Not only were its inhabitants the most warlike of the people of India; but in this region, and in the neighbouring districts, were the principal monuments of their religion, and the most celebrated seats of their learning. In this place it probably was, that the Hindu character acquired its highest improvement and civilization.

The armies of the Mahomedan nations, who finally established themselves in the government of India, first took possession of this part of the country, which lay nearest to their own. But the conquests of the Mahomedans in India were not sanguinary. It is an erroneous, though very general opinion, that the Mahomedans moved into India, as the Huns and Goths into Europe, in whole nations, at once desolating and repopling the land. The truth, on the contrary, is, that they invaded Hindustan with their regular armies alone; and, when they took possession of it, contented themselves with the occupation of the sword. Of the whole Hindu population, the soldiers only were displaced. The land continued to be cultivated, the houses to be occupied, the arts and trades to be exercised, by the very same classes of men as before. The Mahomedan conquerors were not so ignorant as not to perceive that their own interest was promoted by the protection of a people whose labours were the source of their opulence and power; and they established in their new dominions a more perfect system of administration than the knowledge of the Hindus had ever enabled them to devise. We know for certain, that the regions occupied by the Sikhs were not depopulated; that the inhabitants were cherished—because those provinces were the most flourishing and productive portion of the Mahomedan empire. In the reign of Aurungzeb, the province of Lahore alone yielded a revenue of 2,469,500*l.* Sterling. We even have no manner of doubt, that the texture of Hindu society remained entire. In the provinces of Agra and Delhi themselves, which became the seats of the

Moslem power, the number of Mahomedans was insignificant compared with that of the Hindus, who still constituted the population of the country, and were marked by the same opinions, manners and customs which distinguished their forefathers.

But the truly remarkable, and truly instructive feature of this story is, that the Hindus of this extensive region, a people whom we are daily taught, or rather commanded to believe, absolutely unchangeable, have undergone a more entire revolution in religion, in manners, in social and political institutions, than, in so short a space of time, and with the application of such ordinary means, has any where else been known among mankind.

About 500 years ago, there arose among this bigoted and united people, a single obscure individual, who began with the bold experiment of arraigning their ancient religion, and recommending a new one. He was heard with favour; he gained proselytes; he spent a long life in travelling, and in the exhibition of those marks of sanctity which operate the most forcibly upon the minds of an unenlightened people. This was Nanac Shah, the great patriarch of the Sikhs,—who was born in the year of Christ 1469, in the province of Lahore, a Hindu of the Cshatriya caste, and Vedi tribe. He left a successor; and his opinions gained ground extensively. In a period of two centuries, the doctrines of Nanac extended their dominion in peace; nor was it till cruelties had been exercised upon them by the Mahomedans, that his followers betook themselves to measures of revenge or defence. It was in the year 1606 that the consistence and form which had been acquired by the Sikh community first excited the jealousy of the Mahomedan government. From that date the Sikhs may be considered as an armed people; and a series of bloody contentions ensued. The power of the Mogul government, however, was then in its zenith; and the Sikhs were apparently crushed; till Guru Govind appeared, and gave a new character to his people.

‘It would be tedious and useless,’ says Colonel Malcolm, ‘to follow the Sikh writers through the volumes of fables, in which they have narrated the wonders that prognosticated the rise of this, the most revered of all their priests, to power; or to enter, at any length, into those accounts which they, and Govind himself, (for he is equally celebrated as an author and as a warrior), have given of his exploits. It will be sufficient, for the purpose of this sketch, to state the essential changes which he effected in his tribe, and the consequences of his innovations.

‘Though the Sikhs had already, under Har Govind, been initiated in arms, yet they appear to have used these only in self-

defence : And as every tribe of Hindus, from the Brahmen to the lowest of the Sudra, may, in cases of necessity, use them without any infringement of the original institutions of their tribe, no violation of these institutions was caused by the rules of Nause; which, framed with a view to conciliation, carefully abstained from all interference with the civil institutes of the Hindus. But his more daring successor, Guru Govind, saw that such observances were at variance with the plans of his lofty ambition; and he wisely judged, that the only means by which he could ever hope to oppose the Mahammedan government with success, were, not only to admit converts from all tribes, but to break at once those rules by which the Hindus had been so long chained :—to arm, in short, the whole population of the country; and to make worldly wealth and rank an object to which Hindus of every class might aspire.

‘The extent to which Govind succeeded in this design, will be more fully noticed in another place. It is here only necessary to state the leading features of those changes by which he subverted, in so short a time, the hoary institutions of Brahma, and excited terror and astonishment in the minds of the Mahammedan conquerors of India, who saw the religious prejudices of the Hindus, which they had calculated upon as one of the pillars of their safety, because they limited the great majority of the population to peaceable occupations, fall before the touch of a bold and enthusiastic innovator, who opened at once, to men of the lowest tribe, the dazzling prospect of earthly glory. The object of Nanac was, to abolish the distinctions of caste among the Hindus, and to bring them to the adoration of that Supreme Being, before whom, he contended, all men were equal. Guru Govind, who adopted all the principles of his celebrated predecessor, as far as religious usages were concerned, is reported to have said, on this subject, that the four tribes of Hindus, the Brahmen, Çshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, would like *pân* (betle-leaf), *chunâm* (lime), *supari* (bitter nut), and *khat* (*terra japonica*), become all of one colour when well chewed. All who subscribed to his tenets were upon a level; and the Brahmen who entered his sect had no higher claims to eminence than the lowest Sudra who swept his house.’

After a series of desperate conflicts, in which the mental resources of the leader, as well as the constancy and bravery of his followers, were remarkably displayed, he was at last overwhelmed by the power of Aurungzeb; and, for a season, the Sikhs were contented to owe their security to silence and concealment.

Upon the death of Aurungzeb, they were prompted to place their protection again upon the sword; and as the Sikhs and Mahomedans were now, from reciprocal injuries, animated against one another by the most violent passions, they set no bounds to their cruelties. After a series of disasters, the Sikhs

were once more subdued; and their extermination was now pursued with unrelenting severity. A price was set upon their heads; and they either fled into the mountains and forests, or concealed themselves by suspending the exercise of their peculiar ceremonies. Their principles, however, had taken too deep root to be easily shaken; and, after an interval of thirty years, when the invasion of Nadir Shah had reduced the power of the Moguls, they suddenly appeared in formidable bands, and availed themselves of the ungoverned state of the provinces from the capital to the confines of Persia—to extend at once their spiritual and temporal power—to gain proselytes and to enlist soldiers.

It would answer little purpose to trace, even if we could do it much more perfectly than any documents which we possess admit, the steps by which the strength of Innovation, and the weakness of an old government, enabled the Sikhs to possess themselves of the finest provinces of India, notwithstanding the checks which they received both from the Afghans and the Mharattas. The wars of the Sikhs are too like the wars of other Indians, to afford in the recital much either of pleasure or instruction. Even of their religious opinions, and political or civil institutions, a very slight sketch will suffice for our present purpose. It is not nearly of so much importance to know what they now believe, and how they act, as to know that they believe and act very differently from what they recently did. On the religious innovations of Nanac, Sir John Malcolm gives us the following remarks.

‘Actuated by the great and benevolent design of reconciling the jarring faiths of Brahma and Muhammed, he endeavoured to conciliate both Hindoos and Moslems to his doctrine, by persuading them to reject those parts of their respective beliefs and usages, which, he contended, were unworthy of that God whom they both adored. He called upon the Hindoos to abandon the worship of idols, and to return to that pure devotion of the Deity, in which their religion originated. He called upon the Muhammedans to abstain from practices, like the slaughter of cows, that were offensive to the religion of the Hindoos, and to cease from the persecution of that race. Nanac endeavoured with all the power of his genius to impress both Hindoos and Muhammedans with a love of toleration, and an abhorrence of war; and his life was as peaceable as his doctrine. His extraordinary austerities are a constant theme of praise with his followers. His works are all in praise of God. Guru Govind gave a new character to the religion of his followers;—not by making any material alteration in the tenets of Nanac, but by establishing institutions and usages, which, by the complete abolition of all distinctions of castes, destroyed, at one blow, a system of civil polity, that,

from being interwoven with the religion of a weak and bigoted race, fixed the rule of its priests upon a basis that had withstood the shock of ages. The admission of proselytes,—the abolition of the distinctions of caste,—the eating of all kinds of flesh, except that of cows,—the form of religious worship,—and the general devotion of all Singhs to arms, are ordinances altogether irreconcilable with Hindu mythology, and have rendered the religion of the Sikhs as obnoxious to the Brahmens, and higher tribes of Hindoos, as it is popular with the lower orders of that numerous class of mankind.

In contemplating the grand fact which is presented by the history of the Sikhs, we mean, the facility with which a total change may be effected in the religion and institutions of the Hindus, several circumstances are brought forward by our author, which show pretty clearly in what manner such a revolution may be most easily effected. That very part of the Hindu system which has been represented as constituting its chief strength, is that which contains the seeds of its dissolution. The institution of castes exposes it to destruction. It presses on the great mass of the population with so galling a weight, that they are ready, it seems, to hail its dissolution with transport. The patriarchs of the Sikhs extended their sway with so much rapidity, chiefly by opening to the lower classes of the Hindus the prospect of those honours and riches, from which they had been so carefully excluded, that the hopes of worldly distinction, and the bitter feeling of their present degradation, speedily extinguished within them the veneration which they had been accustomed to feel for their ancient spiritual or temporal superiors. They adopted the religion of Nanac; and the castes were all blended into one. It is an opinion generally diffused among the Hindus, that a time is destined to arrive when this union of the castes will be universal. This, it is easy to see, is one of the prophecies which may be expected to operate to its own fulfilment.

It might be supposed, and is often enough asserted, that the Brahmens employ such effectual means to maintain their own authority, that the minds of the Hindus are altogether unable to emancipate themselves. The history of the Sikhs, however, affords a memorable proof of the contrary; and seems, indeed, to demonstrate, that nothing more is wanting than a popular and bold innovator; and that the system, whenever it is assailed, will assuredly give way.

One consideration, however, bears too directly upon our own interests to be altogether overlooked. It seems that the lower orders of Hindus are most easily stimulated to break the spell which prolongs their degradation, by the prospect of military advantages,—by having the sword placed in their hand, and be-

ing invited to plunder and glory. This, undoubtedly, presents us with rather an alarming prospect. When the Hindu system is broken up, and there are many circumstances which may lead us to suspect that it is advancing to a crisis, the change, it is much to be feared, will not be a peaceable one. Some adventurer, with extensive views and a resolute heart, may draw upon himself, in some convenient spot, the eyes of his countrymen: He has only to preach the elevation of the degraded castes, and summon them to the harvest of war, when the flame would probably run from one end of the land to the other. The history of the Sikhs may teach us if we chuse,—and experience may teach us whether we chuse or not,—that such a result is not altogether chimerical. But it is chimerical, we are well aware, to hope, that ruling heads, and ruling hands, will give themselves much concern about the matter. To foresee untoward events, and devise measures to avert them, is more difficult, and less pleasant, than to enjoy the ease of the present hour, and trust the evils of futurity to remedies which futurity may provide.

Sir John Malcolm, speaking of the present faith of the Sikhs, is pleased to describe it as 'a creed of pure deism, grounded on the most sublime general truths; blended with the belief of all the absurdities of the Hindu mythology, and the fables of Muhammedanism.' This we are afraid is not very consistent; and involves in truth a contradiction which is worth taking notice of, as we have met with it oftener than once in the writings and reasonings of persons of no ordinary authority. To speak of a creed of pure deism, blended with the belief of absurdities, is the same thing as to speak of a perfect system of philosophy, of which the greater part is nonsense. Is it not evident, that so far as absurdities are mixed with a religious creed, so far the purity of its deism is excluded? Is it not plain, for example, that in so far as a man believes that his God performs cruel actions, so far he detracts from his benevolence;—that so far as he believes him to perform foolish actions, and to be pleased with foolish actions in men, so far he detracts from his wisdom?

The truth is, however, that men, and even sensible men, allow themselves to be imposed upon by words. Nothing hinders the man who ascribes to his God a perpetual delight in acts of cruelty, to call him benevolent in words; and to extol him as the perfection of wisdom, at the very moment that he is imputing to him such acts and such motives as would convict the humblest of mortals of absurdity. When these terms are reported to superficial hearers, they call them pure deism. They are truly, however,

the result, not of high, but of low, conceptions of the divine nature. They proceed from the notion, that God is delighted with praise;—whence every epithet which imports it in the greatest quantity is sure to be the most greedily bestowed upon him. It is only the word, however, which is fine; the *idea* remains as gross and grovelling as ever. In fact, there is hardly any religion, above that of the mere savage, which applies not to the Divine Being a set of words denoting perfection. As soon, indeed, as such words are invented, they seem every where to be employed as describing the character of God. But if the man, who in one sentence ascribes to his God perfection, in the next ascribes to him conduct which would disgrace a wise and benevolent man, we are very sure that his creed is not pure deism. Even those who borrow their expressions from the pure source of Christianity, may very easily use them without the correspondent ideas: and as often as they are combined with absurdities in belief, this is unquestionably the case, and their actual creed is not pure deism. When a man ascribes acts of cruelty and acts of folly to the Supreme Being, it is mere absurdity to call him benevolent and wise. His conceptions and his words are in evident contradiction: and while he uses the language of pure deism, his belief is plainly most unworthy of that appellation.

The tendency which universally displays itself among the Hindus, as among other half-civilized nations, to form themselves into small divisions, and even, when forced by circumstances to assume for a time the form of a great nation, presently to dissolve into trifling communities, under the government of separate chiefs, speedily produced its usual effects among the people whose circumstances we are now contemplating. Guru Govind was the last acknowledged religious ruler of the Sikhs. A prophecy, no doubt the result of the spirit of independence which existed among the chiefs, limited the number of their spiritual guides to ten. The military prowess, indeed, of Bauda, and the necessity for combined measures of defence against the hostilities of the Moguls, preserved the union of the nation under that devoted follower and friend of Guru Govind. But the independent authority of the chiefs was, probably, soon after established; and every trifling district obtained a sovereign. These sovereigns, as usual, could not live in peace. The desire to increase their territories, their subjects, their armies, their revenues, produced mutual encroachments. Honour, of which the point is always the most delicate among the rudest people, was continually receiving hurt, and engaging them in courses of revenge. Feuds were transmitted from father to son; and a

state of internal hostility became habitual. ' Every village,' says Colonel Malcolm, ' has become an object of dispute ; and ' there are few, if any, in the Panjáb, the rule of which is not ' contested between brothers or near relations.'

It is however remarkable, that notwithstanding this state of disunion, there exists a species of federal connexion among the Sikhs, and a sort of general government to which they all profess obedience. It is denominated the *Khalsa*, a word which is understood to have a mystical import, and to denote that sacred institution which was appointed by Guru Govind, and to which it is the civil and religious duty of every Sikh to conform. A great national council, called *Gúrú-mata*, is the principal organ. Of this every chief is a member ; and it is understood to have a supreme authority over the federal body. The chiefs, however, take care that it shall not be often convened. It is only intended to act in times of great national emergency, when the united councils and arms of the nation are required. It is always held at Amritsar, where it is summoned and arranged by a set of religious devotees, called *Alkalis*, who have a great influence on its resolves. It is supposed to act under the immediate inspiration of the Divine Being ; and a fetterative chief, or head, who denominates himself the servant of the *Khalsa*, may be regarded as its executive organ. It was natural, however, that the power of this assembly should decline ; and from what we are told by Colonel Malcolm we may infer, that it is nearly destroyed. The last *Guru-mata* was called in 1805, when the British army pursued Holkar into the Panjab.

' It was summoned to decide on those means by which they could best avert the danger by which their country was threatened, from the presence of the English and Mahratta armies. But it was attended by few chiefs : and most of the absentees, who had any power, were bold and forward in their offers to resist every resolution to which this council might come. The intrigues and negotiations of all appeared, indeed, at this moment, to be entirely directed to objects of personal resentment, or personal aggrandizement ; and every shadow of that concord, which once formed the strength of the Sikh nation, seemed to be extinguished.'

Under the numerous petty sovereigns of the Sikh nation, ' who are all descended from Hindu tribes, there being no instance of a Singh of a Muhamedan family attaining high power,' the people may be considered as consisting chiefly of two classes ; the cultivators of the ground, and soldiers.

According to the system of revenue which is established in the country, and on which the condition of the husbandman depends, one-half of the produce of the soil is held to belong to the sovereign, the other to the cultivator ; ' but the chief never

‘levies the whole of his share: and in no country, perhaps, in the ryot, or cultivator, treated with more indulgence.’ The division of the country, which by occasioning internal wars is the cause of other calamities, is in one respect favourable to the body of the people; as it enables them to abandon the territory of a chief whom they dislike, and speedily to find protection under the government of another. As the revenue of sovereigns, who derive their income from the soil, is immediately affected by a diminution of cultivators, a sort of competition is excited among the chiefs, to excel in that species of conduct which is best calculated to ensure their residence. Hence an appearance of attention and conciliation from the chief towards his followers, and an air of considerable independence in the people, is generally visible among the Sikhs. The same cause produced similar effects among the Hindus; and accounts for the care of the ryot which their maxims of policy enjoin.

The peculiar disciples of the martial patriarch, Guru Govind, to whom he gave the name of Singh, or lion, are all devoted to arms, though not all soldiers. They are all horsemen. The Sikhs have no infantry, except for the defence of forts and villages. They have the Hindu cast of countenance, all the activity of the Mharattas, and far greater strength of body; from a more plentiful diet, and a more cool and salubrious climate. They are bold, and somewhat rough in their address. Their courage, Colonel Malcolm represents as equal to that of any natives of India;—‘when wrought upon by prejudice or religion, quite desperate.’ They use swords and spears; and most of them now carry match-locks; though the bow and arrow, in which they anciently excelled, are not yet entirely abandoned. Their horses are not of a superior description to those of the Mharattas; but both they and their riders are capable of enduring great privations and fatigue.

Of the moral character of the Sikhs, our author speaks in very favourable terms.

‘The Sikhs,’ he says, ‘have been reputed deceitful and cruel; but I know no grounds upon which they can be considered more so than the other tribes of India. They seemed to me, from all the intercourse I had with them, to be more open and sincere than the Mharattas, and less rude and savage than the Afghans. They were indeed become, from national success, too proud of their own strength, and too irritable in their tempers, to have patience for the wiles of the former;—and they retain, in spite of their change of manners and religion, too much of the original character of their Hindu ancestors, to have the constitutional ferocity of the latter. The Sikh soldier is, generally speaking, brave, active, and cheerful—without polish, but destitute neither of sincerity nor attachment. And if he

often appears wanting in humanity, it is not so much to be attributed to his national character, as to the habits of a life which, from the condition of the society in which he is born, is generally passed in scenes of violence and rapine. The Sikh merchant, or the cultivator, if he is a Singh, or follower of Guru Govind, differs little in character from the soldier, except that his occupation renders him less presuming and boisterous. He also wears arms; and is, from education, prompt to use them, whenever his individual interest, or that of the community in which he lives, requires him.

They despise luxury, and pride themselves in the coarseness of their fare. But in the indulgence of their sexual passions, they are accused of great libertinism and debauchery.

Beside the followers of Guru Govind, a portion it appears of the Sikhs profess to hold exclusively the doctrines of the original founder of the sect, and are exempted from the exercise of arms. The civil officers, our author says, to whom the chiefs intrust their accounts, the management of their property, their revenue concerns, and the conduct of their negotiations, are in general of this description—of the Kalasa caste, followers of Nanac, and educated solely for peaceful occupations, ‘in which they often become very expert and intelligent.’—‘Their character differs widely from that of the Singhs. Full of intrigue, pliant, versatile and insinuating, they have all the art of the lower classes of Hindus, who are usually employed in transacting business; from whom indeed, as they have no distinction of dress, it is very difficult to distinguish them.’

Their law is all *unwritten*. Nothing is consigned to any express form of words. There is no definition of any thing. The custom of the country, the custom of the court, (that is to say, as far as the judge is pleased to be governed by those customs), and the will of the judge,—are the circumstances which guide the decision. Among the Hindus, some of the sacred books, among the Mohamedans the Khoran, are used as the books of law. Among the Sikhs there is no such reference to any sacred books; and their situation is, in all probability, so much the better:—for the Koran or Hindu books, afford scarcely any rules or principles of law, which are not so vague as to speak any language which the interpreter chooses to give them; and while their authority is sufficient to supersede that of the natural dictates of justice and equity, which are the only guides of the Sikh Judges,—the Hindu or Mahomedan has only to find or to feign a principle of his book, which may enable him to decide as he pleases.

According to the general practice of rude nations, among whom the sovereign is also the judge, the chiefs or petty kings

of the Sikhs administer justice in person. The heads of villages are also vested with judicial power: And there is a species of arbitration court, called *Penchayat*, or court of five, which is known in every part of India, under the native governments; and as it is generally formed of the men of the best reputation in the place, is in high esteem. In disputes of property, the litigants may chuse to which of these tribunals they will apply; but their decisions are final. No complication is added to these disputes, nor is their settlement retarded, by multiplied forms; and the interests of lawyers. The parties meet in the presence of the judge, represent their own cases, produce their witnesses, and the decision is pronounced. 'A Sikh priest,' says Sir John Malcolm, 'who has been several years in Calcutta, gave this outline of the administration of justice among his countrymen. He spoke of it with rapture; and insisted, with true patriotic prejudice, on its great superiority over the vexatious system of the English government; which was, he said, tedious, vexatious, and expensive; and advantageous only to clever rogues.' The worthy Sikh, we doubt not, had his prejudices;—but he seems to us to have been a very sensible person.

ART. X. *Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn.* By Thomas Clarkson, M. A. 8vo. 2 vol. pp. 1020. London. 1813.

IT is impossible to look into any of Mr Clarkson's books, without feeling that he is an excellent man—and a very bad writer. Many of the defects of his composition, indeed, seem to be directly referable to the amiableness of his disposition.—An earnestness for truth and virtue, that does not allow him to waste any thought upon the ornaments by which they may be recommended—and a simplicity of character which is not aware that what is substantially respectable may be made dull or ridiculous by the manner in which it is presented—are virtues which we suspect not to have been very favourable to his reputation as an author. Feeling in himself not only an entire toleration of honest tediousness, but a decided preference for it upon all occasions over mere elegance or ingenuity, he seems to have transferred a little too hastily to books those principles of judgment which are admirable when applied to men; and to have forgotten, that though dullness may be a very venial fault in a good man, it is such a fault in a book as to render its good,

ness of no avail whatsoever. Unfortunately for Mr Clarkson, moral qualities alone will not make a good writer; nor are they even of the first importance on such an occasion: And accordingly, with all his philanthropy, piety, and inflexible honesty, he has not escaped the sin of tediousness,—and that to a degree that must render him almost illegible to any but Quakers, Reviewers, and others, who make public profession of patience insurmountable. He has no taste, and no spark of vivacity—not the vestige of an ear for harmony—and a prolixity of which modern times have scarcely preserved any other example. He seems to have a sufficiently sound and clear judgment, but no great acuteness of understanding; and, though visibly tasking himself to judge charitably and speak candidly of all men, is evidently beset with such an antipathy to all who persecute Quakers, or maltreat Negroes, as to make him very unwilling to report any thing in their favour. On the other hand, he has great industry—scrupulous veracity—and that serious and sober enthusiasm for his subject, which is sure in the long-run to disarm ridicule, and win upon inattention—and is frequently able to render vulgarity impressive, and simplicity sublime. Moreover, and above all, he is perfectly free from affectation; so that, though we may be wearied, we are never disturbed or offended—and read on, in tranquillity, till we find it impossible to read any more.

It will be guessed, however, that it is not on account of its literary merits that we are induced to take notice of the work before us. WILLIAM PENN, to whose honour it is wholly devoted, was, beyond all doubt, a personage of no ordinary standard—and ought, before this time, to have met with a biographer capable of doing him justice. He is most known, and most deserving of being known, as the settler of Pennsylvania; but his private character also is interesting, and full of those peculiarities which distinguished the temper and manners of a great part of the English nation at the period in which he lived. His theological and polemical exploits are no less characteristic of the man and of the times;—though all that is really edifying in this part of his history might have been given in about one twentieth part of the space which is allotted to it in the volumes of Mr Clarkson.

William Penn was born in 1644, the only son of Admiral Sir W. Penn, the representative of an antient and honourable family in Buckingham and Gloucestershire. He was regularly educated; and entered a Gentleman Commoner at Christ's Church, Oxford, where he distinguished himself very early for his proficiency both in classical learning and athletic exercises. When he was only about sixteen, however, he was rous-

ed to a sense of the corruptions of the established faith by the preaching of one Thomas Loe, a Quaker—and immediately discontinued his attendance at chapel; and, with some other youths of his own way of thinking, began to hold prayer meetings in their private apartments. This, of course, gave great scandal to his academical superiors; and a large fine, with suitable admonitions, were imposed on the young nonconformist. Just at this critical period, an order was unluckily received from Court to resume the use of the surplice, which it seems had been discontinued almost ever since the period of the Reformation; and the sight of this unfortunate vestment, ‘operated,’ as Mr Clarkson expresses it, ‘so *disagreeably* on William Penn, that he could not bear it; and, joining himself with some other young gentlemen, he fell upon those students who appeared in surplices, and tore them every where over their heads.’ This, we conceive, was not quite correct, even as a Quaker proceeding; and was but an unpromising beginning for the future champion of religious liberty. Its natural consequence, however, was, that he and his associates were, without further ceremony, expelled from the University; and when he went home to his father, and attempted to justify by argument the measures he had adopted, it was no less natural that the good Admiral should give him a box on the ear, and turn him out at the door.

This course of discipline, however, not proving immediately effectual, he was sent upon his travels, along with some other young gentlemen, and resided for two years in France, and the Low Countries; but without any change either in those serious views of religion, or those austere notions of morality, by which his youth had been so prematurely distinguished. On his return, his father again endeavoured to subdue him to a more worldly frame of mind; first, by setting him to study law at Lincoln’s Inn; and afterwards, by sending him to the Duke of Ormond’s court at Dublin, and giving him the charge of his large possessions in that kingdom. These expedients might perhaps have been attended with success, had he not accidentally fallen in at Cork with his old friend Thomas Loe the Quaker,—who set before him such a view of the dangers of his situation, that he seems from that day forward to have renounced all secular occupations, and betaken himself to devotion, as the main business of his future life.

The reign of Charles II., however, was not auspicious to dissenters; and in those evil days of persecution, he was speedily put in prison for attending several of the Quaker meetings; but was soon liberated, and again came back to his father’s house, where a long disputation took place upon the subject of his new creed.

It broke up with this moderate and very loyal proposition on the part of the Vice-Admiral—that the young Quaker should consent to sit with his hat off, in presence of the King—the Duke of York—and the Admiral himself! in return for which slight compliance, it was stipulated that he should be no longer molested for any of his opinions or practices. The heroic convert, however, would listen to no terms of composition; and, after taking some days to consider of it, reported, that his conscience could not comport with any species of *hat worship*—and was again turned out of doors for his pains.

He now took openly to preaching in the Quaker meetings, and shortly after began that course of theological and controversial publications, in which he persisted to his dying day; and which has had the effect of overwhelming his memory with two vast folio volumes of Puritanical pamphlets. His most considerable work seems to have been that entitled, ‘No Cross, no Crown;’ in which he not only explains and vindicates, at great length, the grounds of the peculiar doctrines and observances of the Society to which he belonged,—but endeavours to show, by a very large and entertaining induction of instances from profane history, that the same general principles had been adopted and acted upon by the wise and good in every generation, and were suggested indeed to the reflecting mind by the inward voice of conscience, and the analogy of the whole visible scheme of God’s providence in the government of the world. The intermixture of worldly learning, and the larger and bolder scope of this performance, render it far more legible than the pious exhortations and pertinacious polemics which fill the greater part of his subsequent publications. In his love of controversy and of printing, indeed, this worthy sectary seems to have been the very PRIESTLEY of the 17th century. He not only responded in due form to every work in which the principles of his sect were directly or indirectly attacked,—but whenever he heard a sermon that he did not like,—or learned that any of the Friends had been put in the stocks;—whenever he was prevented from preaching,—or learned any edifying particulars of the death of a Quaker, or of a persecutor of Quakers, he was instantly at the press with a letter, or a narrative, or an admonition—and never desisted from the contest till he had reduced the adversary to silence. The members of the established Church, indeed, were rarely so unwary as to make any rejoinder; and most of his disputes accordingly were with rival sectaries, in whom the spirit of proselytism and jealous zeal is always stronger than in the members of a larger and stronger body. They were not always contented indeed with the regular and

general war of the press, but frequently challenged each other to personal combat, in the form of solemn and public disputations. William Penn had the honour of being repeatedly appointed the champion of the Quakers in these theological duels; and never failed, according to his partial biographer, completely to demolish his opponent;—though it appears that he did not always meet with perfectly fair play on the occasion, and that the chivalrous law of arms was by no means correctly observed in these ghostly encounters. His first *set to*, was with one Vincent, the oracle of a neighbouring congregation of Presbyterians, and affords rather a ludicrous example of the futility and indecorum which are apt to characterize all such exhibitions. After the debate had gone on for some time, Vincent made a long discourse, in which he openly accused the Quakers of blasphemy; and as soon as he had done, he made off, and desired all his friends to follow him. Penn insisted upon being heard in defence; but the Presbyterian troops pulled him down by the skirts; and proceeding to blow out the candles, (for the battle had already lasted till midnight), left the indignant orator in utter darkness. He was not to be baffled or appalled, however, by a privation of this description; and accordingly went on to argue and retort in the dark, with such force and effect, that it was thought advisable to send out for his fugitive opponent, who, after some time, appeared with a candle in his hand, and begged that the debate might be adjourned to another day. But he could never be prevailed on, Mr Clarkson assures us, to renew the combat; and Penn, after going and defying him in his own meeting-house, had recourse, as usual, to the press; and put forth ‘*The Sandy Foundation Shaken*,’ for which he had the pleasure of being committed to the Tower, on the instigation of the Bishop of London; and solaced himself, during his confinement, by writing six other pamphlets.

Soon after his deliverance, he was again taken up, and brought to trial before the Lord Mayor and Recorder for preaching in a Quaker meeting. He afterwards published an account of this proceeding;—and it is in our opinion one of the most curious and instructive pieces that ever came from his pen. The times to which it relates, are sufficiently known indeed to have been times of gross oppression and judicial abuse;—but the brutality of the Court upon this occasion seems to us to exceed any thing that is recorded elsewhere;—and the firmness of the jury still deserves to be remembered, for example to happier days. The prisoner came into court, according to Quaker costume, with his hat on his head;—but the doorkeeper, with a due zeal for the dignity of the place, pulled it off as he entered.—Upon this, how-

ever, the Lord Mayor became quite furious, and ordered the unfortunate beaver to be instantly replaced—which was no sooner done than he fined the poor culprit for appearing covered in his presence!—William Penn now insisted upon knowing what law he was accused of having broken,—to which simple question the Recorder was reduced to answer, ‘that he was an impertinent fellow,—and that many had studied thirty or forty years to understand the law, which he was for having expounded in a moment.’ The learned controversialist however was not to be silenced so easily;—he quoted Lord Coke and *Magna Charta* on his antagonist in a moment; and chastised his insolence by one of the best and most characteristic repartees that we recollect ever to have met with. ‘I tell you to be silent, cried the Recorder in a great passion, if we should suffer you to ask questions till to-morrow morning you would be never the wiser.’—‘That’ replied the Quaker, with his immoveable tranquillity, ‘That is, according as *the answers* are.’—‘Take him away, take him away,’ exclaimed the Mayor and the Recorder in a breath—‘turn him into the Bale Dock;’—and into the Bale Dock, a filthy and pestilent dungeon in the neighbourhood, he was accordingly turned—discoursing calmly all the way on *Magna Charta* and the rights of Englishmen;—while the courtly Recorder delivered a very animated charge to the Jury, in the absence of the prisoner.

The Jury, however, after a short consultation, brought in a verdict, finding him merely ‘guilty of *speaking* in Grace-Church Street.’ For this cautious and most correct deliverance, they were loaded with reproaches by the Court, and sent out to amend their verdict,—but in half an hour they returned with the same ingenious finding, fairly written out and subscribed with all their names. The Court now became more furious than ever, and shut them up without meat, drink, or fire, till next morning, when they twice over came back with the same verdict;—upon which they were reviled, and threatened so furiously by the Recorder, that William Penn protested against this plain intimidation of the persons, to whose *free* suffrages the law had entrusted his cause. The answer of the Recorder was, ‘Stop his mouth, jailor—bring fetters and stake him to the ground.’ William Penn replied with the temper of a Quaker, and the spirit of a martyr. ‘Do your pleasure—I matter not your fetters.’ And the recorder took occasion to observe, ‘that, till now, he never understood the policy of the Spaniards, in suffering *the Inquisition* among them.’ But now he saw that ‘it would never be well with us, till we had something like the Spanish Inquisition in England!’ After this sage remark, the Jury were again sent back,—and kept other twenty-four hours,

without food or refreshment. On the third day, the natural and glorious effect of this brutality on the spirits of Englishmen was at length produced. Instead of the special and unmeaning form of their first verdict, they now, all in one voice, declared the prisoner **NOT GUILTY**. The recorder again broke out into abuse and menace; and, after 'praying God to keep his life out of such hands,' proceeded, 'we really do not see on what pretext, to fine every man of them in forty merks, and to order them to prison till payment.' William Penn then demanded his liberty; but was ordered into custody till he paid the fine imposed on him for wearing his hat; and was forthwith dragged away to his old lodging in the Baledock, while in the very act of quoting the 29th chapter of the Great Charter, '*Nullus liber homo*,' &c. As he positively refused to acknowledge the legality of this infliction by paying the fine, he might have lain long enough in this dungeon; but his father, who was now reconciled to him, sent the money privately, and he was at last set at liberty.

The spirit, however, which had dictated these proceedings was not likely to cease from troubling; and, within less than a year, the poor Quaker was again brought before the Magistrate on an accusation of illegal preaching; and was again about to be dismissed for want of evidence, when the worthy Justice ingeniously bethought himself of tendering to the prisoner the oath of allegiance, which, as well as every other oath, he knew that his principles would oblige him to refuse. Instead of the oath, W. Penn accordingly offered to give his reasons for not swearing; but the Magistrate refused to hear him: and an altercation ensued, in the course of which the Justice having insinuated, that, in spite of his sanctified exterior, the young preacher was as bad as other folks in his practice, the Quaker forgot, for one moment, the systematic meekness and composure of his sect, and burst out into this triumphant appeal—

"I make this bold challenge to all men, women, and children upon earth, justly to accuse me with having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word, much less that I ever made it my practice. I speak this to God's glory, who has ever preserved me from the power of these pollutions, and who from a child begot an hatred in me towards them. Thy words shall be thy burthen, and I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet." p. 99, 100.

The greater part of the audience confirmed this statement; and the judicial calumniator had nothing for it, but to sentence this unreasoning Puritan to six months imprisonment in New-

gate; where he amused himself, as usual, by writing and publishing four pamphlets in support of his opinions.

It is by no means our intention, however, to digest a chronicle either of his persecutions or his publications.—In the earlier part of his career, he seems to have been in prison every six months; and, for a very considerable period of it, certainly favoured the world with at least six new pamphlets every year. In all these, as well as in his public appearances, there is a singular mixture of earnestness and sobriety—a devotedness to the cause in which he was engaged, that is almost sublime; and a temperance and patience towards his opponents, that is truly admirable: while in the whole of his private life, there is redundant testimony, even from the mouths of his enemies, that his conduct was pure and philanthropic in an extraordinary degree, and distinguished at the same time for singular prudence and judgment in all ordinary affairs. His virtues and his sufferings appear at last to have overcome his father's objections to his peculiar tenets; and a thorough and cordial reconciliation took place previous to their final separation. On his deathbed the admiral is said to have approved warmly of every part of his son's conduct; and to have predicted, that 'if he and his friends kept to their plain way of preaching and of living, they would speedily make an end of the priests, to the end of the world.'—By his father's death, he succeeded ~~to~~ a handsome estate, then yielding upwards of 1500*l.* a year, but made no change either in his professions or way of life. He was at the press and in Newgate, after this event, exactly as before; and defied and reviled the luxury of the age, just as vehemently, when he was in a condition to partake of it, as in the days of his poverty. Within a short time after his succession, he made a pilgrimage to Holland and Germany in company with George Fox; where it is said that they converted many of all ranks, including young ladies of quality and old professors of divinity. They were ill used, however, by a surly Graf or two, who sent them out of their dominions under a corporal's guard; an attention which they repaid, by long letters of expostulation and advice, which the worthy Grafs were probably neither able nor willing to read.

In the midst of these labours and trials, he found time to marry a lady of great beauty and accomplishment; and settled himself in a comfortable and orderly house in the country—but, at the same time, remitted nothing of his zeal and activity in support of the cause in which he had embarked. When the penal statutes against Popish recusants were about to be passed, in 1678, by the tenor of which, certain grievous punishments

were inflicted upon all who did not frequent the established church, or charge themselves, *upon oath*, from popery, William Penn was allowed to be heard before a Committee of the House of Commons, in support of the Quakers' application for some exemption from the unintended severity of these edicts;—and what has been preserved of his speech upon that occasion, certainly is not the least respectable of his performances. It required no ordinary magnanimity for any one, in the very height of the frenzy of the Popish plot, boldly to tell the House of Commons, 'that it was unlawful to inflict punishment upon Catholics themselves, on account of a conscientious dissent.' This, however, William Penn did, with the firmness of a true philosopher; but at the same time, with so much of the meekness and humility of the Quaker, that he was heard without offence or interruption:—and having thus put in his protest against the general principle of intolerance, he proceeded to plead his own cause and that of his brethren as follows.

'I was bred a Protestant, and that strictly too. I lost nothing by time or study. For years, reading, travel, and observations made the religion of my education the religion of my judgement. My alteration hath brought none to that belief; and though the posture I am in may seem odd or strange to you, yet I am conscientious; and, till you know me better, I hope your charity will call it rather my unhappiness than my crime. I do tell you again, and here solemnly declare, in presence of the Almighty God, and before you all, that the profession I now make, and the Society I now adhere to, have been so far from altering that Protestant judgement I had, that I am not conscious to myself of having receded from an iota of any one principle maintained by those first Protestants and Reformers of Germany, and our own martyrs at home, against the see of Rome. On the contrary, I do with great truth assure you, that we are of the same negative faith with the ancient Protestant church; and upon occasion shall be ready, by God's assistance, to make it appear, that we are of the same belief as to the most fundamental positive articles of her creed too; and therefore it is, we think it hard, that though we deny in common with her those doctrines of Rome so zealously protested against, (from whence the name Protestants,) yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with extreme severity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines which we do so deny. We chuse no suffering; for God knows what we have already suffered, and how many sufficient and trading families are reduced to great poverty by it. We think ourselves an useful people. We are sure we are a peaceable people: yet, if we must still suffer, let us not suffer as Popish Recusants, but as Protestant Dissenters.' p. 220, 221.

About the same period we find him closely leagued with no

less a person than Algernon Sydney, and busily employed in canvassing for him in the burgh of Guilford. But the most important of his occupations at this time, were those which connected him with that region which was destined to be the scene of his greatest and most memorable exertions. An accidental circumstance had a few years before engaged him in some inquiries with regard to the state of that district in North America, since called New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. A great part of this territory had been granted by the Crown to the family of Lord Berkeley, who had recently sold a large part of it to a Quaker of the name of Billynge; and this person having fallen into pecuniary embarrassments, prevailed upon William Penn to accept of a conveyance of this property, and to undertake the management of it, as trustee for his creditors. The conscientious trustee applied himself to the discharge of this duty with his habitual scrupulousness and activity;—and having speedily made himself acquainted with the condition and capabilities of the great province in question, was immediately struck with the opportunity it afforded, both for a beneficent arrangement of the interests of its inhabitants, and for providing a pleasant and desirable retreat for such of his own communion as were willing to leave their native land in pursuit of religious liberty. The original charter had vested the proprietor, under certain limitations, with the power of legislation; and one of the first works of William Penn, was to draw up a sort of constitution for the land vested in Billynge—the cardinal foundation of which was, that no man should be troubled, molested, or subjected to any disability, on account of his religion. He then superintended the embarkation of two or three ship-loads of Quakers, who set off for this land of promise;—and continued from time to time, both to hear so much of their prosperity, and to feel how much a larger proprietor might have it in his power to promote and extend it, that he at length conceived the idea of acquiring for himself a much larger district, and founding a settlement upon a still more liberal and comprehensive plan. The means of doing this were providentially placed in his hands, by the circumstance of his father having a claim upon the dissolute and needy government of that day, for no less than 16,000*l.*,—in lieu of which W. Penn proposed, that the district since called Pennsylvania should be made over to him, with such ample powers of administration, as made him little less than absolute sovereign of the country. The right of legislation was left entirely to him, and such councils as he might appoint; with no other limitation, than that his laws should be liable to be rescinded by the Privy Council of England, within

six months after they were reported to it. This memorable charter was signed on the 4th of March 1681. He originally intended, that the country should have been called New Wales; but the under Secretary of State being a Welshman, thought, it seems, that this was using too much liberty with the ancient principality; and objected to it. He then suggested Sylvania; but the King himself insisted upon adding Penn to it,—and after some struggles of modesty, it was found necessary to submit to his gracious desires.

He now proceeded to encourage settlers of all sorts,—but especially such sectaries as were impatient of the restraints and persecutions to which they were subjected in England; and published certain conditions and regulations, ‘the first fundamental of which,’ as he expresses it, ‘was, that every person should enjoy the free profession of his faith, and exercise of worship towards God, in such way as he shall in his conscience believe is most acceptable; and should be protected in this liberty by the authority of the civil magistrate.’ With regard to the native inhabitants, he positively enacted, that ‘whoever should hurt, wrong, or offend any Indian, should incur the same penalty as if he had offended in like manner against his fellow planter;’ and that the planters should not be their own judges in case of any difference with the Indians, but that all such differences should be settled by twelve referees, six Indians and six planters; under the direction, if need were, of the Governor of the province, and the Chief, or King of the Indians concerned. Under these wise and merciful regulations, three ships full of passengers sailed for the new province in the end of 1681. In one of these was Colonel Markham, a relation of Mr Penn’s, and intended to act as his secretary when he should himself arrive. He was the chief of several commissioners, who were appointed to confer with the Indians with regard to the cession or purchase of their lands, and the terms of a perpetual peace,—and was the bearer of the following letter to them from the Governor, which we think worthy of being transcribed, for the singular plainness, and engaging honesty, of its manner.

‘There is a great God, and Power, which hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you, and I, and all people, owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we have done in the world.

‘This great God has written his law in our hearts; by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help, and to do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the King of the country

where I live hath given me a great province there; but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us (not to devour and destroy one another, but) to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now, I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice which have been too much exercised toward you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you. This I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood; which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard toward you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in any thing any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

“I shall shortly come to see you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the mean time I have sent my Commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and to the people, and receive the presents and tokens, which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and of my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

“I am your loving Friend, WILLIAM PENN.”

In the course of the succeeding year, he prepared to follow these first colonists; and accordingly embarked, with about an hundred other Quakers, in the month of September 1682. Before separating himself, however, from his family on this long pilgrimage, he addressed a long letter of love and admonition to his wife and children, from which we are tempted to make a pretty large extract for the entertainment and edification of our readers. There is something, we think, very touching and venerable in the affectionateness of its whole strain, and the patriarchal simplicity in which it is conceived; while the language appears to us to be one of the most beautiful specimens of that soft and mellow English, which, with all its redundancy and cumbrous volume, has, to our ears, a far richer and more pathetic sweetness than the epigrams and apothegms of modern times. The letter begins in this manner.

“My dear wife and children,

“My love, which neither sea, nor land, nor death itself, can extinguish or lessen toward you, most endearedly visits you with eter-

nal embraces, and will abide with you for ever : and may the God of my life wait on you, and bless you, and do you good in this world and for ever !—Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective capacities, as I am to one a husband, and to the rest a father, if I should never see you more in this world.

“ My dear wife ! remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life ; the most beloved, as well as most worthy of all my earthly comforts : and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making ; and God's image in us both was the first thing, and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest. ’

Then, after some counsel about godliness and economy, he proceeds—

“ And now, my dearest, let me recommend to thy care my dear children ; abundantly beloved of me, as the Lord's blessings, and the sweet pledges of our mutual and endeared affection. Above all things endeavour to breed them up in the love of virtue, and that holy plain way of it which we have lived in, that the world in no part of it get into my family. I had rather they were homely than finely bred as to outward behaviour ; yet I love sweetness mixed with gravity, and cheerfulness tempered with sobriety. Religion in the heart leads into this true civility, teaching men and women to be mild and courteous in their behaviour ; an accomplishment worthy indeed of praise.

“ Next breed them up in a love one of another : tell them, it is the charge I left behind me ; and that it is the way to have the love and blessing of God upon them. Sometimes separate them, but not long ; and allow them to send and give each other small things to endear one another with. Once more I say, tell them it was my counsel they should be tender and affectionate one to another. For their learning be liberal. Spare no cost ; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved : but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind ; but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and the mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses or ships, measuring, surveying, dialling, navigation ; but agriculture is especially in my eye ; let my children be husbandmen and housewives ; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of good example : like Abraham and the holy ancients, who pleased God, and obtained a good report. This leads to consider the works of God and nature, of things that are good, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. Rather keep an ingenious person in the house to teach them, than send them to schools, too many evil impressions being commonly re-

ceived there. Be sure to observe their genius, and do not cross it, as to learning: let them not dwell too long on one thing; but let their change be agreeable, and all their diversions have some little bodily labour in them. When grown big, have most care for them; for then there are more snares both within and without. When marriageable, see that they have worthy persons in their eye, of good life, and good fame for piety and understanding. I need no wealth, but sufficiency; and be sure their love be dear, fervent, and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I choose not they should be married to earthly, covetous kindred: and of cities and towns of concourse, beware: the world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there: a country life and estate I like best for my children. I prefer a decent mansion, of an hundred pounds per annum, before ten thousand pounds in London, or such like place, in a way of trade."

He next addresses himself to his children.

"Be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good name is an honour to you; for she hath been exceeded by by none in her time for her integrity, humanity, virtue, and good understanding; qualities not usual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Therefore honour and obey her, my dear children, as your mother, and your father's love and delight; nay love her too, for she loved your father with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors: and though she be of a delicate constitution and noble spirit, yet she descended to the utmost tenderness and care for you, performing the painfulest acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurse too. I charge you, before the Lord, honour and obey, love and cherish your dear mother.

"Next: betake yourselves to some honest, industrious course of life, and that not of sordid covetousness, but for example and to avoid idleness. And if you charge your condition, and marry, choose, with the knowledge and consent of your mother if living, or of guardians, or those that have the charge of you. Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord, and a sweet and amiable disposition, such as you can love above all this world, and that may make your habitations pleasant and desirable to you. And being married, be tender, affectionate, patient, and meek. Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the due bounds of friendship; neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not."

After a great number of other affectionate counsels, he turns particularly to his elder boys.

"And as for you, who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania, I do charge you before the Lord God and his holy angels, that you be lowly, diligent, and tender, fearing God, loving the people, and hating covetousness. Let justice have its

impartial courts; and the law free passage. Though to your loss, protect no man against it; for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live therefore the lives yourselves you would have the people live. and then you have right and boldness to punish the transgressor. Keep upon the square, for God sees you: therefore do your duty, and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears. Entertain no lurchers; cherish no informers for gain or revenge; use no tricks; fly to no devices to support or cover injustice; but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting in him above the contrivances of men, and none shall be able to hurt or supplant.

We should like to see any private letter of instructions from a sovereign to his heir-apparent, that will bear a comparison with the injunctions of this honest Sectary. He concludes as follows.

"Finally, my children, love one another with a true endeared love, and your dear relations on both sides, and take care to preserve tender affection in your children to each other, often marrying within themselves, so as it be without the bounds forbidden in God's law, that so they may not, like the forgetting unnatural world, grow out of kindred and as cold as strangers; but, as becomes a truly natural and Christian stock, you and yours after you, may live in the pure and fervent love of God towards one another, as becometh brethren in the spiritual and natural relation."

"So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children!

"Yours, as God pleaseth, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains for ever,

"*Worminghurst, fourth of
sixth month, 1682.*"

"WILLIAM PENN."

Immediately after writing this letter, he embarked, and arrived safely in the Delaware with all his companions. The country assigned to him by the royal charter was yet full of its original inhabitants; and the principles of William Penn did not allow him to look upon that gift as a warrant to dispossess the first proprietors of the land. He had accordingly appointed his commissioners, the preceding year, to treat with them for the fair purchase of a part of their lands, and for their joint possession of the remainder; and the terms of the settlement being now nearly agreed upon, he proceeded, very soon after his arrival, to conclude the settlement, and solemnly to pledge his faith, and to ratify and confirm the treaty in sight both of the Indians and Planters. For this purpose a grand convocation of the tribes had been appointed near the spot where Philadelphia now stands; and it was agreed that he and the presiding Sachems should meet and exchange faith, under the spreading branches of a prodigious elm-tree that grew on the bank of the river. On the day appointed, accordingly, an innumerable multitude of the Indians assembled in that neighbourhood; and

were seen, with their dark visages and brandished arms, moving, in vast swarms, in the depth of the woods which then overshadowed the whole of that now cultivated region. On the other hand, William Penn, with a moderate attendance of Friends, advanced to meet them. He came of course unarmed—in his usual plain dress—without banners, or mace, or guards, or carriages; and only distinguished from his companions by wearing a blue sash of silk network, (which it seems is still preserved by Mr Kett of Scething-hall, near Norwich), and by having in his hand a roll of parchment, on which was engrossed the confirmation of the treaty of purchase and amity. As soon as he drew near the spot where the Sachems were assembled, the whole multitude of Indians threw down their weapons, and seated themselves on the ground in groups, each under his own chieftain; and the presiding chief intimated to William Penn, that the nations were ready to hear him. Mr Clarkson regrets, and we cordially join in the sentiment, that there is no written, contemporary account of the particulars attending this interesting and truly novel transaction. He assures us, however, that they are still in a great measure preserved in oral tradition, and that both what we have just stated, and what follows, may be relied on as perfectly accurate. The sequel we give in his own words.

‘ Having been thus called upon, he began. The Great Spirit, he said, who made him and them, who ruled the Heaven and the Earth, and who knew the innermost thoughts of man, knew that he and his friends had a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. It was not their custom to use hostile weapons against their fellow-creatures, for which reason they had come unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. They were then met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage was to be taken on either side, but all was to be openness, brotherhood, and love. After these and other words, he unrolled the parchment, and by means of the same interpreter conveyed to them, article by article, the conditions of the Purchase, and the Words of the Compact then made for their eternal Union. Among other things, they were not to be molested in their lawful pursuits even in the territory they had alienated, for it was to be common to them and the English. They were to have the same liberty to do all things therein relating to the improvement of their grounds, and providing sustenance for their families, which the English had. If any disputes should arise between the two, they should be settled by twelve persons, half of whom should be English, and half Indians. He then paid them for the land, and made them many presents besides from the merchandize which had been spread before them. Having done this, he laid the roll of parch-

ment on the ground, observing again, that the ground should be common to both people. He then added, that he would not do as the Marylanders did, that is, call them Children or Brothers only; for often parents were apt to whip their children too severely, and Brothers sometimes would differ: neither would he compare the Friendship between him and them to a Chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it; but he should consider them as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts. He then took up the parchment, and presented it to the Sachem who wore the horn in the chaplet, and desired him and the other Sachems to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he had remained himself with them to repeat it.' p. 341-43.

The Indians, in return, made long and stately harangues—of which, however, no more seems to have been remembered, but that 'they pledged themselves to live in love with William Penn and his children, as long as the sun and moon should endure.' And thus ended this famous treaty;—of which Voltaire has remarked, with so much truth and severity, 'that it was the only one ever concluded between savages and Christians that was not ratified by an oath—and the only one that never was broken!'

Such, indeed, was the spirit in which the negotiation was entered into, and the corresponding settlement conducted, that for the space of more than seventy years—and so long indeed as the Quakers retained the chief power in the government, the peace and amity which had been thus solemnly promised and concluded, never was violated;—and a large and most striking, though solitary example afforded, of the facility with which they who are really sincere and friendly in their own views, may live in harmony even with those who are supposed to be peculiarly fierce and faithless. We cannot bring ourselves to wish that there were nothing but Quakers in the world—because we fear it would be insupportably dull;—but when we consider what tremendous evils daily arise from the petulance and profligacy, and ambition and irritability, of Sovereigns and Ministers, we cannot help thinking, it would be the most efficacious of all reforms to choose all those ruling personages out of that plain, pacific, and sober-minded sect.

William Penn now held an assembly, in which fifty-nine important laws were passed in the course of three days. The most remarkable were those which limited the number of capital crimes to two—murder and high treason,—and which provided for the reformation, as well as the punishment of offenders, by making the prisons places of compulsive industry, sobriety, and instruction. It was likewise enacted, that all children, of whatever

rank, should be instructed in some art or trade. The fees of law proceedings were fixed, and inscribed on public tables;—and the amount of fines to be levied for offences also limited by legislative authority. Many admirable regulations were added, for the encouragement of industry, and mutual usefulness and esteem. There is something very agreeable in the contentment, and sober and well-earned self-complacency, which breathe in the following letter of this great colonist—written during his first rest from those great labours.

“ I am now casting the country into townships for large lots of land. I have held an Assembly, in which many good laws are passed. We could not stay safely till the spring for a Government. I have annexed the Territories lately obtained to the Province, and passed a general naturalization for strangers; which hath much pleased the people.—As to outward things, we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild fowl and fish: in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would be well contented with; and service enough for God, for the fields are here white for harvest. O, how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries, and perplexities of woeful Europe! ” p. 350, 351.

We cannot persuade ourselves, however, to pursue any farther the details of this edifying biography. W. Penn returned to England after a residence of about two years in his colony—got into great favour with James II.—and was bitterly calumniated as a Jesuit, both by churchmen and sectaries—went on doing good and preaching Quakerism—was sorely persecuted and insulted, and deprived of his Government, but finally acquitted, and honourably restored, under King William—lost his wife and son—travelled and married again—returned to Pennsylvania in 1699 for two years longer—came finally home to England—continued to preach and publish as copiously as ever—was reduced to a state of kindly dotage by three strokes of apoplexy—and died at last at the age of seventy-two, in the year 1718.

He seems to have been a man of kind affections, singular activity and perseverance, and great practical wisdom. Yet we can well believe with Burnet, that he was a little puffed up with vanity; and that ‘ he had a tedious, luscious way of talking, that was apt to tire the patience of his hearers.’ He was very neat in his person; and had a great horror at tobacco, which occasionally endangered his popularity in his American domains. He was mighty methodical in ordering his household; and had stuck up in his hall a written directory, or General Order, for the regulation of his family, to which

he exacted the strictest conformity. According to this rigorous system of discipline, he required

— that in that quarter of the year which included part of the winter and part of the spring, the members of it were to rise at seven in the morning, in the next at six, in the next at five, and in the last at six again. Nine o'clock was the hour for breakfast, twelve for dinner, seven for supper, and ten to retire to bed. The whole family were to assemble every morning for worship. They were to be called together at eleven again, that each might read in turn some portion of the holy Scripture, or of Martyrology, or of Friends' books; and finally they were to meet again for worship at six in the evening. On the days of public meeting, no one was to be absent except on the plea of health or of unavoidable engagement. The servants were to be called up after supper to render to their master and mistress an account of what they had done in the day, and to receive instructions for the next; and were particularly exhorted to avoid lewd discourses and troublesome noises.

We shall not stop to examine what dregs of ambition, or what hankerings after worldly prosperity, may have mixed themselves with the pious and philanthropic principles that were undoubtedly his chief guides in forming that great settlement which still bears his name, and profits by his example. Human virtue does not challenge, nor admit of such a scrutiny: and it should be sufficient for the glory of William Penn, that he stands upon record as the most humane, the most moderate, and most pacific of all governors.

ART. XI. *Seventh Report of the Directors of the African Institution,—read at the Annual General Meeting on the 26th of March 1813: To which are added, an Appendix, and a List of Subscribers.* 8vo. pp. 111. London, Hatchard. 1813.

ALTHOUGH a good deal of what we had to state, upon the subject of this Report, has been anticipated in our account of the Slave-trade trials in the last Number, we are unwilling to break through the custom of noticing all the Reports of the Institution as early as possible after their appearance. This practice ensures the early publication of intelligence interesting to abolitionists, and keeps the attention of the country directed steadily to every thing connected with the subject of Africa and the West Indies.

The Report now before us, begins with the proceedings at the last General Meeting; and, among other well merited votes of thanks, there is one in which every one must concur, we mean,

that to the secretary, Mr Harrison, (who succeeded Mr M'Caulay last year), 'for his assiduous attention to the interests of the Institution, and for his able and gratuitous services.' The labour of such an office is not small; it exceeds that of many public stations which secure wealth and honours to their possessors, and which confer those rewards, ungrudged by the world, because they are by no means the wages of idleness. They who fill gratuitous places like that under consideration, have only the satisfaction of promoting principles to which they are attached, and the applause of such as interest themselves in the same pursuits.

The List of the Directors suggests a subject of melancholy reflection,—the death of the venerable GRANVILLE SHARP. A more ample opportunity, and a worthier pen, are required to do justice to his pious memory: And we learn, with a singular satisfaction, that the Institution has already adopted measures for obtaining an history of his blameless and well spent life. Yet can we not refuse ourselves the gratification of dwelling for a moment upon a theme, consecrated in the hearts of all who revere exalted worth, and delight to contemplate a long course of quiet and peaceful, but unremitting exertion for the liberties and happiness of mankind. In preserving the names of other virtuous men from the temporary oblivion into which more dazzling and perishable glories are wont to cast them, it is frequently necessary to exhaust the arts of composition, to display arguments which may convince, or to seek, amidst figures and periods, the road to congenial feelings. But he who would hold up this venerable philanthropist in the most striking light, has only to tell faithfully and plainly the story of his actions. Unaided by any authority, or party, or man in the state; before any of those benevolent institutions existed, which have since done so much honour to the age; opposed by the opinions of lawyers, the influence of statesmen, and the most rooted prejudices of the times; he fought, by his single exertions, and at his individual expense, the most memorable battle for the constitution of this country—and in its consequences for the interests of the species—of which modern times afford any record. To him we owe the practical establishment of the great maxim, that the air of these islands is too pure for a slave to breathe:—And if, in this its most concise, but accurate statement, the proposition sounds romantic, we may reflect a little on the broad, splendid, and notorious *fact* to which it is equivalent—the man who established it, abolished a slave-trade carried on in the streets of Liverpool and London. To trace the history of this struggle;—to follow the steps by which this gentle,

but bold and persevering man, steadily pursued his object through difficulties the most complicated and embarrassing—educating himself (to take a single instance) as a practical lawyer for this very purpose, and giving up his life to it until he carried his point;—to describe the important effects of the triumph which he gained, and its intimate connexion with the still greater victories for the cause of humanity to which it led the way,—must be the province of those to whom the task of recording his life is assigned. It is by no means our wish, after the manner of detractors, to exalt departed worth at the expense of the living. The pages of this Journal have been often filled with the tribute of sincere admiration so eminently due to Mr Wilberforce and his coadjutors. But it cannot be doubted, that when those distinguished persons attended the remains of Granville Sharp to the grave, they mourned the extinction of the light which at first went before to guide them in their course, and had ever since been their faithful companion.

The Directors begin their Report, by calling the attention of the Institution to the history of the Abolition during the preceding year. It appears, that the highly meritorious exertions of Commodore Irby, ably seconded by Captain Scobell, have succeeded in clearing a great part of the coast; the former officer having, on a cruize from Sierra Leone, proceeded as far as the island of St Thomas, without meeting a single slave-ship; and the latter having gone to Loango, and only fallen in with two, which he sent in for condemnation. Though this may in part have arisen from these cruizes being undertaken during the rainy season, there can be no doubt that it was in a great degree owing to the vigilant measures adopted during the first six months of the year, which led to the capture and condemnation of a great number of vessels engaged in this criminal employment. It is stated, that a large proportion of the traffic, covered by the Portuguese and Spanish flags, especially the latter, owes its existence to British and American capital; and that the real Spanish trade is very small indeed. But we conceive there can be little reason to doubt, that in what way soever the traffic may be supported, a very considerable proportion of it terminates in Cuba, one of the few Spanish colonies which have hitherto refused to abandon this scandalous enormity.

But we wish rather to fix the reader's attention, for the present, upon the conduct of the Portuguese: And, after reminding him, that the immense slave-trade carried on by those worthy allies of ours, has been increased since our Abolition; that the Portuguese government solemnly pledged itself, by the treaty of 1810, to cooperate in bringing it to an end; and that instead

of so doing, it has fostered and protected it up to the present hour; we shall beg his attention to the following extract from the Report.

‘It is with extreme regret that the Directors are again obliged to state to the General Meeting the want of success which has attended their repeated, earnest, and urgent representations to Government, respecting the Slave-Trade carried on by means of the Portuguese island of Bissao. This is a subject which has engaged the attention of the Board from the very formation of the Institution; and although they are thoroughly convinced that Bissao itself is of no intrinsic value to the Portuguese Government, they cannot but deeply lament, that they have as yet been able to obtain no more than a vague and uncertain hope, that at some future period, the cession of it to Great Britain may be obtained.

‘The Directors have also to express their unfeigned regret, that no satisfactory explanation of the ambiguity in the Tenth Article of the Treaty of Amity between Great Britain and Portugal has yet been procured; but they see no reason to depart from the construction which they formerly ventured to put upon that Article. In this view of the subject, and hoping, as has been already stated, that the Slave-Trade on the leeward coast of Africa has of late received a considerable check, from the great and laudable exertions of the naval officers on that station, the Directors cannot but consider the cession of the island of Bissao, as in the highest degree important to the progress of the measures necessary to accomplish the purposes of the Institution.’ p. 11, 12.

The blame, then, must rest either with the English government or the Portuguese. Is it to be endured, that a state whose existence in Europe is upheld by our blood and treasure; whose ships sail on the sea through our protection; whose settlements are preserved to it by our navy alone; should insist upon retaining possession of a spot only valuable as the centre of a contraband slave-trade—the rendezvous of criminals who set the laws of this country at defiance?—Is it less intolerable, that the ambiguity carelessly suffered by us to enter into the late treaty, but artfully employed by our allies to render the rest of the stipulations ineffectual, should be *maintained*?—For if the passage now quoted has any meaning, it must be this, that the Portuguese, finding the blunder profitable, refuse to set it right by an explanation. Surely it is self-evident, either that the British ministry have not at all exerted their influence with the allies, over whom they ought to have the most ample authority—or that the Portuguese have conducted themselves with an insolence and ingratitude, to say nothing of their duplicity, which ought no longer to be borne?

We refer now only to the two points touched upon in the

extract. But the temper of the Portuguese upon these seems to indicate, how little can be expected from their dispositions to fulfil the more important stipulations of the treaty, and to provide for the total abolition of the traffic. Upon this subject we have formerly so fully expressed our sentiments, that we shall only now repeat our hopes, that neither the friends of justice and humanity, nor the advocates of the colonial body, will ever cease urging the Government, until they shall obtain that to which they unquestionably are entitled, a compulsory abolition of the Portuguese slave-trade—if none other can be accomplished.

It is in vain to say, that this would be interfering with the domestic policy of our ally. The kidnapping of men is no branch of domestic policy;—and we have the self-same right to stop the Portuguese slave-ships, or to demand that the traffic be abolished, that we have to prevent French troops from being sent into Portugal, or to insist on France delivering up Ferdinand VII., and withdrawing from the Peninsula. By what right do the Portuguese invade, butcher, and transport the unoffending inhabitants of Africa?—When an answer has been given to this question, it may be time to discuss the rights of this country to insist on their abstaining from such gross outrages upon the law of nations. We are told, indeed, that the law of nations extends only to a certain number of states; for this seems the sense of the restriction which confines it to what are termed civilized countries. Yet it is plain that we treat pirates, of whatever nation, as common outlaws, because they are so held by the public law of the whole world; and, unquestionably, if a negroe-manned vessel were to commit depredations, we should consider ourselves as justified in retaliating, by the laws of war. The case, indeed, may be put directly in that shape—and it is far less improbable than it would have been a few years ago. We shall suppose a St Domingo cruizer, or a vessel navigated by native Africans, to enter the Tagus, and carry off some scores of our Portuguese allies—several of all ranks, as might naturally enough happen—a few priests—some of the Lisbon contractors—one or two of the Regency—nay, among the crowd, a dozen or two of English residents, or soldiers and sailors. Or suppose it to land a few stout hands on our own coasts, in some part unfrequented by cruizers; to come for example, on a holiday, or a Sunday evening, while the natives of the village were temptingly assembled in their way to or from the church;—the negroe-trader is speedily filled with his cargo, and carries them all off to Angola, or to St Domingo. We speak not now of the probability of such things happening, for that is wide of the

question:—But let the reader only figure to himself the epidemic fury into which the whole country would be thrown by such an invasion. The loud cries of rage and lamentation—the descriptions of private misery—the aggravating circumstances in the situation of the sufferers—all ending in one universal cry for signal vengeance by retaliation! The tribe to which the vessel belonged, would find indeed but a slender protection in the position, that being uncivilized, and having no minister resident here, it should not be treated as an European power. 'War, *de facto*, would at all events be made upon it;—and, whether capable or not of 'maintaining the relations of peace and war,' it would speedily be found liable to the pains of hostility. It seems, however, to follow clearly from a people being liable to be treated as enemies, that they should be capable also of being considered as friends; and, from the moment that we make one individual of a tribe answerable for what another does, (which we daily do in Africa), we acknowledge the existence of a corporate body, whom we may call a nation, and ought to treat as such.

There is indeed no occasion for pushing this argument farther. All civilized nations treat pirates as common enemies, and that without the least regard to the condition of the people upon whom their depredations are committed. Were a government wicked and foolish enough to lend the sanction of its authority to acts of common piracy done by its subjects, this would not raise a moment's hesitation as to the character of those acts, or the mode of treating their perpetrators. A vessel, however sanctioned, which should be found plundering the property of any tribe, how rude soever, would be treated as a pirate. The seizing of a bag of gold dust, or a tusk of ivory, would suffice for her condemnation. How then can it be pretended that the cargo of a Portuguese slave-ship should pass harmless under the eye of our cruisers?

It is perfectly true that many of the most judicious and enlightened friends of the Abolition, have been hitherto averse to any sudden measures of this decisive nature, from an apprehension that they might be charged with violence,—and still more from a sense of the apparent inconsistency of such conduct in a state which has itself only of late years awakened to a sense of justice, and abandoned this piratical occupation. They have therefore been willing to delay, for a season, having recourse to the steps now hinted at, in the hopes that by means of negotiation, Portugal might be brought quietly to adopt the principles on which we now act. But to this forbearance some bounds must at length be put; and if all the authority and influence so justly due to us in the councils of our ally shall be found insuffi-

cient to recommend our disinterested suit, it may be full time for urging the demand upon its higher and more appropriate grounds of strict right and justice.

Since the report now before us was presented, some discussion has taken place in the House of Commons upon this most important point. On the 14th of July Mr Wilberforce moved that Assembly to address the Crown, that there might be laid before it an account of the steps taken by the Government to obtain the concurrence of Portugal in the abolition. Lord Castlereagh, on the part of the Ministry, stated, that attempts had been made, and were still making, for this purpose—but acknowledged that difficulties had occurred. He however begged Mr Wilberforce to withdraw his motion for the present; which he did—on the ground that it might interfere with a pending negotiation:—Lord Castlereagh expressly observing, that the motion might be renewed at the beginning of next Session, in case no satisfactory progress should in the mean time be made in the negotiation. To this point we trust the eyes of the abolitionists in and out of Parliament will be steadily directed. If the Ministry are sincere (which we are not disposed to question, whatever we may think of their zeal), they will feel supported and strengthened by the interposition of Parliamentary authority:—If they are not, this interference becomes indispensable;—and in either case, such a voice as that of the British Legislature, cannot fail to have a powerful effect in the councils of the Portuguese Government. We shall not be slow to renew this discussion if it shall appear that any serious doubts are entertained as to the right of interference. Hitherto the obvious policy of waiting for a certain time until it should be ascertained whether any interference would be necessary, has induced the abolitionists to abstain from mooted the question of right. But this certainly has not arisen from any doubts being entertained regarding the right.

The next subject touched upon in the Report, is the trials of the slave traders at Sierra Leone, to which we have already had an opportunity of calling the attention of our readers. An account is also inserted, of the flagrant proceedings in the Isle of France, which we at the same time noticed. The indignation excited by these abuses, occasioned the correspondence of the Admiral and Governor to be laid before Parliament; and extracts from the papers are inserted in the Appendix. The statement of the Governor is, that conceiving himself justified in giving facilities for the execution of an article in the capitulation of a French settlement in Madagascar, whereby property was allowed to be removed to Mauritius and Bourbon, he had granted licenses for removing a limited number of slaves, and had

sent a proper officer to see that this permission was not abused. Nevertheless, the grossest abuse of it speedily took place; and was detected, not by the civil government, but by the navy. As this matter involves considerations of great delicacy, we shall abstain from any further remarks upon it, except merely to state, that the expressions in the Governor's last despatch do him much credit; and that we trust the whole affair will be placed in a light satisfactory to all parties, and to the public, by its more ample discussion in Parliament, where, of course, it will without delay be taken up. From comparing the two following extracts,—the first from Captain Lynne's letter of 9. January 1812 to Admiral Stopford,—the second from Governor Farquhar's despatch to Lord Liverpool, of 1. February 1812, it will appear, that there does not subsist the most perfect cooperation between the civil and naval branches of the service in those parts.

“The shameful abuse of the indulgence granted by Government to the inhabitants of this island, and Bourbon, is such, that it is high time it should be checked. A list was given of eight hundred and sixty-three slaves, at Tamatave, as private property, at the time of the capitulation of that colony; whereas, I am fully convinced, not half that number were in their possession; and I have now certain information of eight hundred and eighty having been introduced into the two islands since: notwithstanding which, Mr Deller, who is styled the accredited Agent of Government, writes word, that there are three hundred and forty-seven slaves still remaining to be sent from Tamatave.

“You may rely, Sir, on my using my utmost endeavours to seize and detain them, feeling that I am fully authorized to do so by the Slave Act.” p. 40, 41.

Thus far Captain Lynne. The following passage is from Governor Farquhar's despatch.

“An additional case of suspected unlawful commerce in slaves has likewise been acted upon by Captain Lynne, of his Majesty's sloop *Eclipse*, upon this station, in his late seizure of the *Eliza* lugger, bound from Tamatave to this port, having on board the private property, slaves adverted to in the commencement of this despatch, under a passport given by the sworn British Agent at Tamatave, pursuant to the capitulation for that settlement, made by Captain Lynne himself—the subsequent proclamation on the subject—the permission granted by this Government—and the measures thereupon taken, in concert with his Majesty's senior naval officer here, Captain Schomberg.

“In this instance, it seems that the vessel belongs to parties apparently innocent, and that the proprietors of the slaves are not in fault, as far as I have been able to discern. The sending the vessel and Blacks under all such circumstances, for adjudication to the

Cape, struck a violent alarm in the Colony, and made the minds of numbers of the inhabitants waver, as to the belief of the British faith, and reliance on the Government here. Impressed as I was, therefore, with the importance of this case, in every point of view, I deemed it proper to commence a correspondence with Captain Lynne on the occasion, and on the representation of the claimants, to write to his Majesty's Proctor at the Cape; copies of all which correspondence and letters, I have the honour to forward herewith, for your Lordship's full and particular information on the several points connected with the transaction at large." p. 43.

It is only fair towards the Governor to add, that he is beset by a whole community of planters, clamorously urging him to a relaxation of the Abolition Laws; and that, although in an earlier part of his correspondence he seemed disposed to recommend some measure of this kind, upon learning the sentiments of the Government at home, he appears to have abandoned all such ideas. He alludes generally to measures favourable to the slaves, which he had adopted; and adds the following statement, which it is fair that we should quote.

"These proceedings have not passed without evident and avowed dissatisfaction expressed by many; nor without occasional highly-coloured representations of the danger to be apprehended from my successive efforts in favour of the slaves. It is consonant indeed to the general infirmity of the human mind, that the Colonists should take a prejudiced view of their own concerns upon such a subject, and that this prominent new order of things, which they conceive strikes at the root of their most *valuable individual interests*, should, above all other considerable measures of the British Government, agitate and ferment their passions, especially in a colony just conquered, where, for the last century, the most uncontrolled and licentious loose has been given to the pursuit of this inhuman traffic in Negroes. I trust, nevertheless, that your Lordship will always have occasion to remark my exertion to meet their alarms or their remonstrances, by a prudent, though not less obstinate, firmness and resistance. A conscientiousness of my duty to my King and Country, as the chief member of one of his Majesty's governments, at this enlightened epoch of the world, as well as my ardent desire to accelerate the civilization of the surrounding African states, will not only induce my perseverance in such a course, but prompt me to fulfil the task with all that cheerfulness and zeal, which its tendency to the development of general prosperity, and to the extension of British arts and industry to foreign countries, under my immediate auspices, is calculated to inspire." p. 44.

Now, the advantage—the inestimable advantage—of having such bodies as the African Institution, and a free press, whereby they may communicate with the public, is this, that though the Royal Family, with a single exception, supported the slave

trade until it was put down by law, and then made a felony ;—though the present Prime Minister, and nearly the whole Cabinet, were determined enemies of the Abolition ;—though Governor Parquhar owes his appointment either to the Royal Family or the Ministers, or both, and appears at first to have entertained very incorrect views upon the subject of the slave traffic ;—yet no sooner are those mistakes of his made known at home, and the pleasure of the Government signified upon them, than we have such a despatch as that now before us, equally creditable to his understanding and his principles. There are instances of a far more serious nature than this, if we are rightly informed, in which errors of a much deeper shade have been committed, and *not* retrieved. Officers there have been, fortified by high connexions ; and who have not scrupled to share in the advantages derived from a breach of the law. To these cases, in which there was no error of judgment, but positive guilt, we cannot entertain a doubt that the attention of the Institution will speedily be directed, if it has not already inquired into them ; and the public undoubtedly will look confidently to their honest and fearless discharge of a duty which is only rendered the more imposing, as it may clash with great station and exalted patronage or powerful protection.

Other instances are not wanting of the salutary effects produced by the vigilance of this excellent Institution. Thus, information had been received, that a traffic in slaves was carried on in Malta :—It appeared, that not fewer than one hundred negroes, principally from Alexandria, were imported into the island, and sold, as well to Englishmen as to Maltese. The Directors did not fail to represent these proceedings to the Government ; and an inquiry into the abuse was immediately set on foot by the ministers. It is impossible not to feel some astonishment, that such an enormity should have existed for any length of time, without exciting the attention of the civil or military authorities in the settlement. The high character of the officers who have hitherto commanded there, render this only the more inexplicable. Nor should we be surprized to find, that they have suffered themselves to be deceived by the assertions which the dealers will always have the effrontery to make, that the negroes are brought over voluntarily, and hired as indentured servants.

Passing over matters of less moment in the Report, we come to the branch of the Report which relates immediately to Africa. There is considerably less of interesting information under this head in the present, than in late publications. A notice is given of the delay occasioned, by unforeseen accidents, in

publishing Mr Park's Journal. We are, however, indulged with the prospect of these obstacles being speedily removed; and in the mean time it may be proper to extract a passage from the Journal, given in this Report, as illustrative of the difference between the Negroes on the coast and those in the interior beyond the reach of the slave trade. The Directors introduce the passage after describing the brutal and refractory nature of the people of Winnebah, where the truly lamented Governor Meredith met with his death.

' Describing the town of Sansanding, on the Niger, Mr Park says—" Sansanding contains, according to Koontee Mamadie's account, eleven thousand inhabitants. It has no public buildings except the mosques, two of which, though built of mud, are by no means inelegant.

" The market place is a large square, and the different articles of merchandize are exposed for sale on stalls covered with mats to shade them from the sun. The market is crowded with people from morning to night. Some of the stalls contain nothing but beads; others indigo in balls; others wood ashes in balls; others Houssa and Jinnie cloth. I observed one stall with nothing but antimony in little bits; another with sulphur; and a third with copper and silver rings and bracelets. In the houses fronting the square are sold scarlet cloth, amber, silks from Morocco, and tobacco, which looks like Levant tobacco, and comes by way of Tombuctoo.

" Adjoining to this is the salt market, part of which occupies one corner of the square. A slab of salt is sold commonly for 8,000 cowries. A large butcher's stall, or shade, is in the centre of the square, and as good and as fat meat sold every day as any in England.

" The beer market is at a little distance, under two large trees: and there are often exposed for sale from 80 to 100 calabashes of beer, each containing about two gallons. Near the beer market is the place where red and yellow leather is sold. Besides these market places, there is a very large space which is appropriated for the general market every Tuesday. On this day, astonishing crowds of people come from the country to purchase articles in wholesale, and retail them in the different villages. There are commonly from 16 to 20 large fat Moorish bullocks killed on the market morning." p. 28-29.

Under the head of Africa, we must also notice the very judicious plan of profiting by the opportunity of inducing Captain Paul Cuffee to settle in Sierra Leone, and carry over with him free Blacks of good character and of some property, who might settle in the colony, and practise among the natives the mechanical arts, and the cultivation of tropical produce. Paul Cuffee, as many of our readers know, is a free black, who, by his industry and talents, has acquired considerable wealth, a part

of which he invests in trade, commanding his vessel in person, and manning her with a fine crew of free Negroes. They were lately in this country, and attracted universal respect by the propriety of their deportment, as well as admiration by their singular proficiency in both the science and the practice of navigation. The African Board held a meeting, although in vacation time, for the purpose of seeing and conferring with the Captain. His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester attended, as he always does, at the Board, and, together with the other Directors, entered fully into the subjects, alike interesting to those distinguished philanthropists, and to their dark-coloured but civilized ally. They were highly gratified with the interview, and were led to form the most sanguine expectations of the benefits to be derived from his active cooperation. Their application for a grant of land was unhappily rendered unsuccessful, by the intervention of hostilities with America, Captain Cuffee being a citizen of the United States; but we trust that some means may still be found of renewing a negociation so manifestly calculated to carry civilization into Africa by the most sure and practicable road. This is in truth precisely the principle of the plan pursued with such signal success by the Quakers, in civilizing the North American Indians. We formerly called the attention of our readers to this subject; and, by referring to what was there detailed, the grounds of our confident expectations from the present plan may be seen.* In the mean time, it is gratifying to learn, that Paul Cuffee, retaining all his zeal for the improvement of his race, is now exerting himself in America with the great object of African civilization constantly before him.

The course of this article has now brought us to the West Indian part of the subject. And here we lament to find, that, instead of such improvements in the treatment of the unhappy negroes, as might fairly have been expected to result from a stoppage of the supply since the abolition, instances are to be met with, of enormities exceeding the former rate of West Indian depravity. The cruelties committed in the face of day, before Magistrates, in some instances nearly approaching to murder—the effrontery with which the law is braved by persons secure in their powerful connexions, or their influence over judges and juries—the additional security afforded to their crimes by the common law of the colonies, the whole spirit of which is adverse to freedom, and bears uniformly against the slaves—These things ought to be most maturely considered by

* Number for July 1806.

the Legislature of the empire, and made the foundation of an inquiry into the remedies applicable to the diseased state of colonial society. Among these remedies, the prominent ones almost immediately suggest themselves; and it might have been expected that the colonial legislature would, before this time, have proceeded to consider them. One is the abolition, as far as possible, of slavery or villenage in gross, by annexing the slaves to the soil in all plantations or estates, or wherever Negroes are employed in agriculture, or works connected with agriculture. Towards this most salutary improvement, no step has yet been taken in any of the islands. Another measure of the greatest moment, would be the admission of free persons of colour to give evidence, even against Whites; and this avowedly as a step towards establishing the competency of Negro evidence generally. The credit of such testimony would, of course, remain subject to the deductions always very sure to be made from it by the feelings and prejudices of a tribunal *untainted* (to use the West Indian language) by colour. This is a very important subject; and we can at present do no more than merely touch it. The remaining step, and the one which ought unquestionably to be taken first, is the extension to all the colonies of the *registering of slaves*, established in Trinidad by order in Council. The Appendix to the Report now before us contains an ample abstract of this important order, which is now in full force in Trinidad, and cannot fail to produce the most salutary effects, both in preventing all contraband slave traffic, and in imposing checks upon the gross abuse of their power, so prevalent among West Indian masters—or, we ought rather to say, their agents and overseers. The Directors warmly recommend the extension of this excellent plan to all the islands by the authority of the Legislature, which, as our readers know, must be interposed—in all except the conquered settlements—to give such a measure the force of law.

We shall revert, at an early opportunity, to the consideration of these important subjects, which we have now only been able to mention. But we earnestly solicit the attention of our readers to them; and if any additional motive to an anxious examination of them were wanting, we should remind all who have the common feelings of humanity—or rather the ordinary sense of justice within them, that the horrors already detailed in this Journal—the bloody tragedies of Tortola and Nevis—the enormities of the Hodges and Huggins—are inseparable from the present system; and that the system is incapable of reformation, except by the superintending wisdom and justice of the Imperial Parliament.

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